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NOTE.—Dr. D. C. Sircar retired from the post of the Government Epigraphist for India with effect from 8-6-1962. Before proceeding on leave preparatory to retirement on 14-6-1961 he had sent the material to the Press for Parts I to VII of this Volume of which he is therefore the Editor.

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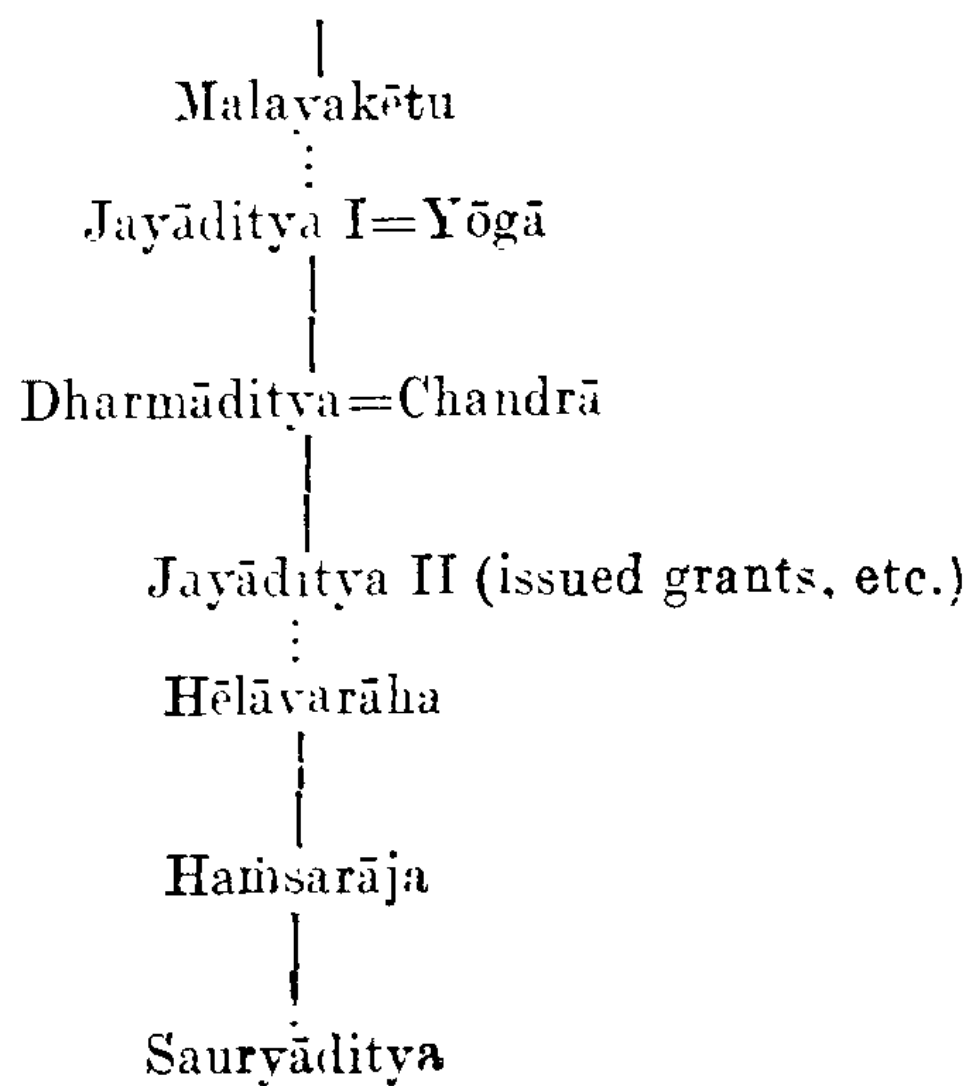
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„ 292, f.n. 6 (lines 1-2).—For *nagaravaruchchai* read *nagaravaṇuchchai*

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No. 1—MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA

(*6 Plates*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 18.3.1960*)

1. Two Ikshvāku Inscriptions dated in the Cyclic year Vijaya

A. Inscription of Vīrapurushadatta, 273 A.D.

This inscription, now preserved in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Museum, is indeed one of the most important among the Ikshvāku epigraphs so far discovered. It was edited by J. Ph. Vogel along with a large number of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions published in Vols. XX and XXI of this journal. Unfortunately Vogel's transcript and translation of this particular record, which appears in Vol. XXI, pp. 63-64 (Pillar Inscription No. L), are both full of errors. His failure to read and interpret the inscription correctly seems to be largely due to the fact that its impressions examined by him were unsatisfactory. This may also be the reason why the then editor of the journal was unable to improve upon Vogel's reading to any considerable extent. The impressions of the inscription prepared under my supervision in February 1960, one of which is illustrated herewith, are better than its illustration in Vogel's paper in op. cit., Plate facing p. 63. The record contains thirteen lines of writing covering an area about 14½ inches in height and 13 inches in breadth. It is in a fairly satisfactory state of preservation. Its **characters** are similar to those of other epigraphs of the Ikshvākus and its **language** is Prakrit.

The most serious flaw in Vogel's treatment of the epigraph concerns its date. The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Ikshvāku king **Vīrapurushadatta** and, in lines 2-3, Vogel reads : *raño*[1] *Māḍhariputasa Ikhākunaṁ siri-Virapurisadatasa vasasanaya saṁvachhara viṁsayaṁ vāsa-pakhaṁ prathamaṁ divasaṁ bitiyaṁ.* The passage has been translated by him as : "In the **twentieth year** of the reign of *Rājan* Māḍharīputta siri-**Vīrapurisadatta** of [the house of] the **Ikkhākus**.... in the **first fortnight** of the **rainy season**, the **second day.**" There are two glaring errors in the above reading of the passage. The first of these is *vasasanaya*[2] which is quite meaningless and, it will be seen, has been actually left out in Vogel's translation. The correct reading is certainly *vasa-satāya* which occurs in some early inscriptions and, as we have explained above,[3] stands for Sanskrit *varsha-śatāya.* This seems to indicate that the pious work recorded in the inscription was performed with the desire that the reigning king might live for one hundred years. It is interesting to note that this expression as well as the similar *varsha-sahasrāya* occurs in inscriptions between the name of the king and the date falling in his reign.

[1] Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

[2] The same word has been read by Vogel elsewhere also as *vasasanāya* (above, Vol. XXI, p. 66, Pillar inscription M-3, text line 5). But the then editor of the journal suggested that it possibly reads *vasasatāya* (ibid., p. 71, note 1). Cf. ibid., Vol. XXIV, p. 280.

[3] See Vol. XXXIV, p. 241, note 1.

The other mistake is in Vogel's reading of *viṁsayaṁ* after *saṁvachhara*, which has been translated as ' twentieth '. Apparently he has taken *viṁsaya* to stand for Sanskrit *viṁśaka*. The reading of the two words is, however, clearly *saṁvachhara[ṁ] Vijaya[ṁ]*. I see no *anusvāra* sign for *vi* in the second of the two words and there cannot be any doubt about the reading of its second *akshara* as it is exactly the same as the second *akshara* in *Vājapeya* in the line immediately following (i.e. line 4). The word is therefore certainly *Vijaya* and not *viṁsaya* as read by Vogel.

It is clear that, unlike all other published inscriptions of the Ikshvākus which bear dates only in regnal years, the inscription under study mentions instead the **name of the year according to Jupiter's sixty-year cycle** as counted in South India. This is of exceptional importance for two reasons. In the first place, it offers the earliest instance of the use of the cyclic year in Indian inscriptions. We know that the use of the cyclic years was much more popular in South India than in the North, the instances of its use in Northern epigraphs being much rarer and later.[1] So far, however, the earliest instance of its use in the South was traced in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription[2] of the Early Chālukya king Maṅgaleśa, which is dated in the year Siddhārtha taken as corresponding to 602-03 A.D. according to the mean-sign system. But our inscription shows that the cyclic years were used in South Indian epigraphs as early as the third century A. D., i.e. several centuries earlier. Secondly, it is also well known that the Ikshvākus flourished in the Krishna-Guntur region after the decline of the Sātavāhanas about the end of the first quarter of the third century A.D. and before the Pallava conquest of the said area in the fourth century A.D. and that the rule of the second Ikshvāku king Vīrapurushadatta, who was the son and successor of Chāntamūla and the father and predecessor of Ehuvula Chāntamūla (whose latest date is his 24th regnal year), can be assigned to about the third quarter of the third century A. D.[3] The only year falling in the period in question, which can be equated with the cyclic year Vijaya according to the South Indian system, is 273-74 A. D. The earlier and later years corresponding to Vijaya are 213-14 and 333-34 A. D., both of which appear to be wide off the mark. Thus the present inscription is the only record so far discovered, which proves that the rains in 273 A. D. fell in the reign of the Ikshvāku king Vīrapurushadatta. This is a very important addition to our knowledge of the history of the Southern Ikshvākus in particular and of the early history of South India in general.

It may be argued that, since no other published Ikshvāku epigraph is known to be dated in a cyclic year, the passage *saṁvachharaṁ Vijayaṁ* should better be interpreted in a different way. But we find it difficult to agree with such a view. Firstly, the passage can hardly be explained in any other satisfactory way. Secondly, it has to be noted that, among the records of the early rulers of the Chālukya house of Bādāmi, the cyclic year is mentioned only in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgaleśa and that, even as late as the seventh century A. D., the mention of cyclic years was not a regular feature of the dates of South Indian documents. One justification for the mention of the year Vijaya alone in the Ikshvāku records may be that it was originally regarded as the first year of Jupiter's sixty-year cycle.[4]

The inscription begins with the word *sidhaṁ* (*siddham*) and introduces the date of the record as **the cyclic year Vijaya**, the second day of the first fortnight of the rainy season (probably Śrāvaṇa-badi 2),[5] falling in the reign of *Rājan* Māṭharīputra Vīrapurushadatta of the Ikshvāku family, who was the son of *Mahārāja* Chāntamūla, described in this context as the performer of the Aśvamedha

[1] The earliest record dated in the V. S. and the cyclic year, as noticed in Bhandarkar's List, is the Gayā inscription of 1175 A. D. (No. 370).

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 7 ; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 348-49.

[3] Cf. my *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 9, 16. In this work, Vīrapurushadatta's rule was tentatively assigned to c. 240-65 A. D.

[4] Apte, *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s.v. ; Monier-Williams, *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s. v. Note that the Ikshvāku capital was called Vijayapura probably for its foundation in the year Vijaya.

[5] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 119, note 2 ; p. 134, note 6 ; p. 484.

and the bestower of many crores of gold [coins]. Then it states that the *chhāyā-thabho* (*chhāyā-stambha*, i.e. the memorial pillar on which the inscription is engraved) of the *saga-gata* (*svarga-gata*, i.e. deceased) *Rājan* Vāsishṭhīputra *Svāmin* Chāntamūla [was raised] by some ladies who were his sisters, mothers (i.e. mother and step-mothers or only step-mothers) and queens. As in some other records, Chāntamūla is described in this context as the performer of the Agnihotra, Agnishṭoma, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices, as the bestower of crores of gold [coins] and of lakhs of heads of cattle as well as of lakhs of *hala* measures of land and as one whose will was unimpeded in all matters. It may be pointed out that both Vogel and the then editor of this journal failed to read the expression *chhāyā-thabho* in this record. The memorial pillar seems to have been raised many years after Chāntamūla's death.

The list of the ladies responsible for raising the memorial pillar does not clearly indicate as to who were Chāntamūla's sisters, his mothers and his queens. But there seems to be a punctuation mark in line 9 and another in line 11 and they may suggest that the said list was divided into three sections indicating respectively the sisters, mothers and queens of the dead king. If such was the case, the list of Chāntamūla's sisters includes the names : Anantaśrī, Skandaśrī, Vindhyabodhiśrī, Mitraśrī, Samuśrī (Samudraśrī ?), Nāgavasuśrī, Maṅguśrī, Skandakoṭiśrī, Mahīsāraśrī, Kundamatiśrī, Mūlaśrī, Āryakoṭuśrī and Mṛidviśrī. The king's mothers then were Nāgaśrī, Kāmaśrī (or Rāmaśrī), Golaśrī, Khaliśrī, Bodhiśrī, Skandaśrī, Satilaśrī, Perajatiśrī, Paṇḍitaśrī, Śivanāgaśrī and Samudraśrī. The names of the king's queens likewise were : Bappiśrī, Nadīśrī or Nandiśrī, Āryaśrī, Kṛishṇaśrī and Śivanāgaśrī. The word *śrī* suffixed to all these names is no doubt an honorific. Some of these names were wrongly read by Vogel.

The above list of the ladies is followed by the names of two other women whose names are not endowed with the honorific word *śrī*. They are Sarasikā and Kusumalatā described in the record as *abhatarikā* (Sanskrit *ābhyantarikā*), 'an intimate female friend', possibly used to indicate 'a concubine'. The official designation *ābhyantarika* is, however, often understood in the sense of 'a guard of the harem'. Vogel read the word as *subhatarikā* which he failed to interpret.

TEXT[1]

1 Sidhaṁ [|*] mahārājasa asamedha-yājisa aneka-hiraṇak[o]ṭi-[padā]yisa

2 siri-**Chaṁtamūlasa** putasa raṁño Mā[ḍha]ri-putasa **Ikhākuna** siri-**Virapurisadata[sa]**

3 vasa-satāya[2] **savachhara[ṁ] Vijaya[ṁ]**[3] **vāsa-pakhaṁ prathamaṁ 1 divasa bitiya[ṁ]** saga-gatasa

4 raṁño agihot-āgiṭh[o]ma-vājapey-asamedha-yājisa hiraṇa-k[o]ṭi-go-satasahasa-

5 hala-satasahasa-padāyisa sav-athesu a[pa]tihata-saṁkapasa V[āsiṭh]i-putasa

6 Ikhākusa sāmi-siri-**Cha[ṁ]tamulasa** saha(ho)darāhi matāhi ma[ha]d[e]vihi Anatasiriya[4]

7 Khaṁdasiriya Vijhab[o]dhisiriya[5] Mita[si]ri[ya][6] Samusiriya[7] Nāgavasusiriya

8 Maṁgusiriya[8] Khaṁdakoṭisiriya Mahisarasiriya Kondamatisiriya[9] Mula[s]iriya

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[1] From impressions. Minor differences with Vogel's transcript are not indicated here.

[2] Vogel reads *vasasanaya* which is meaningless.

[3] Vogel reads *vimsayam* and interprets the word as 'twentieth'.

[4] Vogel : *Sunītisiriya*(?).

[5] Vogel : *Vijhaṭavisiriya.*

[6] Vogel : *Misasiriya.*

[7] The intended reading may be *Samudasiriya* as in line 11.

[8] Vogel : *Nāgasiriya.*

[9] Vogel : *Roṭumati°.*

9 Ayakoṭusiriya Maduvisiriya[1] Nāgasiriya [Kā]masiriya[2] Golasiriya

10 Khalisiriya[3] [Bo]dhisiriya[4] Khadasiriya Satilasiriya[5] Perajatisiriya[6]

11 Paṁḍitasiriya Sivanāgasiriya Samudasiriya[7] Bāpisiriya Nadisiriya

12 Ayasiriya Kaṁnhasiriya[8] Si[vanāga]siriya abhatarikāhi[9] cha

13 Sarasikāya Bhū(Ku)sumalatāya cha chhāyā[10]-thabho |[11]

B. Inscription of Ehuvula Chāntamūla, 333 A. D.

This inscription[12] is engraved lengthwise on a lime stone pillar found at the site named by the excavators as the Burning Ghāṭ. There are eight lines of writing, the last of them being a little less than six feet long and the others a little above four feet in length. The writing covers three sides of the pillar, lines 1-3 being incised on one side, lines 4-5 on the next side and lines 6-7 on the third side. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory, the letters in most parts being more or less rubbed off. A number of letters in each one of the lines cannot be read at all.

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the usual Ikshvāku alphabet and its **language** is Prakrit. The most important section of the record is its date. It refers itself to the reign of the Ikshvāku *Rājan* **Ehuvula Chāntamūla,** the son of *Rājan* **Vīrapurushadatta** and the grandson of *Mahārāja* **Chāntamūla** who is described, as in some other epigraphs, as the performer of the Aśvamedha and the bestower of many crores of gold [coins]. The date is quoted as the **first day** of the **second fortnight** of the **summer season** (probably Chaitra-sudi 1) in the **year Vijaya** falling in the reign of Ehuvula Chāntamūla. It is the second epigraph of the Ikshvākus, which is dated in the cyclic year instead of the usual regnal reckoning. Another inscription dated in the cyclic year Vijaya falling in the reign of Vīrapurushadatta has been edited above. As will be seen below, the date of the present inscription would correspond to 333 A. D. and is of great importance to the student of South Indian history.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word *sidhaṁ* (*siddham*) and an adoration to a deity whose name is uncertain although it may be *Bhagavat* Noḍagīśvarasvāmin. The name of the same god occurs also in line 4. But the reading of the first three *aksharas* is doubtful in both the cases. The adoration to the deity is followed in lines 1-2 by the date, viz., the year Vijaya, the second fortnight of summer, the first day, falling in the reign of the Ikshvāku king Vāsishṭhīputra Ehuvula Chāntamūla, the son of king Vīrapurushadatta and the grandson of king Chāntamūla. The following sentence in lines 2 ff. states that certain persons made the *devakula* and *thala* (*sthala*) of Lord Noḍagīśvarasvāmin and created an *akshaya-nīvī* (permanent endowment) apparently for the maintenance of the religious establishments in question. The word *devakula* means 'a shrine' while

[1] There seems to be a punctuation mark after this name.

[2] The reading may also be *Rāma*° as in Vogel's transcript.

[3] Vogel : *Veli*°.

[4] Vogel : *Edhisiriya.*

[5] Vogel : *Satili*°.

[6] Vogel : *Para*°.

[7] There seems to be a punctuation mark after this name.

[8] Read *Kanha*°. Vogel read *Ratusiriya* ; but the correct reading was suggested in an editorial note.

[9] Vogel reads *subhatarikāhi* which is meaningless.

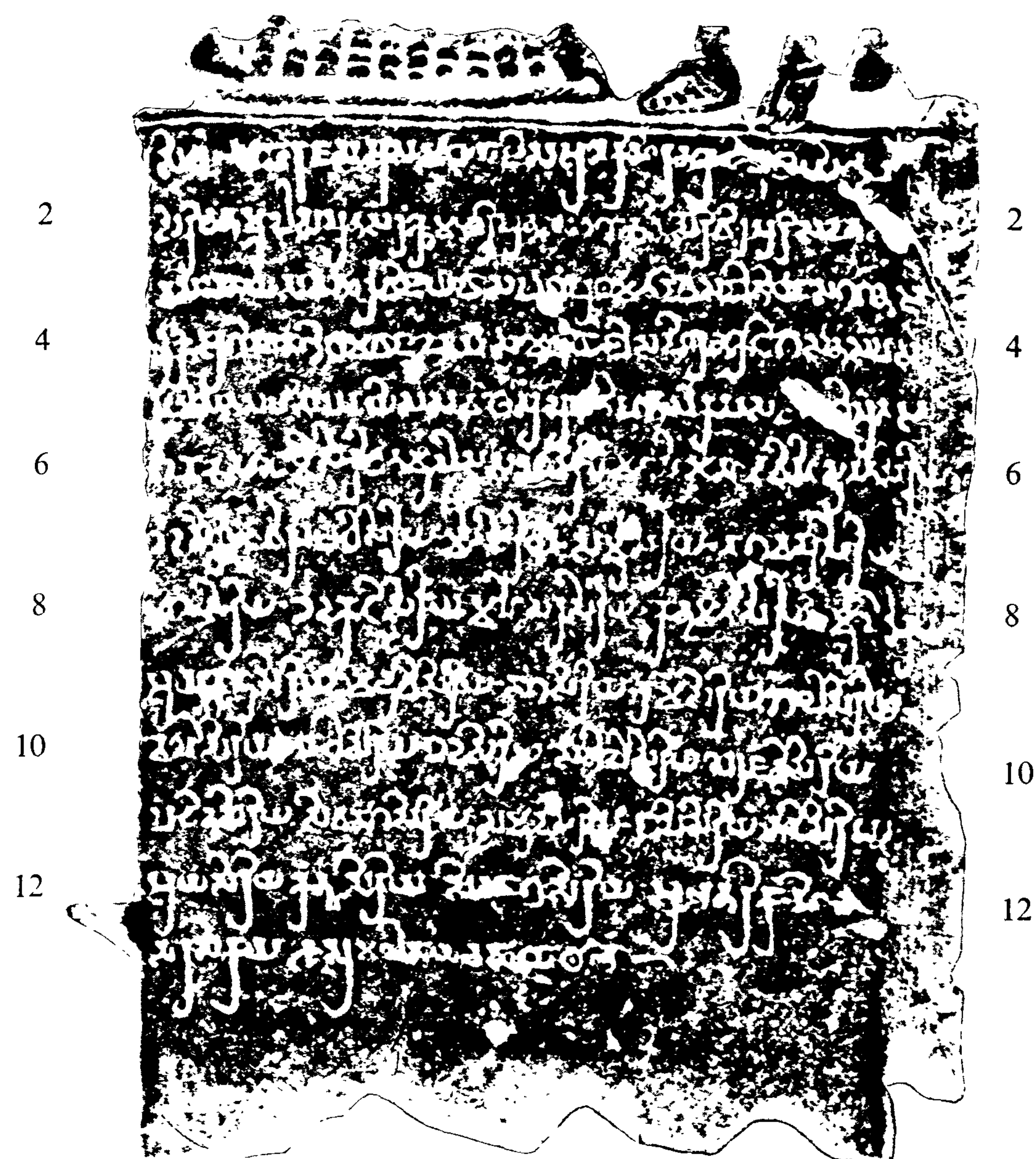
[10] Vogel reads *iyaṁ*, while the editor seems to suggest *dāyo.*

[11] The punctuation is indicated by a slightly slanting horizontal line. The word *thāpito* is to be understood (cf. No. 3, line 7, below).

[12] This is *A. R. Ep.*, 1958-59, No. B 78. *Ind. Arch.*, 1958-59, p. 8, wrongly describes the pillar bearing the inscription as a *dhvaja-stambha* relating to the god Bhageśvara.

MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE I

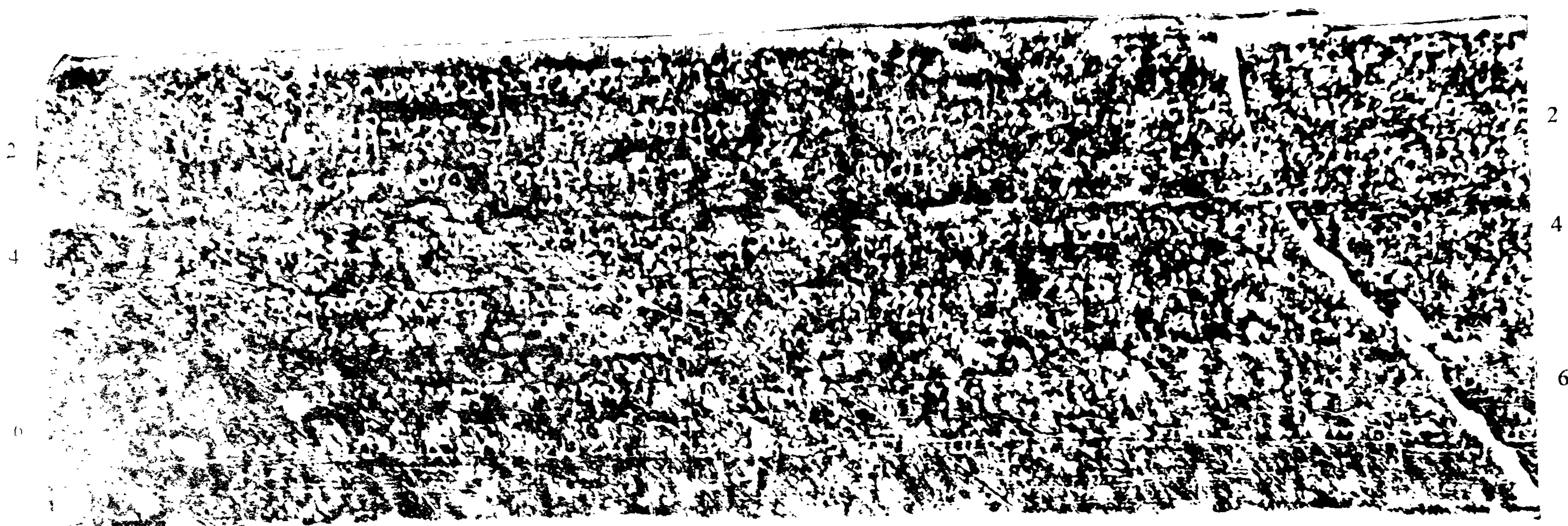
1A.—Inscription of Virapurushadatta, 273 A.D.



Scale : One-third

IB.—INSCRIPTION OF EHUVULA CHANTAMULA, 333 A.D.

Left Half



Right Half



(from Photographs)

sthala seems to indicate, in the present context, a *vedikā* in a spacious area surrounded by a wall. The said pious acts are stated to have been performed for the victory and longevity of the king, i.e. the reigning monarch Ehuvula Chāntamūla. Unfortunately, the name of the main figure responsible for the deeds cannot be deciphered. Only a few names of the *saha-matis* of the said person can be read with certainty. These are the *antaḥpura-mahattarikā* Bhāgavatā and the *śreshṭhi-bālikā* (daughter of a *śreshṭhin* or banker) Ratavasā (or Rativasā). Since they are ladies, it is possible that the main person responsible for the pious deed was also a lady. The word *saha-mati* seems to mean 'a person with the same intention', used here to indicate several persons who helped one in the performance of the pious deeds in question,[1] i.e. contributed to the construction of the *devakula* and *sthala* as well as to the creation of the *akshaya-nīvī*. The list of these collaborators is introduced in our inscription by the word *seyatha* (Pali *seyyathā*, Sanskrit *tad=yathā*) meaning 'namely'. *Antaḥpura-mahattarikā* was apparently a female officer in charge of the harem of the Ikshvāku king.

In connection with the *akshaya-nīvī* or permanent endowment, reference is made to the interest accruing to it month by month (*akhaya-nīvī cha katūna masanumasikasa vadhasa*=Sanskrit *akshaya-nīvīṁ cha kritvā māsānumāsikyāḥ vriddhyāḥ*). But the details as to the utilisation of the amount are not clear. It appears from the partially decipherable writing in lines 4-5, that, for the purpose of creating the endowment, the sum of one hundred *dināris* was deposited in four different guilds, seventy *dināris* in one of them and ten *dināris* in each one of the others. The coin called *dināri* may be the same as *dināri-māshaka* known from other Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions or the coin of which the *dināri-māshaka* was the $\frac{1}{16}$th part in weight or value.[2] *Dināri* is derived from the Roman coin named *denarius*; but it is difficult to say whether it meant original Roman coins which are known to have been in circulation in the area or local imitations of the Roman coins. The fact that only ten *dināris* were deposited in the guilds in several cases suggests that it was probably a gold coin. Among the guilds, the name of two can be satisfactorily read. They are called *panika-seni* and *puvika-seni*. The first of these may be Sanskrit *pārṇika-śreṇī*, i.e., the guild of the sellers or growers of leaves (betel leaves), while the second is certainly Pali *pūvika-seṇi* meaning 'the guild of confectioners'. The existence of several such guilds at the Ikshvāku capital or its neighbourhood is interesting to note.[3]

Very little can be made out of the writing in line 6 and the first half of line 7. The legible part of line 7 appears to begin with some personal names such as Paraḍika, Bhagaphula and Saṭhapa. Whether the persons mentioned were witnesses or trustees cannot be determined. These names are followed by two sentences with which the inscription concludes. These state that the embellishment (*chitana*=Sanskrit *chitraṇa*),[4] apparently of the *devakula* and *sthala*, should have to be done by the person responsible for the creation of the religious institutions and that, in case the said person could not do it, the council of the citizens headed by the *śreshṭhin* (*seṭhi-pamakha-nigama*), probably meaning a board like the Pañchāyat,[5] should get it done.

As we have seen, one of the inscriptions of Ehuvula Chāntamūla's father king Vīrapurushadatta, is also dated in the cyclic year Vijaya, apparently corresponding to 273-74 A. D. As the son must

[1] Cf. Tamil *ott-āśai* (literally, 'similar desire') meaning 'help'.

[2] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 222; *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 27, note.

[3] Cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 211.

[4] For *chitana* in another Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription and in an inscription from Nasik, see above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 200.

[5] Cf. the board of administrators consisting of the *Nagara-śreshṭhin*, *Sārthavāha*, *Prathama-kulika* and *Prathama-Kāyastha*, known from the early inscriptions of East India and the Chauthiā (Chaturjātaka) headed by the Nagar-seṭh in Rajasthan. See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 60, note 2; Vol. XXXIII, p. 193; Vol. XXXIV, p. 142.

have ruled after the father, the year Vijaya when the present record was engraved must correspond to 333-34 A. D., since the seasons mentioned in the two records seem to preclude the possibility of the date of the record of the son's time falling in the latter part of the year 273-74 A. D. As we have suggested above, the mention of the cyclic year Vijaya alone in the Ikshvāku epigraphs seems to be due to its importance as the first year of the cycle.

On the basis of the data available previously, we were formerly inclined to believe that the Ikshvāku dynasty was overthrown by the Pallavas in the first quarter of the fourth century A. D. The date of the inscription under study, however, shows that the Ikshvākus were not overthrown much earlier than the middle of that century. The latest known date of Vīrapurushadatta is his twentieth regnal year[1] while those of his son Ehuvula Chāntamūla and grandson Rudrapurushadatta (Rulapurushadatta) are respectively their twentyfourth and eleventh regnal years.[2] The long intervening period between Vīrapurushadatta's record of 273 A. D. and Ehuvula Chāntamūla's inscription of 333 A. D. would suggest that the year 333 A. D. fell near about the end of his reign and that Rudrapurushadatta probably ended his rule sometime before 350 A. D. Thus the Pallava conquest of the Krishna-Guntur region, evidenced by the Mañchikallu inscription[3] of Siṁhavarman and the Mayidavolu plates[4] of Śivaskandavarman, took place about the middle of the fourth century A. D. This would also suggest that Pallava Siṁhavarman of the Mañchikallu inscription and Śivaskandavarman of the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli plates[5] ruled about the fourth and fifth decades of the fourth century A. D. This is no doubt a very important addition to our knowledge of the chronology of both the Ikshvākus and the Pallavas.

We also know that the Ābhīra king Vasushena ruled over the Krishna-Guntur area for sometime in the last quarter of the third century or in the first half of the fourth.[6] The date of Vasushena's inscription, viz. year 30, if referred to the era of 248 A.D., which is generally believed to be an Ābhīra institution, would yield 278-79 A.D. and, in that case, we may suggest that Vīrapurushadatta ruling in 273 A.D. was overthrown by the Ābhīra king. If such was the case, the reign of Vīrapurushadatta, covering about twenty years may be assigned to c. 255-75 A.D., the Ābhīra interregnum to c. 275-80 A.D., and the reign of Ehuvula Chāntamūla to c. 280-335 A.D. In case, however, it is believed that the Ābhīras and the Pallavas led a joint attack on the Ikshvākus who were overthrown as a result thereof, we may assign the reign of Vīrapurushadatta and his son and grandson to c. 275-345 A.D. In the former alternative, we have to think that the Ikshvākus succeeded in ousting the Ābhīras and re-established their hold on the Krishna-Guntur region within a few years. In the second alterative, we have possibly to suggest that the Ābhīras ruled over some parts of the erstwhile Ikshvāku kingdom after the overthrow of the Ikshvākus and that they were ousted by their erstwhile allies, viz. the Pallavas, a few years later.

TEXT[7]

Sidhaṁ |[8]

1 namo bhagavate(to) sava-loka-mahitasa [Noḍagī ?]sarasāmisa [|*] [mahā]rājasa [asamedha-yājisa aneka-hiraṇa-koṭi-padāyisa siri-**Chatamulasa** putasa]..............[9]

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[1] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 65.

[2] See Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 20 ff.; below, No. 4.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 87 ff.

[4] Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 86 ff.

[5] Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.

[6] Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 207 ff.

[7] From impressions.

[8] The word is engraved in the left margin near the beginning of line 2.

[9] The words *raño* and *Māḍharīputasa* may have been engraved here.

2 siri-**Virapurisadatasa** putasa raṁño Vasiṭhiputasa **[Ikhā]kuna** siri-**Ehavala-Chatamulasa savachharaṁ Vija**. .[1]**[mha]-pa** [2] **diva 1** [raño] veja[yi]ka ayu-vadhani[ka] cha apana

3 saha-mati[ṇa] seyatha atepura-mahatarikāya Bhagava[tāya] seṭhi-bālikāya Ra[tava]saya viḍaya....................

4 bhagavato [Noḍagī?]sarasāmisa devakula thala [cha kāri]tā akhaya-nīvi cha katāṇa masanumasikasa vadhisa............dhika-seṇiya [dināri][2].......................[3] [dināri] dasa 10

5 panika-seniye dināri dasa 10 puvika-seniye dināri dasa 10 [|*] eva[ṁ] senisu chatusu...... dinari-sa[ta].............................

6 .... sara chhaya .... paraputa .... ni .... vakāye sadha

7 .... thika .... tarapa [Pa]raḍika Bhagaphula Saṭhapa [|*] apanā cha chitanaṁ katavaṁ [|*] eva cha akaraṁta seṭhi-pamakha nigam[o] karayaṁti[4] ||[5]

2. Two Inscriptions of the time of Ehuvula Chāntamūla, Year 8

The first of these two epigraphs, hereinafter mentioned as **A**, is engraved on a broken pillar found in a *Maṇḍapa* in Site No. 9 (Longhurst's Stūpa No. 9). The second record, hereinafter called **B**, is engraved on another broken pillar which, as the internal evidence suggests, was likewise found from the same site.[6]

Each of the two records, which are damaged and fragmentary, contains seventeen lines of writing. The writing in **A** covers an area about 29½ inches in height and 12½ inches in breadth while, in **B**, it covers a space about 28 inches high and 14 inches broad. The **characters** of the epigraphs belong to the usual Ikshvāku alphabet and the **language** is Prakrit. Like some Prakrit inscriptions of the time of Ehuvula Chāntamūla, reduplicated consonants are used in the inscriptions under study, though only in a few cases. Both the records bear the **same date** which is the **fifteenth day** of the **fourth fortnight** of the **summer season** (probably Vaiśākha-sudi 15) in the **eighth regnal year** of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula Chāntamūla. The king is mentioned in **A** as the son of Vīrapurushadatta, but in **B** both as the son of Vīrapurushadatta and as the grandson of Chāntamūla.

Both the epigraphs record, in similar language, the pious activities of an *upāsaka* (lay follower of the Buddha) named Chadasiri (Chandraśrī) who was the dear brother of Nāgasiri (Nāgaśrī). He is further described as the bestower of many religious gifts at various localities such as cities, hills and market-towns in connection with the celebration of religious ceremonies or festivals in

[1] The two damaged *aksharas* here are no doubt °*yaṁ gi*°.

[2] The context suggests that 70 *dināris* were deposited in the *śrēṇi* in question.

[3] The name of the guild here cannot be deciphered.

[4] The word is used in the sense of Sanskrit *kārayeyuḥ*.

[5] The punctuation seems to be indicated by a few vertical strokes.

[6] An inaccurate notice of the first of these two records appears in *A.R.Ep.*, 1938-39, pp. 57 (No. 452), 71.

honour of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha (*Budha-Dhaṁma-Saṁgha-maṁgala-nagaravara-girivara-negamavara-bahu-deyadhama-kāraka*). The place where Chandraśrī performed the pious deeds recorded in the inscriptions is described as the Seṭhivara-vaḍhamāna (Śreshṭhivara-vardhamāna) in the Mahā-nikāya of the Aparamahāvinaśailīyas at **Vijayapura** on the **Śrīparvata.** The word *nikāya* in *Mahā-nikāya* seems to mean, in the present context, a dwelling rather than a fraternity. The name of Śreshṭhivara-vardhamāna reminds us of Mahārāja-vardhamāna at Vijayapura, which is mentioned in another Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription edited below (No. 7, B II). The real meaning of *vardhamāna* is difficult to determine. Since, however, this Śreshṭhivara-vardhamāna was situated within the Mahā-nikāya of the monks of the Aparamahāvinaśailīya sect, it seems to mean a religious institution probably maintained by the chief *śreshṭhin* or banker.[1]

Inscription **A** states that Chandraśrī made a *sela-maḍava* (*śaila-maṇḍapa*), i.e. a pavilion made of stone, and a *bhaṛa-sala* for a particular Ariya-saṁgha (Ārya-saṅgha), i.e. a community of Buddhist monks, with a view to attaining *Nirvāṇa*. The name of the Ārya-saṅgha is not readable in either of the two inscriptions. The expression *bhaṛa-sala* seems to be a mistake for *bhaṁḍāra-sālā* (Sanskrit *bhāṇḍāra-śālā*) meaning 'a store-room'. Line 13 refers to the above pious activities of Chandraśrī as having been done for the longevity of the king (i.e. Ehuvula Chāntamūla). Lines 14-17, which are damaged and fragmentary, appear to suggest that Chandraśrī also built a *śālā* (probably 'a hall') in the name of his parents with a prayer for attaining happiness (*sukh-athanāya* =Sanskrit *sukh-ārthanayā*).

Inscription **B** records that the same Chandraśrī built a *śālā* for the *Theras* (senior Buddhist monks) residing at the *śaila-maṇḍapa* of the Ārya-saṅgha mentioned in **A**. This act was also done for the king's longevity. Lines 14-17 contain some of the expressions in the concluding part of **A** such as the reference to the honouring of the parents and the prayer for attaining happiness. But the nature of the pious work referred to in this section is not clear.

The **geographical names** Vijayapura and Śrīparvata, mentioned in both the records, are well known.

TEXT[2]

A

1 ....[3] s[i]r[i]-**Vīrapurasa[data]sa**...............

2 ......[4]raño Vāseṭhi-puta[sa] [I]**khā**...........................[5]

3 **Ehuvuḷa-Chāntamūlasa savachhara**..................[6]

4 **[ma] gimha-pakha chavuṭha divasa pa**............[7]

5 **[pa]vate Vijayapure** Aparama[hāvina]..................[8]

[1] Ukhasiri-vadhamāna (Skt. *Ṛikshaśrī-vardhamāna*, 'a *vardhamāna* maintained by a person named Ṛikshaśrī'), known from the Ghaṇṭaśāla inscriptions, was a similar institution at ancient Kaṇṭakaśaula (modern Ghaṇṭaśāla), although Vogel regarded it as the old name of Gaṇṭaśāla itself (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 2).

[2] From impressions.

[3] The damaged *aksharas* appear to be *sidhaṁ raño.*

[4] The word lost at the end of line 1 and the beginning of line 2 is *putasa.*

[5] The lost *aksharas* are °*kūnaṁ siri*° as suggested by B.

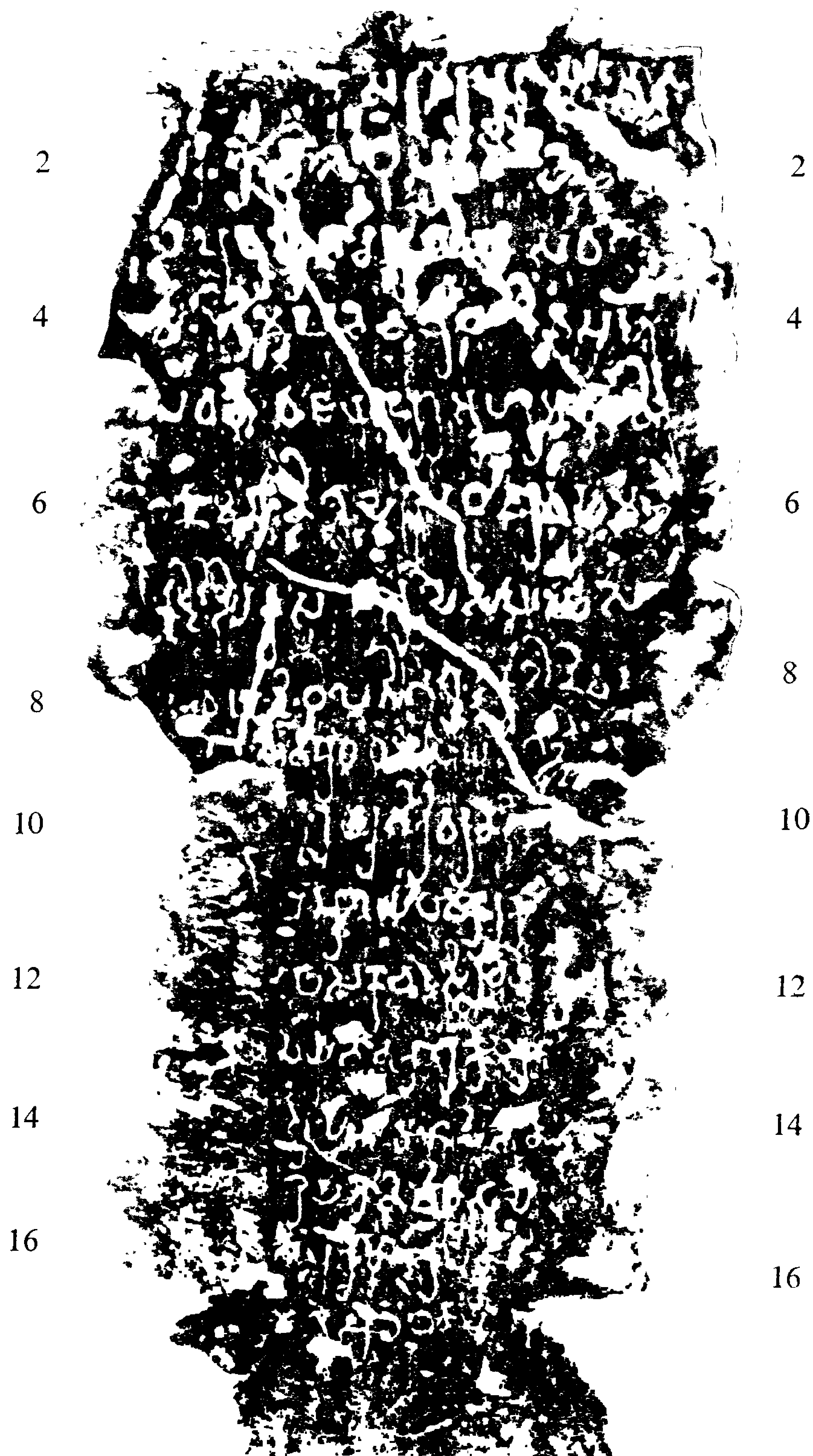
[6] The lost *aksharas* are *aṭha*°, as suggested by B.

[7] The lost *aksharas* are °*darasa Siri*° as suggested by B.

[8] The lost *aksharas* are °*seli*° as suggested by B.

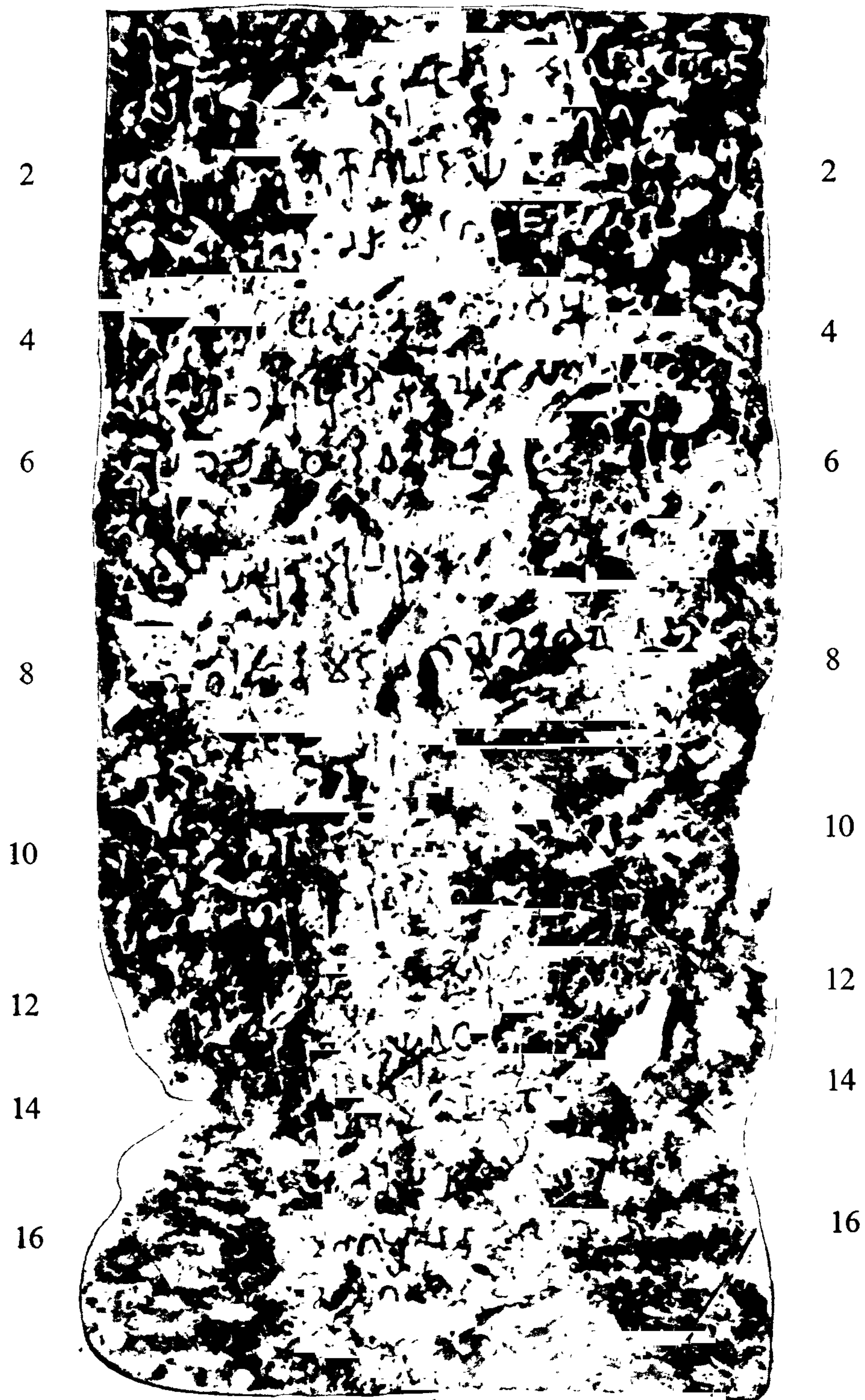
2. Two Inscriptions of the time of Ehuvula Chantamula. Year 8

A



(from Photograph)

B



(from Photograph)

6 yānā mahā-nigāye Sethivara-vaḍham[āne].................

7 ......[1]sikasa Ariya-saṁgha[sa] se ... ..[2]

8 [ḍa]va paḍithapeti bhara[3]-[sa]laṁ niva[na] ......[4]

9 v[e]ti Budha-Dhaṁma-Saṁgha-[ma]gala...

10 ...[5]vara-gīrivara-ne[gama]...

11 ...[6]bahu-[de]yadhama-kāraka

12 [u]phā(pā)sako Cha[da]sirī cha [Nā]...

13 ...[7]piya-bhātuk[o] raño ā[yu] ......[8]

14 ...apana mātā-pituno......[9]

15 ... [10]riyake nimitta sālā ....

16 ... purat[o] [kā]rāpitā ....

17 ... [mane] sukh-athanāya ....

B[11]

1 Sidha | mahārājasa asamedha-yāji-

2 sa a[ne]ka-hiraṇa-ko[t]i-padāyisa siri-**Chaṁ[ta]mu-**

3 **lasa** p[u]tasa mahārājasa siri-**[Vi]ra[pu]-**

4 **risadattasa** putasa raño Vāseṭhī-put**asa Ikhā-**

5 [**ku**]**na** siri-[**E**]**havu[la]**[12]**-Chantamūlasa sava[chha]ra aṭhama gi-**

6 **mha-pakha chavuthā divasa padarasa Siripavate**

7 **Vijayapure** Aparamahāvinas[e]liyānaṁ ma[ha]-

8 [vina]seliyānaṁ[13] mahā-nigāye Seṭhivara-vaḍhamāne

9 .... kasa Ariya-saghasa sela-[maḍava]-

[1] The damaged *aksharas* at the beginning of the line look like *Udini*°.

[2] The lost *aksharas* are °*la-ma*°.

[3] The intended reading seems to be *bhadāra*° or *bhaṁḍāra*°.

[4] The lost *aksharas* are °*ya nitha*°.

[5] The word lost at the end of line 9 and at the beginning of line 10 is *nagara* as suggested by B.

[6] The word lost at the end of line 10 and the beginning of line 11 is *vara* as suggested by B.

[7] The *aksharas* lost at the end of line 12 and the beginning of line 13 are °*yasiri* as suggested by B.

[8] The word lost here is *vaḍhanike* as suggested by B.

[9] The word *pūjā* (probably *pūjāye*, 'for honouring') occurs here in B.

[10] B suggests that the *akshara* lost here is *bha*.

[11] This is *A. R. Ep.*, 1958 59, No. B 84.

[12] The letter is written slightly above the line.

[13] The *aksharas* *ma[ha]vinaseliyānaṁ* are redundant.

10 [vathavana] therana sālā nivaṇaya [na]ṭha[.]ti[1] [Budha]-Dhama...

11 ...[2]magala-nagaravara-girivara-naigama[vara]-bahu-deya...

12 ... karako[3] upāsako Chadasirī cha Nāgasiri ...

13 ... ko[4] raño āyu-vadhanika kata ...

14 ... a[pano] mātā-pituno pūjā ...

15 ... [na]puta bhariyako ni[mi]tta sa ......

16 ...... ma-bhāgaṁ[5] puraṁ dātā apa ......

17 ...... neva ...... gama[ne] sukh-athanaya ......

3. Inscription of the time of Ehuvula Chāntamūla, Year 13

This inscription is engraved on a pillar found in an area to the north of the sixteen-pillared *Maṇḍapa* in Section IV of Site No. 61. There are 7 lines of writing covering an area about 7½ inches in height and 10½ inches in breadth. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory in the upper three lines of the inscription.

The **characters** are the same as in many other epigraphs of the place, which can be assigned to dates about the third or fourth century A.D. The **language** of the inscription is Prakrit. It is **dated** the **seventh day** of the **fifth fortnight** of the **summer season** in the **thirteenth regnal year** of the Ikshvāku king Vāsishṭhīputra **Ehuvula Chāntamūla** who flourished about the close of the third and the early part of the fourth century A.D.

The **object** of the inscription is to record that the pillar on which it is engraved was the *chhaya-thaṁbha* (*chhāyā-stambha*, i.e. a memorial pillar bearing the representation of the deceased person in whose memory it was raised) of *Mahāsenāpati Kumāra* Elī Ehavūladāsaṁnaka. In this name, *aṁnaka* is a suffix and no part of the actual name while *Ehavūla* is the same as *Ehuvula* and its variants. Elī Ehuvuladāsa is stated to have been the son of Mahavalabhīkā Yakhīlnikā who was a *mahishī* (i.e. queen) of the Ikshvāku king Māṭharī-putra Vīrapurushadatta. We know that king Vīrapurushadatta was the father and predecessor of Ehuvula Chāntamūla probably born of Vāsishṭhī Bhaṭidevā, another queen of Vīrapurushadatta.[6] Elī Ehuvuladāsa thus seems to have been a step-brother of king Ehuvula Chāntamūla, during the thirteenth year of whose reign the memorial pillar bearing the inscription under study was raised.

Prince (*Kumāra*) Elī Ehuvuladāsa was a *Mahāsenāpati* (literally, 'the great commander of the forces') no doubt in the service of his step-brother, king Ehuvula Chāntamūla. Opposite Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, there is a locality called Eleśvaram on the other bank of the Krishna in the Nalgonda District of Andhra Pradesh. This place has yielded antiquities of the Ikshvāku age and also of earlier and subsequent periods.[7] The name of the locality is apparently that of a god called

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[1] The intended word seems to be *niṭhaveti*, 'completes'.

[2] The word lost at the end of line 10 and the beginning of line 11 is *Sagha* (*Saṅgha*) as suggested by A.

[3] The word lost between *deya* and *karako* is *dhaṁma* as suggested by A.

[4] The expression partially lost at the end of line 12 and the beginning of line 13 is *piya-bhātuko* as suggested by A.

[5] It is difficult to say whether the intended expression is *pathama-bhāgaṁ*.

[6] Above, Vol. XX, pp. 23-24, Inscription No. G, text line 7.

[7] Cf. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1957-58, pp. 9-10 ; 1958-59, p. 11.

Eleśvara probably installed by a person named Elī. Whether the name of Eleśvaram can thus be associated with Prince Elī Ehuvuladāsa of the Ikshvāku family, known from the inscription under study, cannot of course be determined without further evidence. The word *elī*, probably connected with Telugu *elika* (from *elu*, 'to govern') meaning 'a ruler, king, master', is also found in the name of Talavara Elīśrī mentioned in a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription[1] of the eleventh regnal year of Ehavalaśrī (i.e. Ehuvula Chāntamūla).

The name of Elī Ehuvuladāsa's mother, who was one of the queens of Vīrapurushadatta, is given in the inscription as Mahavalabhīkā Yakhīlinikā. In this, *nikā* (i.e. *aṁnikā*) is a suffix added to the personal name Yakhīli.[2] Mahavalabhīkā seems to be an epithet derived from the name of the place whence the queen hailed. Unfortunately, we do not know any place called Mahāvalabhī although the name no doubt reminds us of Valabhī in Kathiawar, which was the capital of the Maitraka kings from the sixth century A.D.

TEXT[3]

1 Sidham | sāmisa rā[ño] Vāse[ṭhipu]tasa **Ikhākusa**

2 siri-**Ehavula-[Cha]tamūlasa savachhara** ta(te)rasa[ma]

3 **gīm[h]aṇaṁ pakha paṁchama 5 divasa satama** 7 ra[ño]

4 [Mā]ḍhari-pūtasa Ikhākuṇa[ṁ] sa(si)ri-**Virapūrusadatasa**

5 mahisija(ya) Mahavalabhīkāya[4] Yakhīlinikāya pu-

6 tasa mahāsenapatisa kum[ā]rasa Elī-Ehav[ū]-

7 ladāsaṁnakasa chhaya-tha[ṁ]bh[o] thāpito ||[5]

4. Inscription of the time of Ehuvula Chāntamūla, Year 24

The inscription under study was briefly noticed in the *Indian Archaeology 1956-57—A Review*, p. 36, and the sculptured stone bearing it was also illustrated there in Plate LVII, A. The inscribed slab has been described as 'a sculptured frieze in a Buddha-chaitya' and the inscription is stated to record 'the installation of a Buddha image in the Chaitya by one Kumāranandin, a *śreshṭhin* (tradesman)'. There is, however, no mention of a Chaitya in the epigraph.

The frieze, 8 feet 6 inches in length, bears the representation of four principal incidents of the Buddha's life in medallions in deep relief along with *mithuna* figures at five places in bas-relief so arranged that a figure of the Buddha is flanked by the *mithuna* in each case. The inscription is engraved in a single line in the lower part of the frieze, the letters being small (a little below ½ inch in height) and the line of writing nearly 8 feet in length. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory in some parts. A number of letters are broken here and there while recent marks on the inscription show that the writing was further damaged during the process of digging out the slab from the earth.

The **characters** of the inscription are the same as in the other records edited above. Its **language** is Sanskrit, though the orthography is somewhat influenced by Prakrit. The record

[1] Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 147 ff.
[2] Cf. the male name Yakhila in a Barhut inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 237, No. 126).
[3] From impressions. This is *A. R. Ep.*, 1958-59, No. B 79.
[4] Probably we should not take it as *mahisi-Jamaha*°.
[5] The punctuation is indicated by a curved stroke preceded by a *visarga*-like sign.

refers itself to the reign of the Ikshvāku king **Ehuvula Chāntamūla** and is **dated** the **fifth day** of the **fourth fortnight** of the **rainy season** (probably Bhādrapada-sudi 5) in the king's **twentyfourth regnal year.** Year 24 is the **latest known date of Ehuvula Chāntamūla's reign.**

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the word *siddham*. This is rather unusual especially in an early inscription.[1] The symbol and word are followed by the date referred to above. The **object** of the inscription is then recorded in a single sentence. It is stated that the stone image (*śailamayī pratimā*) of the *Bhagavat* Buddha, i.e. the frieze bearing Lord Buddha's representations and the inscription under study, was installed by Kumāranandin at the Mahādevī-parivena at **Vijayapurī** on the **Śrīparvata.** We know that Vijayapurī **was the name** of the Ikshvāku capital situated in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley while the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa hills form a part of the ancient Śrīparvata, i.e. the modern Nallamalai range. The word *pariveṇa* means 'the cell or hut forming a monk's private chamber in a Buddhist monastery'. The name Mahādevī-pariveṇa suggests that the inscribed frieze was fixed in the residence of a Buddhist monk in a local monastery and that the hut in question had been built by an Ikshvāku queen. The queen referred to may have been one of the wives of king Ehuvula Chāntamūla.

Besides the epithet *Bhagavat*, the Buddha has been endowed with three other epithets, viz. *Samyak-sambuddha* (one who is perfectly enlightened), *Sarva-sattv-ottama* (one who is the best among all beings) and *sarva-guṇa-pāramī-prāpta* (one who has attained perfection in all the virtues). The word *pāramī* and *pāramitā* are used in Pali in the same sense.

Kumāranandin is described as a *śreshṭhin* (i.e. a banker) from the **Syandaka-parvata** apparently meaning a locality at the foot of the hill called Syandaka. Unfortunately no such hill is known to us. The *śreshṭhin* is stated to have performed the meritorious deed along with his wife the *śreshṭhinī*, his son named Īśvarabhartṛi or °bhaṭṭi, as well as his other kinsmen and relatives (*svajana-sambandhi-varga*). The purpose was the attainment of welfare and happiness for his own-self and for all the beings. Kumāranandin is further described as the son of Īśvaradatta belonging to a sect, probably called Baraṇakīya, which belonged to a *kula* (clan), possibly called Irusaka.

An interesting feature of this Buddhist inscription is that it ends in a stanza of the nature of the benedictory verses generally found at the end of copper-plate grants. It expresses the wish in the Mahāyāna style that the world might attain Nirvāṇa as a result of whatever merit was achieved as a consequence of Kumāranandin's donation of the *deya-dharma*, i.e., the gift of the slab bearing the representations of the Buddha, which had no doubt been installed for worship.

Of the **geographical names** in the record, mention has already been made of Vijayapurī, Śrīparvata and Syandaka-parvata. The epithet looking like *Baraṇakīya* applied to the name of Īśvaradatta, father of Kumāranandin, also seems to contain a geographical name like Baraṇaka, although its identification is uncertain.

TEXT[2]

Siddhaṁ[3] siddham [ ] mahārājasya **Ikshvākūnāṁ(ṇāṁ)** śrī[4]-**Ehavala-Chantamūlasya samva(saṁva)tsaraṁ chaturvvīśaṁ varsha-pakshaṁ chatu**[**rttha**]**ṁ divasaṁ pañchamaṁ**[5] **Śrī[parvvate] [Vijaya]pū(pu)ryyāṁ** Ma[hā]devī-[pa]rive[ṇ]e Iru[sakā(?)]nāṁ

[1] For a similar feature, see, e.g., above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 191, text line 1.

[2] From impressions.

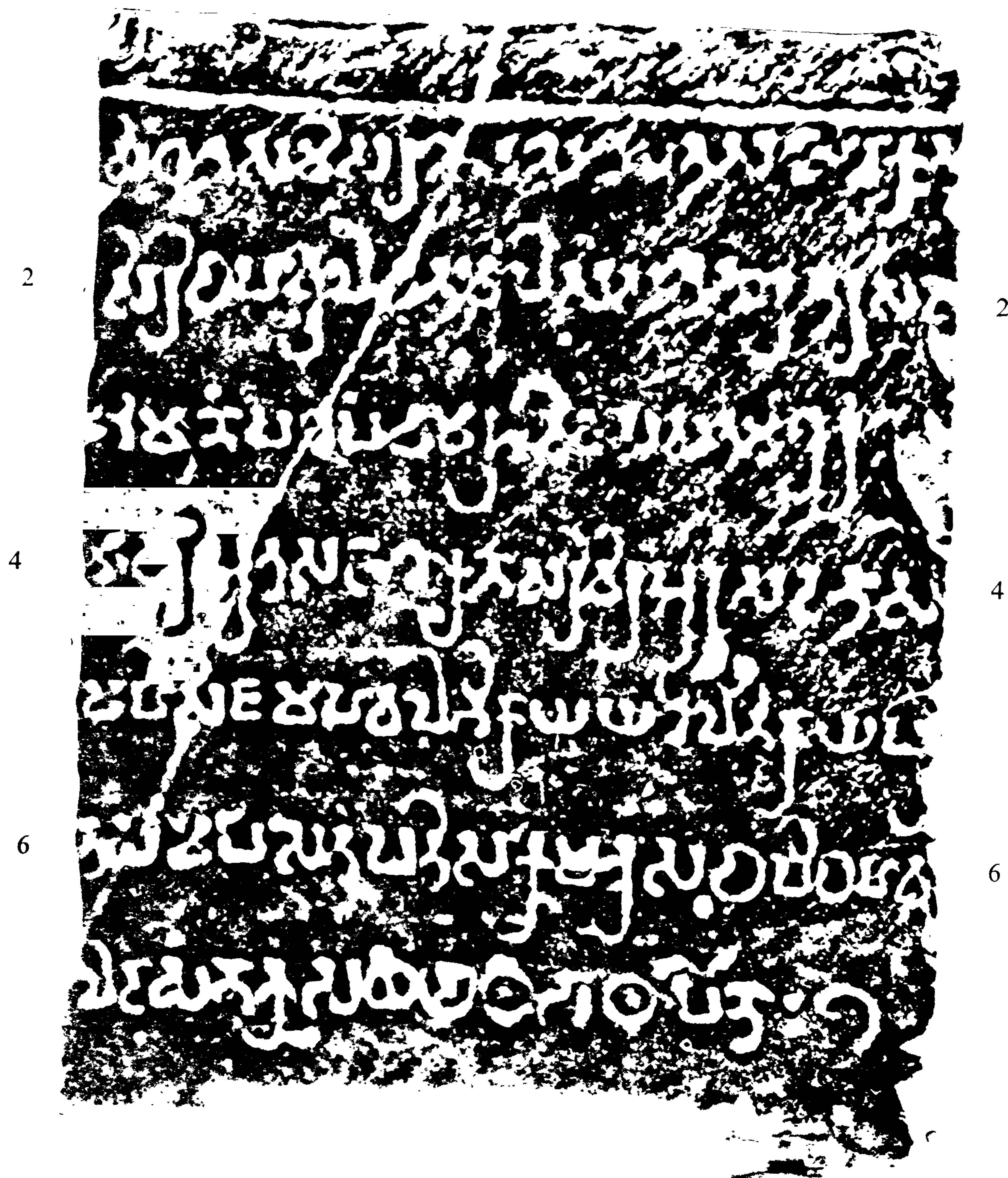
[3] Expressed by symbol. Note that the word *siddham* follows the symbol indicating the same word apparently due to the inadvertence of the scribe.

[4] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[5] Read *saṁvatsare chaturvviṁśe varshā-pakshe chaturthe divase pañchame.*

MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE III

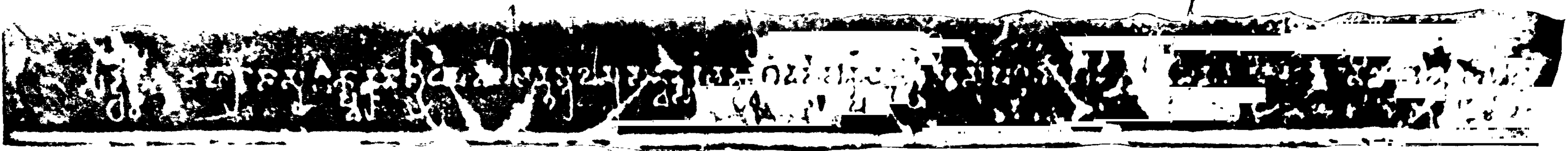
3. Inscription of the time of Ehuvula Chantamula, Year 13



(from Photograph)

4. Inscription of the time of Ehuvula Chantamula, Year 24

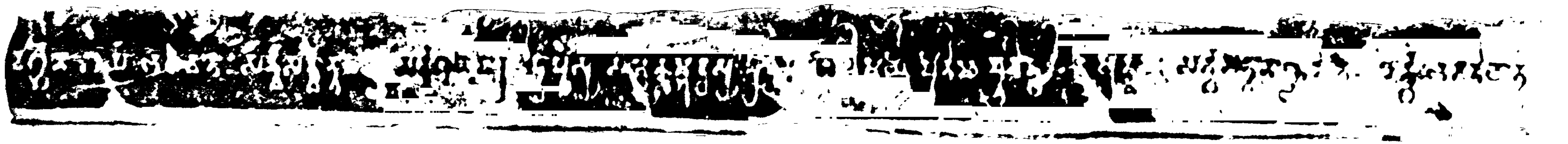
Section I



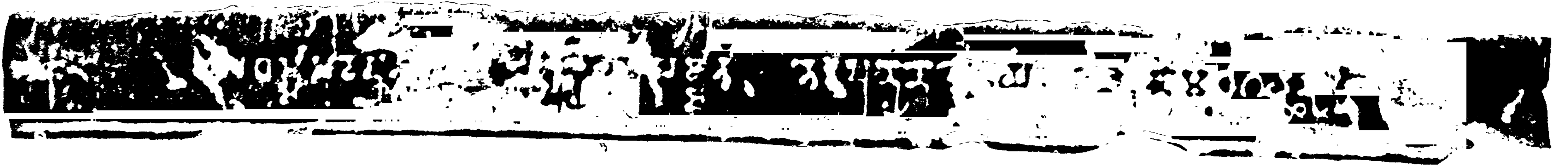
Section II



Section III



Section IV



(from Photograph)

[kula]prasū[tasya] Ba[raṇa]kīyānāṁ(nāṁ) I(Ī)[śvarada]ttasya putreṇa **Syandaka-parvvata-śreshṭhinā** Ku[mā]ranandinā saha bhāryyāya śreshṭhinīya[1] putreṇa cha Īśvarabharttinā[2] śesheṇa **cha svajana-sambandhi-** varggeṇa iyaṁ bha[ga]vato(taḥ) sartva(rvva)-satv[o](ttv-o)tta[masya] **sarvva-guṇa-pārami(mī)** prāptasya samyak-sambuddhasya Buddha[s]ya śailamayī pratimā **pratishṭhāpitā** ātmanaḥ sarvva-satvā(ttvā)nāñ=cha hita-[su]kh-ārttham(rtthaṁ) bhavati ch=ātra **ślokā(kaḥ)** |[3] [Deya]-dharmmam idaṁ kṛitvā yat=puṇyaṁ samupārjjitaṁ(tam) |[4] te[na] **puṇyeṇa(na)** loko=yaṁ nir[vv]āṇam=adhigachchhatu ||[5]

5. Another Inscription of the time of Ehuvula Chāntamūla

This inscription is engraved on a memorial pillar said to be found near a *Maṇḍapa* about 100 **yards** north-east of the Antiquity Section'. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. **The** inscription in four lines is written in the usual Ikshvāku **alphabet** and in the Prakrit **language.** It is **dated** in the reign of the Ikshvāku king **Ehuvula Chāntamūla**, though the symbol or symbols indicating the regnal year cannot be read. The exact date is quoted as the **tenth day** of a certain fortnight of the **winter season** (*hemanta*).

The inscription indicates that the pillar on which it is engraved was the *chhāyā-stambha* of **Koḍaraka** who is described as *araka-bhadaraka* (Sanskrit *āryaka-bhaṭṭāraka*) and *yati-samaṇa-khaṁdhikata* (Sanskrit *yati-śramaṇa-skandhīkṛita*). The first of these epithets may suggest that **Koḍaraka was a** religious personage, probably the head of a monastery. The other epithet, in **which** ***skandhīkṛita*** literally means 'borne on the shoulder', seems to mean that he was highly **respected by the** *yatis* (Brahmanical ascetics) and *śramaṇas* (Buddhist monks).

TEXT[6]

1 .... **aka**[7]-siri-**Ehavala-Chaṁtamulasa [sa]** ......[8]

2 .... **hema** ....**diva 10** araka-bhaḍarakasa ......

3 **yati-samaṇa**-khaṁdhikatasa Koḍa[rakasa]

4 **[chhāya-khaṁbho ||]**

6. Inscriptions on Memorial Pillars

A

This inscription is engraved on a pillar discovered outside the eastern gate of the citadel in Site No. 36. There are five lines of writing covering an area about 14 inches in height and 14½ inches in breadth.

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[1] Read *bhāryyayā śreshṭhinyā.*

[2] Read *Īśvarabhartrā* or °*bhaṭṭinā.*

[3] The punctuation is indicated by a slanting curve.

[4] This punctuation is also indicated by a slanting stroke.

[5] The punctuation is indicated by two slanting strokes, the tops of which are joined by a curved line. The metre of the stanza is *Anushṭubh.*

[6] From impressions.

[7] The intended word may be *araka* (Sanskrit *āryaka*). Even if this is accepted, we can scarcely connect this epithet with the name of the Aira family (cf. above, Vol. XXXII, p. 85, note 3).

[8] Apparently there was here something like *saca* followed by numerical symbols indicating the year of the date when the inscription was engraved.

The **characters** are similar to those in the other records edited here ; but their size is bigger, individual letters, excluding the conjuncts and those endowed with vowel-marks, etc., being nearly 1½ inches in height. The elongation of the letters is less prominent in this record than in others. The initial vowel *o* and the consonant *ḷ* occur in the epigraph. No king is mentioned and there is **no date.** The **language** of the record is Prakrit.

The inscription begins with the word *sidhaṁ* (*siddham*) and records that the pillar on which it is engraved was the *chhāya-thabha* (*chhāyā-stambha*) of Chantapuḷa of the Kuḷahaka family. It is not impossible that *Chantapuḷa* is just a variant of the name Chāntamūla, while the Kuḷahakas are certainly the same as the Kulahakas mentioned in some of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions.[1]

Chantapuḷa, in whose memory the pillar bearing the inscription was raised, is called a *Mahāsenāpati,* though which king he served in the capacity of a commander of the forces is not known. Three other epithets are also applied to his name, of which *amita-janasa dapa-damana* (Sanskrit *amitra-janasya darpa-damana*), 'the subduer of the arrogance of the enemyfolk', is easy to understand. The other two are *khaṁdhāvārāna okhaṁdhaka* and *olabaku-hathi-gāhaka* which are both difficult to explain. In Sanskrit, the first of these two epithets may stand as *skandhāvārāṇām=avaskandaka* meaning 'one who attacked or subdued the camps [of the enemies' forces].' The expression *hathi-gāhaka* (*hasti-grāhaka*) means 'one who seizes the elephants [of the enemies] or catches elephants [from the forests]', while we may also have here *ku-hathi* (a wicked elephant) instead of *hathi.* The expression *olabakuhathi-gāhaka* may thus mean 'one who seized the elephants of an enemy named Olabaku', or 'one who used to catch elephants in the forest called Olabaku', or 'one who captured an elephant named Olabaku' or 'one who captured a wicked elephant at or belonging to or in the shape of Olaba'.

TEXT[2]

1 Sidhaṁ [|*] khaṁdhāvārāna okhaṁdhakasa amita-

2 janasa dapa-damanasa Olabaku-

3 hathi-gāhakasa mahāsenā-

4 patisa Kuḷahakānaṁ siri-Chaṁta-

5 puḷasa chhāya-thabho [|]

B

Several memorial pillars bearing small inscriptions in a few lines were discovered at **Site No. 113.** They are referred to in the records as *chhāyā-stambhas* which are stated to have been raised each in the memory of a group of soldiers. The soldiers are described as *padita* (=*pātita*) apparently meaning 'killed [in a battle]'. But their numbers are not indicated in any of the cases. **The characters** of the records are similar to the other inscriptions edited above and their **language** is Prakrit.

These inscriptions show that sometimes a single memorial pillar was raised for a number of dead persons.[3] Although the word *chhāyā-stambha* suggests that the pillar bore the figures of the soldiers in whose memory it was raised it is doubtful whether it was possible to represent

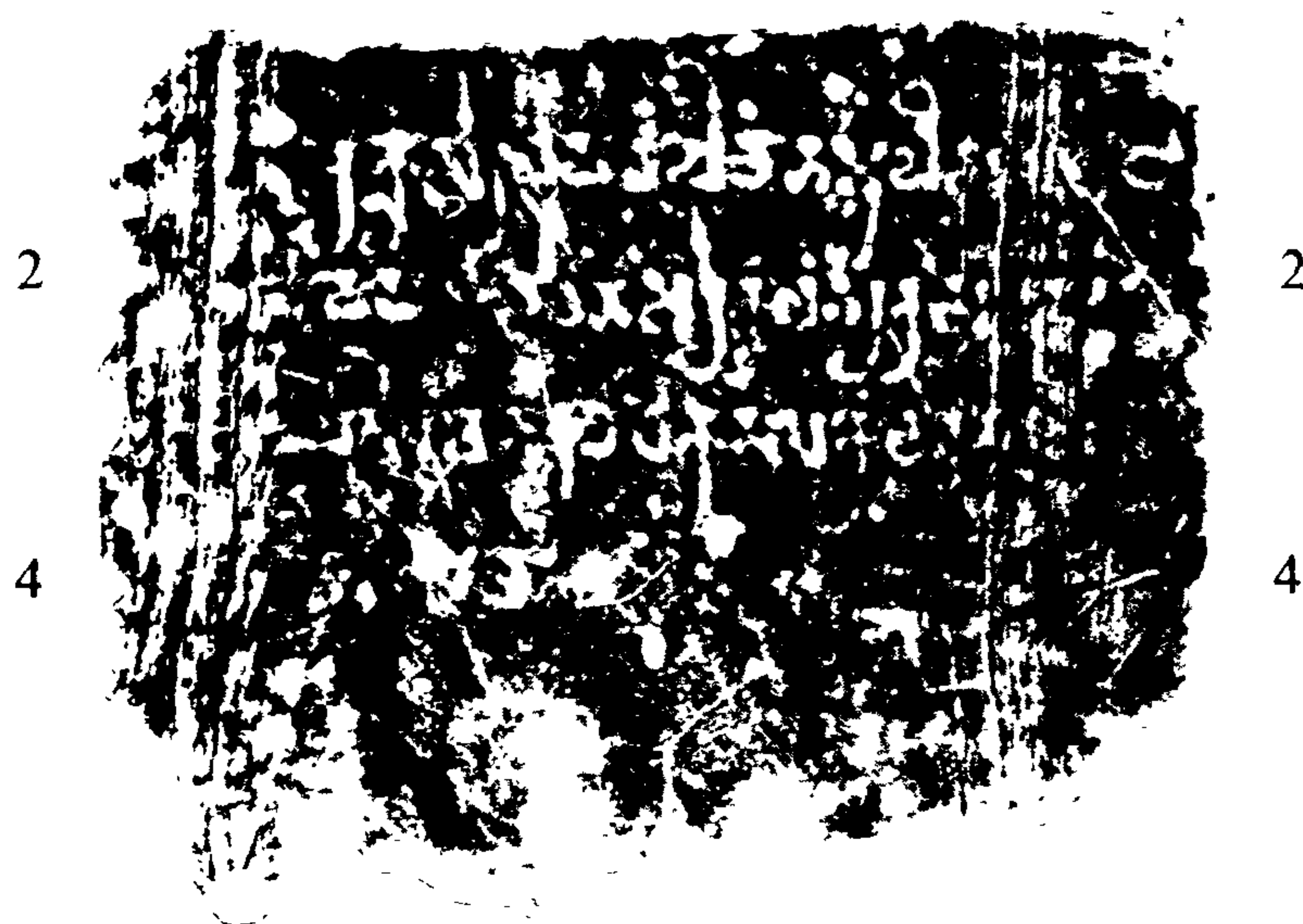
[1] Above, Vol. XX, p. 18 (Inscription No. B 4, line 3), p. 22 (Inscription No. F., line 3).

[2] From impressions.

[3] See above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 209.

MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE IV

5. Another Inscription of the time of Ehuvula Chantamula



Size : One-fourth

6. Inscriptions on Memorial Pillars

A



Size : One-fourth

B, I

2  2

B, II

2  2

B, III

2  2

Size : One-fourth

all the dead soldiers when their number was high. The inscriptions also suggest that a great battle was fought probably by the partisans of an Ikshvāku king against some enemies. Unfortunately, no king or date is mentioned in any of these records and little can be definitely said about the battle indirectly referred to. Whether the battle was fought at the site where the inscriptions have been found is uncertain. But it is interesting to note that the leaders of the soldiers, as mentioned in the different epigraphs, all hailed from a single locality called **Magalaraṇa** (probably Maṅgalāraṇya).[1] The location of this place is uncertain ; but its importance is indicated by the fact that there were many leaders of forces stationed therein.

I

This is an inscription in three lines. The preservation of the writing is fairly satisfactory, though a few letters are damaged at the end of the second line.

The record states that the pillar on which it is engraved was the *chhāyā-stambha* of the dead soldiers who had enjoyed the favour of *Raṭhika* Bhata (probably Sanskrit Bhakta) who was an inhabitant of Magalaraṇa. The word *raṭhika* stands for Sanskrit *rāshṭrika* meaning 'the governor of a *rāshṭra* (i.e. a small territorial unit of a kingdom)'. The *Rāshṭrika* mentioned in our record was apparently the subordinate of an Ikshvāku king.

TEXT[2]

1 **Maga[la]raṇa**-vathavasa

2 raṭhikasa Bhatasa pā[sa] ......[3]

3 bhaḍaṇa[ṁ] padita[na]ṁ chhāyā-tha[bho] [||*]

II

This is also an inscription in three lines. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. The language is similar to that of No. I above. But the leader of the dead soldiers in this case is called a *Senāpati*. The first letter of the name of this *Senāpati* is doubtful. But the name was possibly Raṭapuṭa.

TEXT[4]

1 **Magalaraṇa**-va[tha]va[sa] se[nā]pat[isa]

2 [Ra?]ṭapuṭasa pata[tanaṁ] bhaḍanaṁ pasa ......[5]

3 .... [6][yā]-khaṁ[bho] [||*]

III

This is an inscription in three lines like Nos. I-II. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory. The leader of the forces mentioned in this record is called Karadaru-kumāra, 'Prince Karadaru', who was a *Senāpati* hailing from Magalaraṇa. It is, however, difficult to determine whether he was an Ikshvāku prince stationed at Magalaraṇa.

[1] See above Vol. XXXIV, p. 209.

[2] From impressions. It is *A. R. Ep.*, 1956-57, No B 34.

[3] The intended word seems to be *pasāditānam* (Sanskrit *prasāditānām*).

[4] From impressions.

[5] The intended word seems to be *pasāditānam* as in No. I above, though in the other records this word comes before *bhadanam*.

[6] The lost *akshara* is apparently *chhā*.

TEXT[1]

1 **[Mava(ga)la]raṇa**-vathava[sa se]nāpati-

2 [sa] Karadaru-kumārasa [pasa] ....[2] bha[ḍa]naṁ

3 paḍitana[ṁ] chhaya-khaṁbho [||*]

IV

It is a record in four lines. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory. The leader of the soldiers in this case was a *Raṭhika* (*Rāshṭrika*, 'governor of a *rāshṭra*') whose name was probably Haraka.

TEXT[3]

1 **Magalaraṇa**-vathavasa raṭhikasa

2 [Harakasa pasaḍatana paṭata]-

3 na[ṁ] ma(bha)ḍa ......

4 chha[ya]-kha[bha] [||*]

C

I

This inscription is engraved on a pillar discovered at Site No. 59. It is stated in it that the pillar in question was the *chhāyā-stambha* of a person named Mūlabhūta (or °bhūti) who was an *āvesanika* hailing from Pavayāta. The word *āvesani* (=*āvesanika*) meaning 'the foreman of artisans' occurs in early epigraphs such as the Sāñchi inscription of the Śātavāhana monarch Śātakarṇi and the Jaggayyapeṭa inscriptions of the Ikshvāku king Vīrapurushadatta.[4] Mūlabhūta seems to have been an *āvesanika* in the service of the Ikshvāku kings. It is difficult to explain the epithet *tamaṇiyakara* applied to Mūlabhūta in the inscription. It may be the name of the family to which the person belonged. Otherwise we have to take it as another personal name and insert the word *cha* to indicate that the pillar was raised for both Tamaniyakara and Mūlabhūta.

TEXT[5]

1 Pa[va]yātakasa

2 āvesanikasa

3 Tamaṇiyakarasa

4 M[ū]labhutasa

5 chhāya-tha[bha] [||*]

II

This inscription is engraved on a memorial pillar bearing sculptured panels, which was found in Site No. 60 in Sector IV. According to the inscription, written in three lines, the pillar was the

[1] From impressions.

[2] The intended word appears to be *pasādita*° or *pasāditānam* as in Nos. I-II above.

[3] From impressions. It is *A. R. Ep.*, 1956-57, No. B 33.

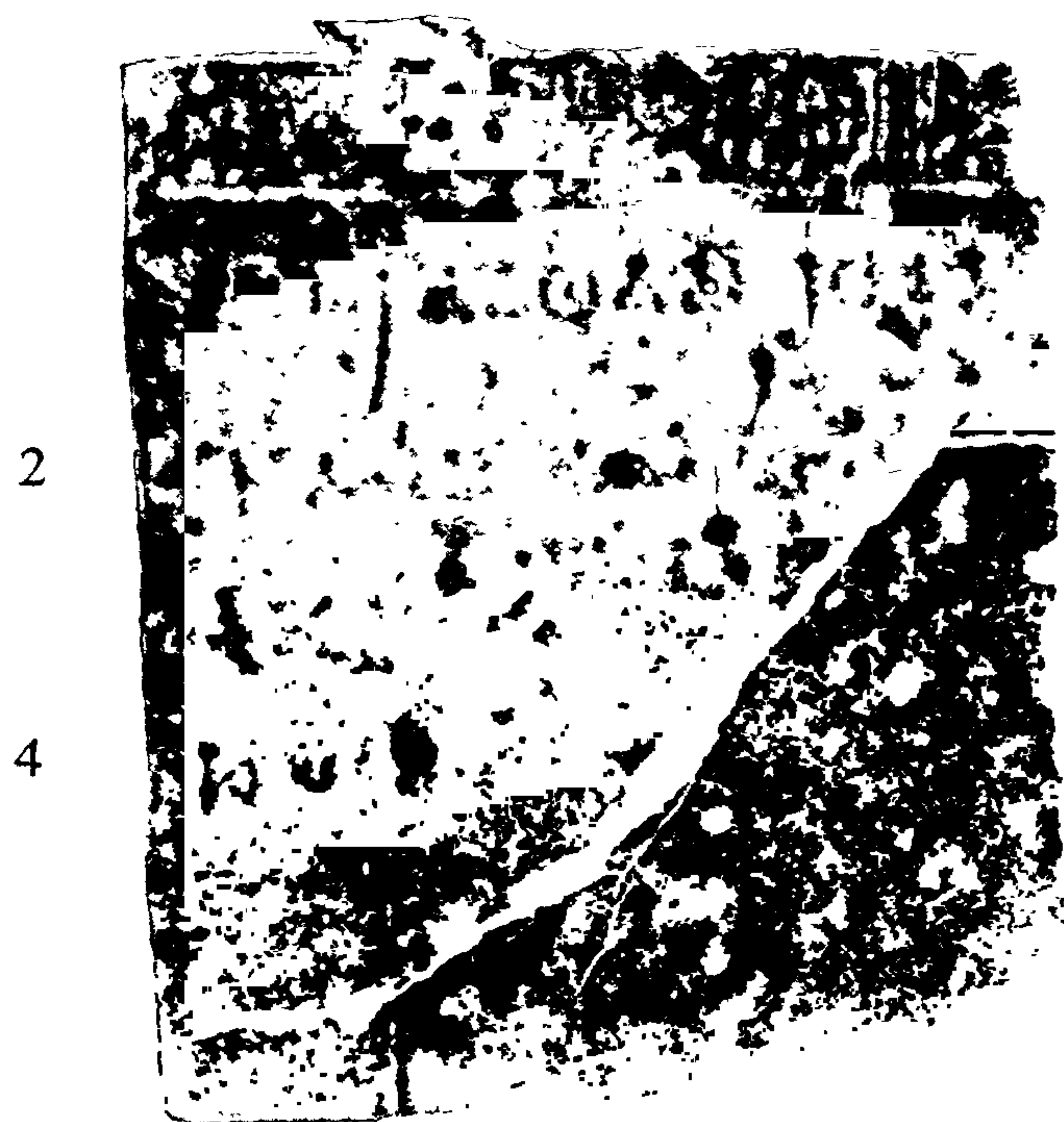
[4] See Lüders' List, Nos. 346, 1202-04.

[5] From impressions. It is *A.R. Ep.*, 1958-59, No. B 82.

MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE V

6. Inscriptions on Memorial Pillars

B, IV



Size : One-fourth

C, I



Size : One-fourth

6. Inscriptions on Memorial Pillars

C, II



Size : One-third

7. Fragmentary Inscriptions

A



Size : One-fourth

chhāyā-stambha of *Mahāsenāpati Mahātalavara* Ayabhuti (Āryabhūti). An epithet of this person seems to read *Araka-Mahakoḍuvaka*, in which *araka* may stand for Sanskrit *āryaka*. But the meaning of *Koḍuvaka* is uncertain though *Koḍuva*, to which the word *mahat* (big) has been prefixed, may be the name of a place whence Āryabhūti hailed.

TEXT[1]

1 ..[2] mahāse[nāpa]tisa mahātala ......[3]

2 [Araka[4]-Ma]ha-Koḍuvakasa Aya[bhuti]sa

3 chhaya-khabho |

7. Fragmentary Inscriptions

A

This inscription is engraved on a broken pillar excavated from a site of what is called a University by the excavators though the reason for the nomenclature is unknown. The extant portion represents the lower right hand section of the record. There are altogether five lines of writing in the inscription, the left half of all of them being almost totally lost. Each line originally contained 24 or more *aksharas*, about 12 in a line being now found in the well-preserved section of the epigraph. As we shall see below, there is reason to believe that the whole inscription was originally written in twenty lines, of which only the right hand part of the last quarter at the bottom now remains. The inscribed area on the slab is 9 inches in height while the breadth of the space covered by the well-preserved section of the writing is 7½ inches.

The **characters** of the record are similar to the other inscriptions edited above. The **language** is Sanskrit and the epigraph seems to have been written entirely in verse. The extant portion of the inscription contains parts of three stanzas of which the first is composed in *Pañcha-chāmara* or *Tūṇaka* and the second and third are in the *Vaṁśastha* metre. It is interesting to note that these three stanzas are numbered in the record as verses 8, 9 and 10. This fact shows that the inscription was originally composed in ten stanzas, with half of a verse engraved in each of the lines of writing. This kind of arrangement of the words of verses as well as the numbering of the stanzas is found in some early inscriptions.[5] The extant part of our epigraph **does not contain any date.** It may, however, be pointed out that Sanskrit inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, which are generally Brahmanical, belong to the post-Vīrapurushadatta age. The present inscription in Sanskrit is a **Buddhist record.**

The **purport** of the inscription is not satisfactorily clear from the fragment at our disposal. The last quarter of verse 8 in line 1 mentions the principal cooks engaged in some establishment, while the second quarter of verse 9 in line 2 refers to a *maṇḍapa* having a hundred (or more than a hundred) pillars and belonging to the same establishment. The nature of the *maṇḍapa* is unknown. But if the cooks mentioned earlier were associated with it, as they appear to have been, the reference may really be to a *sattra* or free feeding establishment. The last quarter of the stanza in line 3 refers to a person as firm-minded (*dhṛit-ātman*) and self-subdued (*jit-ātman*) probably as one who maintained the *maṇḍapa* attached to the religious establishment in question.

[1] From impressions. It is *A. R. Ep.*, 1958-59, No. B 83.

[2] The damaged word here may be *sidhaṁ*.

[3] The lost *aksharas* are no doubt °*varasa*.

[4] Better read *Arakasa* separately from the compound.

[5] Cf. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 6, Plate I.

The second quarter in verse 10 in line 4 speaks of a monastery (*vihāra-mukhya*, literally, 'the chief monastery') either as the same as, or as containing in it, what has been called a *vigata-jvarālaya*. In the said expression, *vigatajvara* (literally, 'freed from mental distress', or 'exempt from decay') seems to indicate a Buddhist monk or the Buddha regarded as the best of monks. Thus the expression *vigatajvar-ālaya* in the sense of 'a residence of the Buddhist monks' may be regarded as an adjective qualifying *vihāra-mukhya*, i.e. the monastery mentioned in the context, or the reference may be to a shrine (*ālaya*) of the Buddha that existed within the monastery in question. Some writers on Nāgārjunikoṇḍa are inclined to understand *vigatajvar-ālaya* in the sense of 'a hospital.'[1] Of course, *vigata-jvara* may also mean 'a person recovered from fever'. But *vigata-jvar-ālaya* would then mean a sanitorium for the convalescence of such persons. It is difficult to believe in the existence of a sanitorium for housing only people recovered from fever even though there is enough evidence to prove the existence of hospitals called *śālā*, *ātura-śālā*, *puṇya-śālā* or *ārogya-śālā*.[2]

The last quarter of the said stanza (verse 10) says that a *vihāra-bāhā*, 'a wing of the monastery', was made in the monastic establishment mentioned in its second quarter. It seems to refer either to the *maṇḍapa* mentioned in line 2 or to some institution associated with the *maṇḍapa*. As already indicated above, from the reference to the cooks in line 1, the wing of the *vihāra* mentioned here may be supposed to have been a free feeding establishment. The person who made it is described as *vipul-ārtha-kāṅkshiṇ* the expression being probably used in the sense of Pali *atthakāma* (Sanskrit *artha-kāma*), i.e. 'one who is interested in the welfare of others'. It is also possible to take the expression *vipul-ārtha* in the passage in the sense of 'salvation'.

TEXT[3]

1 ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ mukkhya-pāchakā [Uka]-hvay[e][4] [||*] [8]

2 ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — [sa ma]ṇḍapa stamba(mbha)-[śat]-ādhik-ojva(jjva)la[ḥ] [|*]

3 ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — [ji]t-ātman=ānena dhṛi[t]o dhṛit-ātmanā [||*] 9[5]

4 ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ [śo]bhane vihāra-mukkhye vigatajvar-ālaye [|*]

5 ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑⏑ — [niveśitā] vihāra-bāhā vipul-ārttha-kāṅkshiṇā [||*] 10

B

Out of the numerous fragments of small inscriptions, some may be noticed here. The **characters** of these are the same as in the other inscriptions edited here. The **language** of the records is Prakrit. The word *vijaya* is written in one of the epigraphs (No. II) as *vichaya*

[1] Cf. P. R. Ramachandra Rao, *The Art of Nagarjunikonda*, p. 25; R. Subrahmanyam in *Nagarjunikonda Souvenir*, p. 59.

[2] See P. K. Gode in *N. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 4-6, April-June 1946, pp. 76-79; cf. *śālai* and *ātula-śālai* in Tamil records (above Vol. XXIV, p. 94 and note).

[3] From impressions.

[4] The intended reading seems to be *uk-āhvaye*, though it is uncertain whether *uka* is the name of an object or a locality. The metre of the stanza is probably *Pañchachāmara*. It may also be *Tūṇaka*, though in the latter case the number of syllables in this line would be 30 while the other lines would have 24 only. There are, however, other instances of this kind. Cf. verses 1-8 in lines 1-16 of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (*CII*, Vol. III, p. 6). If it is believed that there were only nine syllables in a foot, the metre may be *Kāminī* as well, though such short stanzas (except *Anushṭubh*) are rarely known from inscriptions.

[5] The metre of this stanza and the following one is *Vaṁśastha*.

MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE VI

7. Fragmentary Inscriptions

B, I



Size : One-third

B, II



Size : One-third

B, III



Size : One-half

which reminds us of names like Rāchamalla (for Sanskrit *Rājamalla*) found in medieval South Indian inscriptions and of words like *prājayati* changed in Pali to *pācheti*.

I

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a broken image of the Buddha discovered at Site No. 9. It states that the image (*paḍima*=Sanskrit *pratimā*) in question was installed by a lady who was the wife of Koḍabudhi. The reading of the name of the lady is, however, doubtful.

TEXT[1]

1 .... rikasa[2] Koḍabudhisa bhariyāya [Makā?]lāya....

2 .. [3]ti[ṭhāv]itaṁ paḍima [||*]

II

This inscription in a single line is engraved on the lower part of a sculptured panel discovered at Site No. 23. A small piece of stone bearing the *aksharas* [*ti*]*ṭhavita* (i.e. *patiṭhavita*, ' set up ') is stated to have formed part of the above. The extant part of the epigraph begins with the word *saha* indicating that the person responsible for the pious deed recorded in the inscription performed it along with others.[4] The said deed, which seems to be the setting up of the sculptured stone bearing the inscription, was apparently performed at Maharaja-vaḍhamāna (Mahārāja-vardhamāna) within Vichayapura, no doubt the same as Vijayapura or Vijayapurī, the Ikshvāku capital in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley. Mahārāja-vardhamāna reminds us of Seṭhivara-vaḍhamāna (Śreshṭhivara-vardhamāna) of two other Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions (No. 2, A-B) which was probably a Buddhist religious establishment maintained by a *śreshṭhin* or banker. Mahārāja-vardhamāna of the present record may have been a similar religious establishment maintained by an Ikshvāku king. The elongation of the letters is not marked in the record owing to the narrowness of the space.

TEXT[5]

...... saha Vichayapure Maharaja-vaḍhamāne bha[ṭā][6]........

......[ti]ṭhavita [7]

III

This is the beginning of an inscription in one line. The inscribed stone was discovered from the site of Stūpa No. 9. It mentions a *kumāra* (prince) called Vīra-Aribha...., the concluding letter or letters of the name having broken away. The prince's name reminds us of that of Vīrapurushadatta of the Ikshvāku family. The absence of *sandhi* joining *vīra* and *ari* in the

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[1] From impressions. This is *A.R.Ep.*, 1958-59, No. B 77.

[2] The intended word was something like *nāgarika* (i.e. belonging to the city of Vijayapurī) or *pāvārika* (Sanskrit *prāvārika*) which is found in some early inscriptions (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 66 (No. I), 97). A *prāvārika* was probably the maker of *prāvāras*, i.e. cloaks used by monks.

[3] The lost *akshara* is no doubt *pa* so that the intended word is *patiṭhāvitam*.

[4] It is also not altogether impossible that the pious deed referred to was performed along with some other pious deeds.

[5] From impressions.

[6] The intended word may be *bhaṭāraka* (Sanskrit *bhaṭṭāraka*).

[7] The word is apparently *patiṭhavita*.

name of the prince makes it clear that *vīra* was essentially an epithet. Similarly, in the name Vīrapurushadatta, Purushadatta is the real personal name and *vīra* is an epithet even though it is treated as an integral part of the name.[1]

TEXT[2]

Si[dha]ṁ [||*] kumarasa Vira-Ar[ibha]......

IV

There are four fragments of an inscription, which cannot be connected with one another. The first of these reads .... [*Virap*]*urusadatasa sa* ...., the last *akshara* being apparently the beginning of the word *savachhara*. This shows that the inscription was engraved during the reign of the Ikshvāku king **Vīrapurushadatta.** The second fragment reads *bhaga*[*va*] (Sanskrit *bhagavat*) which either formed part of a passage like *namo bhagavatasa* at the beginning of the record or referred to a deity whose installation may have been the object of the inscription. The third and fourth fragments respectively read: *samuda* and *makuda*[*sa*]. The letters *samuda* remind us of the female name Samudasiri (Samudraśrī) known from another Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription edited above (1A, line 11), while *makudasa* may stand for Sanskrit *Mukundasya*, Mukunda being a well-known personal name.

GLOSSARY[3]

a-karaṁta (1B, l.8)=Skt. *a-kurvati*, '[one] not having done [the work]'.

akshaya-ni(*nī*)*vi* (XXXIV, 19, l.10). See *akhaya-nivi*, etc.

akhaya-nivi (XXXIV, 210, l.6), *akhaya-nivī* (XXXIV, 210, l.7), *akhaya-nīvi* (1B, l.4)=Skt. *akshaya-nīvi* or °*nīvī*, 'a permanent endowment'.

akhaya-nivikā (XXXIV, 210, l.3)=Skt. *akshaya-nīvikā*. Same as *akhaya-nivi*, etc.

agihot-āgiṭhoma-vājapey-asamedha-yāji (1A, l.4)=Skt. *agnihotr-āgnishṭoma-vājapey-āśvamedha-yājin*, 'performer of the *Agnihotra*, *Vājapeya* and *Aśvamedha* sacrifices', an epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

agnishṭoma-vājave(*pe*)*y-āśvamedha-bahusuvarṇaka-yājin* (XXXIV, 19, ll. 2-3), 'performer of the *Agnishṭoma*, *Vājapeya*, *Aśvamedha* and *Bahusuvarṇaka* sacrifices', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

[1] Cf. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 22, note 1. Ef. Purushadatta of the Mathura coins and the chola brothers Rājendra and Vīrarājendra.

[2] From impressions.

[3] Each of Vogel's two big articles on the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions, published above, Vols. XX (pp. 1-36; cf. p. 37) and XXI (pp. 61-71) contains a Glossary which has been considered very useful by students of Indian epigraphy. The reference to the line of the inscription in which a word occurs has been indicated in our Glossary prepared more or less on the same lines. Since, for unavoidable reasons, it was not possible for us to arrange for the publication of all the recently discovered Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions together in a single paper, we considered it wise to include in the present Glossary words occurring in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions published recently in the pages of this journal, e.g. Vol. XXIX, pp. 137-39; Vol. XXXIII, pp. 147-49, pp. 247-50; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 17-22, pp. 197-204, pp. 208-12. Two Ikshvāku inscriptions, discovered in the neighbourhood of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (one at Gurzala and the other at Uppugundur) and published above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 123-25, and Vol. XXXIII, pp. 189-91, respectively, have also been taken into account for this purpose. In these cases, the number of the volume and page, where the epigraphic texts in question have been printed, have been indicated.

Achaṁtarāj-āchariya (XXXIV, 211, ll. 5-6)=Skt. *°āchārya*, 'a teacher of the Achantarāja School.'

aṭhama (XXXIV, 22, l.8, etc.)=Skt. *ashṭama*, 'eighth'.

Aṇikki (XXXIII, 149, l.4), personal name of a *Senāpati*.

atatheya (XXXIV, 210, l.8)=Skt. *ātitheya*, 'hospitable'.

atibhakti (XXXIII, 149, l.3), 'intense devotion.'

atepura-mahatarikā (1B, l.3)=Skt. *antaḥpura-mahattarikā*, 'a female officer in charge of the harem'.

Anatasiri (1A, l.6)=Skt. *Anantaśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

aneka-hiraṇa-koṭi-padāyi (1A, l. 1, etc.)=Skt. *aneka-hiraṇya-koṭi-pradāyin*, 'one who bestowed many crores of gold [coins]', an epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

aneka-hiraṁna-koḍi-go-satasahasa-hala-satasahasa-padāyi (XXXIV, 22, ll.1-2)=Skt. *aneka-hiraṇya-koṭi-go-śatasahasra-hala-śatasahasra-pradāyin*, 'one who bestowed many crores of gold [coins], lakhs of cows and lakhs of *halas* (plough measures of land)', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

aṁnaka (XXXIII, 191, l.5, etc.)=*annaka*, a suffix often added to the names of males.

aṁnikā (XXXIII, 191, l.6, etc.)=*annikā*, a suffix often added to the names of females.

apaṇo (XXVI, 125), *apana* (1B, l.2, 2A, l.14). *apano* (2B, l. 14)=Skt. *ātmanaḥ*, 'of one's own'.

apanā (1B, l.8)=Skt. *ātmanā*, 'by oneself'.

Aparamahāvinaseliya (2A, l.5 ; 2B, l.7 ; XXXIV, 210, l.5), name of a community of Buddhist monks.

abhatarikā (1A, l.12)=Skt. *ābhyantarikā*, 'an intimate female friend', i.e. 'a concubine', or 'the female guard of the harem'.

Amātya (XXXIV, 203, l.6), official designation of a minister or administrative officer, applied to Tishyaśarman. Sometimes, *amātya* is explained as *deś-ādi-kārya-nirvāhaka* while *mantrin* is interpreted as *vyavahāra-drashṭṛi* (*Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VIII, p. 121).

amita-janasa dapa-damanasa (6A, ll. 1-2)=Skt. *amitra-janasya darpa-damanasya*, 'of one who has subdued the pride of the enemyfolk', used in the description of *Mahāsenāpati* Chaṁtapuḷa.

Ayakoṭusiri (1A, l.9), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Ayabhuti (6C III, l.2)=Skt. *Āryabhūti*, personal name of a male.

Ayasiri (1A, l.12)=Skt. *Āryaśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*(=*śrī*) suffixed to it.

ayu-vadhanika (1B, l.2 ; XXVI, 125—wrongly read)=Skt. *āyur-varddhanika*, 'giving long life'. Same as *āyu-vadhanika*.

araka (6C II, l.2)=Skt. *āryaka*, honorific prefixed to the name of *Mahāsenāpati Mahātalavara* Ayabhuti (Āryabhūti) hailing from Maha-Koḍuva (the big Koḍuva). Cf. 5, l. 1, where the same honorific is possibly prefixed to the name of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula Chāntamūla.

araka-bhaḍaraka (5, l.2)=Skt. *āryaka-bhaṭṭāraka*, probably the epithet of a religious personage.

ariya-vaṁsa-paveni-dhara (XXXIII, 250, l.2)=Skt. *ārya-vaṁśa-praveṇi-dhara*, 'one who known the traditions of the [four] classes of [Buddhist] recluses by heart'.

ariya-saṁgha (2A, l.7 ; 2B, l.9)=Skt. *ārya-saṅgha*, 'a community of Buddhist monks'.

a-vidhavā (XXIX, 139) 'a lady whose husband is living'.

Ashṭaṁ(shṭabhu)jasvāmin (XXXIV, 203, 1.3), name of a deity identified with Vishṇu.

Asamedha-yāji (1A, l.1 ; 1B, l.1 ; 2B, l.1 ; 4 ; XXXIV, 22, l.1)=Skt. *Aśvamedha-yājin*, 'performer of the Aśvamedha sacrifice', an epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

ahan (XXXIII, 149, l.2), 'a day'.

āchariya (XXXIII, 250, l.1)=Skt. *āchārya*, 'a teacher'.

Ābhīra (XXXIV, 202, l.1), name of a people.

āyu-vadhanika (2A, l.13 ; B, l.13). See *ayu-vadhanika.*

Āvantaka (XXXIV, 203, l.3), correctly *Āvantika*, 'resident of Avanti (i.e. the city of Ujjayinī)', epithet of Śaka Rudradāman.

āvesanika (6C I, l.2)=Skt. *āveśanika*, 'a foreman of artisans'.

Ikshvāku (4 ; XXXIV, 19, ll.4, 5, 8), name of the family of king Ikshvāku.

Ikhākunaṁ (1A, l.2 ; 3, l.4 ; XXXIII, 191, l.2), *Ikhākūnaṁ* (XXXIV, 22, l.5)=Skt. *Ikshvākūṇām*, 'of the Ikshvākus (i.e. of those belonging to the Ikshvāku family)'.

Ikhākusa (3, l.1)=Skt. *Aikshvākoḥ*, 'of one belonging to the Ikshvāku dynasty'.

Irusaka (?) (4), name of a family.

Īśvaradatta (4), personal name of a male.

Īśvarabharttinā (4), correctly *°bhartrā*, *°bhaṭṭinā*, 'together with Īśvarabhartṛi or Īśvarabhaṭṭi'.

Ukahvaye (7A, l.1), probably *Uk-āhvaye*, 'in what is called Uka'.

Uta(tta)ra-mahātalavara-bhāgineyī (XXXIV, 19, l.7), 'a daughter of the sister of *Mahātalavara* Uttara', epithet of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula-Chāntamūla.

upāsaka (2A, l.12 ; 2B, l.12), 'a lay follower of the Buddha'.

ulekhaga (XXXIV, 203, l.6)=Skt. *ullekhaka*, 'engraver'.

ekkāra (XXXIV, 22, l.7)=Skt. *ekādaśa* (XXXIII, 149, l.1), 'eleventh'.

Elī-Ehavūladāsaṁnaka (3, ll.6-7), personal name of an Ikshvāku prince, in which *aṁnaka* is a suffix.

Eliśrī (XXXIII, 149, l.6), personal name of a *Talavara* with the honorific *śrī* suffixed to it.

evaṁ (XXXIII, 191, l.9), 'thus'.

esā (XXXIV, 210, l.7), 'this'.

Ehavala-Chaṁtamula (5, l. 1 ; XXIX, 139), *°Chaṁtamūla* (XXXIV, 19, ll.2, 6-7 ; XXXIV, 22, l.4), *°Chantamūla* (4), personal name of an Ikshvāku king.

Ehavalaśrī (XXXIII, 149, l.1), personal name of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula Chāntamūla, with the honorific *śrī* suffixed to it.

Ehavula-Chantamūla (2B, l.5) ; *°Chatamūla* (3, l.2). Same as *Ehavala-Chāntamūla.*

Ehuvuḷa-Chāntamūla (2A, l.3). Same as *Ehavala-Chantamūla.*

okhandhaka (6A, l.1)=Skt. *avaskandaka*, 'one who subdues'.

Olabakuhathi-gāhaka (6A, ll.2-3)=Skt. *°hasti-grāhaka* or *°kuhasti-grāhaka*, epithet of *Mahāsenāpati* Chaṁtapuḷa.

Kakolurā (XXXIV, 210, l.4), probably the name of a village.

Kaṁkachaṁdra (XXXIV, 20, l.12), personal name of a male.

Kaṁkaphala (XXXIV, 20, l.12), personal name of a male.

katavaṁ (1B, l.8)=Skt. *kartavyam*, 'has to be done'.

katāṇa (1B, l.4)=Skt. *kṛitvā*, 'having done'.

Kanhasiri (1A, l.12)=Skt. *Kṛishṇaśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Karadaru-kumāra (6B III, l.2), 'Karadaru, the prince', name of a prince (*kumāra*).

karayaṁti(tu) (1B, l.8)=Skt. *kārayeyuḥ*, 'should be caused to be done'.

Kasmira (XXXIII, 250, l.1)=Skt. *Kaśmīra*, modern Kashmir.

Kāmasiri (1A, l.9)=Skt. *Kāmaśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it. The reading may also be *Rāmasiri*=Skt. *Rāmaśrī*.

kārāpitā (2A, l.16)=Skt. *kāritā*, 'caused [something] to be done'.

Kārttikeya (XXXIII, 149, l.5), name of a god.

Kupaṇaśrī (XXXIV, 19, l.8), personal name of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula-Chāntamūla, with the honorific *śrī* suffixed to it.

Kumara (7B III)=Skt. *Kumāra*, title of a prince.

Kumāra (3, l.6 ; 6B III, l.2). See *Kumara*.

Kumāra (XXXIII, 149, l.3), a name of the god Kārttikeya.

kulaputa (XXXIV, 209, II, l.1) =Skt. *kulaputra*, 'born in a noble family'.

kula-prasūta (4), 'born in the family [of]'.

kulika-pamukha (XXXIV, 210, l.7)=Skt. *kulika-pramukha*, 'headed by the chief of the guild', probably the epithet of a guild.

Kusumalatā (1A, l.13), personal name of a female.

Kuḷahaka (6A, l.4), name of a family.

Koḍabudhi (7 BI, l.1), personal name of a male.

Koḍaraka (5, l.3), personal name of a male.

Koḍuvaka (6C II, l.2), See *Maha-Koḍuvaka*.

Kondamatisiri (1A, l.8)=Skt. *Kundamatiśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*= Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Kauśika-sagotra (XXXIV, 202, l.2) 'one belonging to the Kauśika *gotra*', epithet of Śivaśepa.

Khaṁḍuvulā (XXIX, 139), personal name of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula-Chāntamūla.

Khadasiri (1A, l.10)=Skt. *Skandaśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt *srī* suffixed to it. See *Khaṁdasiri*.

Khaṁdakoṭisiri (1A, l.8)=Skt. *Skandakoṭiśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri* =Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Khaṁdasiri (1A, l.7)=Skt. *Skandaśrī*. See *Khadasiri*.

Khaṁdahāla (XXXIV, 19, l.7), probably Skt. *Skandahāla*, personal name of a *Mahātalavara*.

khaṁdhāvāra (6A, l.1)=Skt. *skandhāvāra*, 'a camp'.

khaṁdhikata (5, l.3)=Skt. *skandhīkṛita*, 'borne on the shoulder', i.e. 'highly honoured'.

Khalisiri (1A, l.10), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

khāṇita (XXXIV, 203, l.4)=Skt. *khānita*, 'caused to be excavated'.

kheta (XXVI, 125)=Skt. *kshetra* '[a plot of] land'.

khyāta-kīrtti (XXXIII, 149, l.4), 'one who has acquired wide renown', epithet of *Senāpati* Aṇikki.

Gaṁdhāra (XXXIII, 250, l.1)=*Gandhāra*, the region about the modern Rawalpindi and Peshawar Districts of West Pakistan.

gahapati (XXXIII, 191, l.4)=Skt. *gṛihapati*, 'a householder'.

Gāṇḍi-puttra (XXXIII, 149, l.5), 'the son of Gāṇḍi,' epithet of Eliśrī.

gāma-pa[ĉhaka] (XXXIV, 210, l.3)=Skt. *grāma-pañchaka*, 'a group of five villages'.

gi (XXVI, 125), Pkt. abbreviation of Skt. *grīshma-paksha*, 'a fortnight of the summer season (Chaitra-badi 1 to Āshāḍha-sudi 15)', *grīshma* being one of the three seasons in which the official year was divided in ancient India, the two others being ***varshā*** and ***hemanta***.

gi-pa (XXXIV, 19, l.2), abbreviation of Pkt. *gimha-pakha*=Skt. *grīshma-paksha*, 'a fortnight of the summer season'.

gimha-pakha (2A, l.4 ; 2B, ll.5-6) ; XXXIII, 191, l.3 ; XXXIV, 211, l.3)=Skt. *grīshma-paksha*. See *gi-pa*.

gīmhaṇam (3, l.3)=Skt. *grīshmasya*, 'of the summer season'.

guṇa (XXXIV, 203. l.5), 'quality'.

Golasiri (1A, l.9)=Skt. *Golaśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

go-vrāta (XXXIV, 203, l.6), 'a herd of cattle'.

go-śatasahasra-hala-śatasahasra-pradātā (XXXIV, 19, l.3), 'one who distributed lakhs of cows and lakhs of *halas* (i.e. plough measures of land)', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

chaṇḍa-śakti (XXXIII, 149, l.3), 'one wielding the terrible spear', epithet of the god Kumāra or Kārttikeya.

Chaturvvīśa (4), correctly *chaturviṁśa*, 'twentyfourth'.

Chadasiri (2A-B, l.12)=Skt. *Chandraśrī*, personal name of a male, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Chaṁtapuḷa (6A, ll.4-5), personal name of a male. Cf. *Chāntamūla*.

Chaṁtamūla (1A, l.2, etc. ; XXXIV, 19, l.4 ; XXXIV, 22, l.2)=*Chāntamūla*, correctly *Śāntamūla*, personal name of an Ikshvāku king.

Chaṁdaṁnaka (XXXIII, 191, l.7—incompletely read), personal name of a male, the real name being *Chaṁda* (Skt. *Chandra*) and *aṁnaka* a suffix.

chavuṭha (2A, l.4), *chavuthā* (2B, l.6)=Skt. *chaturtha* (4), 'fourth'.

chitana (1B, l.8)=Skt. *chitraṇa*, 'decoration, embellishment'.

chitāpita (XXXIV, 203, l.4)=Skt. *chitrita*, 'caused [something] to be decorated'.

Chula-Dhaṁmagiri (XXXIV, 211, l.5)=Skt. *Kshudra-Dharmagiri*, 'the little Dharmagiri', name of a hill in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa area.

chhaya-khabha (6B IV, l.4; 6C II, l.3), *chhaya-khaṁbha* (6B III, l.3; XXXIV, 22, ll.8-9), *chhāya-khaṁbha* (5, l.4), *chhāyā-khaṁbha* (6B II, l.3)=Skt. *chhāyā-stambha* (really *chhāyā-skambha*), 'a memorial pillar bearing the figure of the person or persons in whose memory it is raised'.

chhāya-thabha (6A, l.5; 6C I, l.5), *chhāya-thaṁbha* (3, l.7), *chhāyā-thabha* (1A, l.13, etc.; 6B I, l.3), *chhāy[ā]-thaṁ[bha]* (XXXIV, 209, II, l.5), *chhāyaṁ(yā)-thaṁbha* (XXXIV, 209, I, l.1)=Skt. *chhāyā-stambha*. See *chhaya-khabha*, etc.

jivaputā (XXIX, 139)=Skt. *jīvaputrā*, 'a lady with her son or sons living (or, all of whose children are living)'.

taḍāga (XXXIV, 203, l.4), 'a tank'.

Tamaṇiyakara (6C I, l.3), probably the name of a family or a person.

Taṁbapaṁni-dipa (XXXIII, 250, l.1)=Skt. *Tāmraparṇī-dvīpa*, modern Ceylon.

tala-vaṇa (XXXIV, 203, l.4)=Skt. *tāla-vana* or *tala-vana*, 'a grove of palmyra trees'.

talavara-vara (XXXIII, 149, l.5), 'a prominent *Talavara*', epithet of Eliśrī. See *Mahātalavara*.

Tishyasaṁma (XXXIV, 203, l.6), correctly °*śarman*, personal name of an *Amātya*.

tethika (XXXIV, 210, No. 3, l.1)=Skt. *tairthika*, 'an adherent of a religious faith other than one's own'. Cf. *para-samaya* in *sakasamaya-parasamaya*.

terasama (3, l.2)=Skt. *trayodaśa*, 'thirteenth'.

thala (1B, l.4)=Skt. *sthala*, probably used in the sense of a place of worship in the form of a *vedikā* surrounded by an enclosure (*JBRS*, Vol. XXXIX, Parts 1-2, 1953, p. 47).

thāpita (3, l.7)=Skt. *sthāpita*, 'set up'.

Thera (2B, l.10)=Skt. *Sthavira*, 'an Elder among the Buddhist monks'.

Theriya (XXXIII, 250, l.1)=Skt. *Sthavirīya*, 'belonging to the Thera (Skt. *Sthavira*, i.e. *Sthaviravāda*) School [of Buddhist monks]'.

data (XXXIV, 210, l.3)=Skt. *datta* (XXXIV, 20, l.11), 'given'.

dapa-damana (6A, l.2)=Skt. *darpa-damana*, 'a subduer of the pride [of]'.

dasa (1B, l.4-5)=Skt. *daśa*, 'ten'.

dināri (1B, l.4-5), name of a coin.

diva (1B, l.2; 5, l.2; XXVI, 125; XXXIV, 19, l.2), abbreviation of *divasa*, 'a day'.

divaḍha (XXXIV, 210, l.6)=Pali *diyaḍḍha*, *divaḍḍha*, Skt. *dvyardha*, 'one and a half'.

divasa (1A, l.3; 2A, l.4; 2B, l.6; 3, l.3; 4; XXXIII 191, l.3; XXXIV, 22, l.8; XXXIV, 202, l.2; 211, l.2), 'the day [of the fortnight]'.

dīnāra-māsaka (XXXIV, 210, l.6)=Skt. °*māshaka*, name of a coin elsewhere called ***dināri-māsaka*** (above, Vol. XX, p. 19).

deya-dharma (4), 'a religious gift'.

deva (XXXIII, 149, l.3), 'a god', epithet of the god Kumāra or Kārttikeya.

devakula (1B, l.4 ; XXXIV, 19, l.10), 'a shrine'.

deva-parama-deva (XXXIV, 202, l.1), 'the supreme god among gods', epithet of the god Nārāyaṇa.

dauhitrī (XXXIV, 19, l.7), 'granddaughter (daughter's daughter)'.

Dhaṁñakaḍa-vathava (XXXIII, 191, l.3)=Skt. *Dhānyakaṭa-vāstavya*, 'an inhabitant of Dhānyakaṭa (old name of modern Dharaṇikoṭa near Amarāvati in the Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh)'.

Dhamaṁnikā (XXXIII, 191, l.8), pesonal name of a female, the real name being *Dhamā* (Skt. *Dharmā*) and *aṁnikā* a suffix.

Dhamasamaka (XXXIV, 209, II, l.3)=Skt. *Dharmaśarmaka*, personal name of a nobleman.

Dhaṁma-vāṇi[ya]kinīya* (XXXIII, 191, l.5)=Skt. *Dharma-vāṇijikāyāḥ*, 'of Dharma-vāṇijikā'.

dharmma-phala (XXXIV, 19, l.10), 'resulting from the piety [of]'.

dhvaja-staṁba(bha) (XXXIV, 19, l.10), 'flag-staff'.

natuka (XXXIII, 191, l.4)=Skt. *naptṛika*, 'grandson (son's son)'.

Nadisiri (1A, l.11)=Skt. *Nadīśrī* or *Nandiśrī*, personal name of a lady, with honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

naptrī (XXXIV, 19, l.6), 'a granddaughter (son's daughter)'.

navaṁga-Sathu-sasana-atha-vyajana-vinichhaya-visarada (XXXIII, 250, l.2)=Skt. *navāṅga-Śāstṛi-śāsan-ārtha-vyañjana-viniśchaya-viśārada*, 'one who is an expert in the determination of the meaning and implication of the ninefold teachings of the Śāstṛi (i. e. the Buddha)', epithet of certain Buddhist monks.

Nāgavasusiri (1A, l.7)=Skt. *Nāgavasuśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it. Cf. the female name *Skandavasu* in an Ajaṇṭā inscription (above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 262, text line 1).

Nāgasaṁmaṁnikā (XXXIII, 191, l.9), personal name of a female, the real name being *Nāgasaṁmā* (Skt. *Nāgaśarmā*) and *aṁnikā* a suffix.

Nāgasiri (1A, l.9)=Skt. *Nāgaśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Nāgasiri (2A, l.12 ; B, l.12)=Skt. *Nāgaśrī*, personal name of a male, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Nāgilaṁnaka (XXXIII, 191, ll.5, 8), personal name of the brother and of a son of Saṅghila, in which *aṁnaka* is a suffix.

Nārāyaṇa (XXXIV, 202, l.1), a name of the god Vishṇu.

nigama (1B, l.8)=Skt. *naigama*, 'administrative board pertaining to a city'.

niṭhaveti (2A, ll.8-9 ; 2B, l.10)=Skt. *nishṭhāpayati*, 'completes'.

nipatiṭhapita (XXXIII, 250, l.3)=Skt. *nipratishṭhāpita*, same as *pratishṭhāpita*, 'set up'.

nimitta (2A, l.15 ; 2B, l.15), 'cause' or 'on account of'.

nirvāṇa (4). See *nivaṇa*, etc.

nivaṇa (2B, l.10) ; *nivana* (2A, l.8)=Skt. *nirvāṇa* (4), the Buddhist word for 'salvation'.

niveśita (7A, l.5), 'founded, made'. Cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 163, text line 10.

Nelāchavasa (XXXIV, 210, l.4), probably the name of a village.

naika-hiraṇya-koṭi-pradātā (XXXIV, 19, l.3), 'one who distributed many crores of gold [coins]', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

[*Noḍagī?*]*sarasāmi* (1B, ll.1, 4)=Skt. °*īśvarasvāmin*, name of a deity, with the word *svāmin* suffixed to it.

Nodukasiri (XXVI, 125)=Skt. °*śrīḥ* (for °*śriyā*), personal name probably of a female. Note the nominative case used for instrumental. There are other cases of this type in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions. Cf. *Chātisiri*.............*khaṁbhaṁ patithapitaṁ* (above, Vol. XX, p. 16, C3, lines 10-12 ; cf. p. 19, B 5, line 4 ; C2, lines 6-8 ; etc.).

pa (1B, l.2), abbreviation of *pakha*=Skt. *paksha*, 'a fortnight'.

pakha (3, l.3), See *pa*.

paṁchama (3, l.3), *pañchama* (4), 'fifth'.

paṭana (XXXIII, 191, l.10)=Skt. *pattana*, 'township'.

paḍi(di)ta (XXXIV, 209, II, l.5)=Skt. *pātita*. See *padita*.

paḍima (7B I, l.2)=Skt. *pratimā*, 'an image'.

paḍhama (XXXIV, 211, l.3)=Skt. *prathama*, 'first'.

Paṁḍitasiri (1A, l.11)=Skt. *Paṇḍitaśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

patata (6B II, l.2 ; 6B IV, l.2)=Skt. *pātita*. See *padita*.

patiṭhavita (7B II), *patiṭhāvita* (7B I, l.2)=Skt. *pratishṭhāpita*, 'set up'.

patiya (XXIX, 139)=Pkt. *pattiyā*=Skt. *patnyā*, 'by [one's] wife'. See *pattī*.

pattī (XXXIV, 22, l.5)=Skt. *patnī*. See *patiya*.

pathama (XXXIV, 22, l.8)=Skt. *prathama*, 'first'.

padarasa (2B, l.6)=Skt. *pañchadaśa*, 'fifteenth'.

padiṭhapeti (2A, l.8)=Skt. *pratishṭhāpayati*, 'sets up'.

padita (6B I, l.3 ; 6B III, l.3)=Skt. *pātita*, 'killed [in battle]'. See *paḍi(di)ta*, *patata*.

panika-seni (IB, l.5)=Skt. *pārṇika-śreṇī*, 'the guild of the dealers in leaves (i.e. betel leaves)'.

Paraḍika (IB, l.8), personal name of a male.

para-samaya (XXXIV, 211, l.6). See *sakasamaya-parasamaya*.

parityaj ; cf. *prāṇa*[*m=a**]*pi na pari*[*tya**]*ksh*[*y**]*ati* (XXXIV, 203, l.5), 'would not spare even one's life.'

pariveṇa (4), 'a Buddhist monk's private chamber in a monastery'. See *Mahādevī-pariveṇa*.

Pavayātaka (6C I, l.1), probably 'a resident of Pavayāta'.

pasadata (6B IV, l.2), *pasādita* (6B I, l.2 ; 6B II, l.2 ; 6B III, l.2)=Skt. *prasādita*, 'favoured'.

pasādaka (XXXIII, 250, l.1)=Skt. *prasādaka*, literally 'one who causes serenity or happiness [in the minds of the people]', figuratively 'one who converts [people] to the Buddhist faith'.

pasunhā (XXXIV, 22, l.3)=Skt. *prasnushā*, 'daughter-in-law's daughter-in-law', i. e. 'grandson's wife'.

pāchaka (7A, l.1), 'a cook'.

pāda-saṁghāḍā (XXXIII, 250, l.3)=Skt. *pāda-saṅghāṭa*, 'a pair of feet', i.e. 'foot-prints'.

piya-bhātuka (2A-B, l.13)=Skt. *priya-bhrātṛi[ka]*, 'dear brother'.

Puḍokeḍa (XXXIV, 19, l.10), name of a village.

puta (1A, l.2, etc.)=Skt. *putra*, 'a son'.

puttra (XXXIV, 19, l.1, 6, 8), 'a son'.

Purāṇa-purusha (XXXIV, 202, l.1), 'the primeval male', epithet of the god Nārāyaṇa.

puva-disā-bhāge (XXXIV, 211, ll.4-5)=Skt. *pūrva-diśā-bhāge*, 'in the eastern direction [of]', 'to the east [of]'.'

puvika-seni (1B, l.5)=Pali *pūvika-seṇi*, Skt. *āpūpika-śreṇī*, 'a guild of confectioners'.

Pushpabhadrasvāmin (XXXIV, 19, ll.1, 10), name of a deity (otherwise called Mahādeva), with the word *svāmin* suffixed to it.

Pushyakaṁdīya (XXXIV, 19, l.6), probably a mistake for *Pushyaskandīya*, name of a family.

Perajatisiri (1A, l.10), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Peramaḍi-bhaḍa (XXXIV, 209, I, l.1 ; II, l.4)=Skt. °*bhaṭa*, 'a soldier fighting under [the command of a general named] Peramaḍi'.

Peribiḍeha (XXXIV, 202, l.2), name of a family or clan.

pautra (XXXIII, 149, l.4 ; XXXIV, 19, l.5), 'grandson (son's son)'.

pratimā (4), 'an image'.

pratishṭhāpita (4 ; XXXIV, 19, l.10), 'set up'.

prathama (1A, l.3), 'first'.

prapautra (XXXIV, 19, l.4), 'great-grandson (son of one's son's son)'.

prabhu (XXXIII, 149, l.1), 'the master', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula-Chāntamūla. Cf. *sāmi* and *svāmin*.

prākāra (XXXIV, 203, l.4), 'a wall'.

prāsāda (XXXIII, 149, l.5), 'a temple'.

Ba[raṇa?]kīya (4), probably 'a resident of Baraṇaka'.

Bahaphala-sagotā (XXXIV, 22, ll.6-7)=Skt. *Bṛihatphala-sagotrā*, 'a lady belonging to the Bṛihatphala *gotra*', epithet of Varmabhaṭā who was the daughter of a *Mahākshatrapa* and a queen of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula-Chāntamūla.

Bāpisiri (1A, l.11), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

bālaka (XXXIII, 191, l.7), 'a son'.

bālikā (XXXIII, 191, l.8—wrongly read), 'a daughter'.

bitiya (1A, l.3 ; XXXIV, 211, l.3)=Skt. *dvitīya*, 'second'.

Buddha (4), the great founder of Buddhism.

Budha-Dhaṁma-Saṁgha-magala-nagaravara-girivara-negamavara-bahu-deyadhama-kāraka (2A, ll. 9-11); °*girivara-naigamavara-bahu-deyadhama-karaka* (2B, ll.10-12)=Skt. *Buddha-Dharma-Saṅgha-maṅgala-nagaravara-girivara-nigamavara-bahu-deyadharma-kāraka*, 'one who has bestowed many religious gifts at prominent cities and prominent townships as well as on prominent hills in connection with festivals celebrated in honour of the Buddhist Trinity, viz. the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha', epithet of a pious man named Chadasiri (Chandraśrī).

Budhaṁnikā (XXXIII, 191, l.6), personal name of a female, in which the suffix *aṁnikā* is added to the name *Budhā* (Skt. *Buddhā*).

Bodhisiri (1A, l.10)=Skt. *Bodhiśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Bhagaphula (1B, l.7), personal name of a male.

bhaga[va] (7B IV)=Skt. *bhagavat*, 'the lord', probably the epithet of a deity. See *bhagavat*.

bhagavach-chhaktyā (XXXIV, 203, l.6), 'by dint of divine power'.

bhagavat, epithet of divinities, (XXXIV, 203, l.3), of the god Ashṭabhujasvāmin ; (XXXIV, 202, l.1), of the god Nārāyaṇa ; (1B, ll.1, 4), of the god [Noḍagī]śvarasvāmin ; (XXXIV, 19, ll.1, 10), of the god Pushpabhadrasvāmin ; (4 ; XXXIII, 191, l.1 ; 250, l.3) of the Buddha ; (XXVI, 125), of the god Halaṁpūrasvāmin. See *bhagava*.

Bhagavatā (1B, l.3)=Skt. *Bhāgavatā* or *Bhagavatī*, personal name of a lady.

bhagini (XXXIII, 191, l.5)=Skt. *bhaginī*, 'sister' (correctly *bhaginīnaṁ*=Skt. *bhaginībhyām*).

bha[ṭā].. (7B II), probably=Skt. *bhaṭṭāraka*.

bhaḍa (6B I, l.3 ; 6B II, l.2, 6B III, l.2, 6B IV, l.4)=Skt. *bhaṭa*, 'a soldier'.

Bhata (6B I, l.2)=Skt. *Bhakta*, personal name of a male.

Bhadaphula (XXXIV, 210, l.2), probably the personal name of a male.

Bharadvāja-sagotra (XXXIV, 203, l.6), 'one belonging to the Bharadvāja *gotra*', epithet of *Amātya* Tishyaśarman.

bhara-sala (2A, l.8), probably a mistake for *bhaḍāra-sālā*=Skt. *bhāṇḍāra-śālā*, 'store-room'.

bhariyake (2A, l.15), *bhariyako* (2B, l.15), probably=Skt. °*bhāryāka* ; but the meaning of the damaged passage is doubtful.

bhariyā (7B I, l.1 ; XXXIII, 191, ll.6, 7)=Skt. *bhāryā*, 'wife'.

bharyyāya (4), correctly *bhāryyayā*, 'together with one's wife'.

bhāgineyī (XXXIV, 19, l.7), 'one's sister's daughter'.

bhātuno (XXXIII, 191, l.5)=Skt. *bhrātuḥ*, 'of one's brother'.

bhātu-bhariyā (XXXIII, 191, ll.6-7)=Skt. *bhrātṛi-bhāryā*, 'one's brother's wife'.

bhuṁjitava (XXXIV, 210, l.3)=Skt *bhoktavya*, 'to be enjoyed'.

bho (XXXIV, 20, l.12), probably an abbreviation of *bhogika* or *bhojaka*, possibly meaning 'an *ināmdār*'.

[*Makā*?]*lā* (7B, I, l.1), personal name of a female.

Makuda (7B IV), probably=Skt. *Mukunda*, personal name of a male.

Magalaraṇa-vathava (6B I, l.1 ; 6B II, l.1 ; 6B III, l.1 ; 6B IV, l.1 ; XXXIV, 209, II, l.1) =Skt. *Maṅgalāraṇya-vāstavya*, 'a resident of Maṅgalāraṇya'.

Maṁgusiri (1A, l.8), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

maṇḍapa (7A, l.2), probably 'a hall'.

matā-pitu (2A-B, l.14)=Skt. *mātā-pitṛi*, 'parents'.

matāya (XXXIII, 191, l.5)=Skt. *mātuḥ*, 'of [one's] mother'.

matāhi (1A, l.6)=Skt. *mātṛibhiḥ*, 'by [one's] mothers (i.e. mother and step-mothers)'. Cf. *mātūya*.

Maduvisiri (1A, l.9)=Skt. *Mṛidviśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

[*Ma?*]*rabāṇa* (XXXIV, 209, II, l.2), probably= Skt. *Marabāṇām*, Maraba being the name of a family.

masanumasika (1B, l.4)=Skt. *māsānumāsika*, 'acruing month by month'.

Maha-Koḍuvaka (6C II, l.2), literally 'resident of the bigger Koḍuva', the place probably being the home of a *Mahāsenāpati-Mahātalavara*.

Mahatarikā (1B, l.3)=Skt. *Mahattarikā*, feminine form of *Mahattaraka*. See *Atepura-mahatarikā*.

mahadevihi (1A, l.6)=Skt. *mahādevībhiḥ*, 'by one's queens', used in respect of the queens of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla. See *Mahādevī*.

Maharaja-vaḍhamāna (7B II)=Skt. *Mahārāja-vardhamāna*, a religious establishment maintained by a king. Cf. *Seṭhivara-vaḍhamāna*.

Mahavalabhīkā (3, l.5), epithet of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Vīrapurushadatta, referring to the locality (Mahāvalabhī) whence she hailed.

Mahavinaseliya (2B, ll.7-8). See *Aparamahāvinaseliya*.

Mahākhatapa-dhūtūya (XXXIV, 22, l.6)=Skt. *Mahākshatrapa-duhituḥ*, 'of the daughter of the *Mahākshatrapa*', used in relation to a queen of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula-Chāntamūla.

Mahāgrāmika (XXXIV, 202, l.2), 'the ruler of a *Mahāgrāma* (group of villages, a district)' or 'an inhabitant of a locality called Mahāgrāma', epithet of *Mahātalavara Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Śivaśepa.

Mahātalavara, official designation of several persons ; (6C II, l.1), of *Mahāsenāpati* Ayabhuti (Āryabhūti) ; (XXXIV, 19, l.7), of Uta(tta)ra ; (XXXIV, 19, l.6), of Khaṁdahāla and of Skandagopa ; (XXXIV, 202, l.2) of Śivaśepa ; etc. In this designation, *talavara* means *tushṭa-bhūpāla-pradatta-paṭṭa-bandha-vibhūshita-rājasthānīya* (i.e. a viceroy or subordinate ruler) according to Vinayavijaya's *Subodhikā* commentary on the *Kalpasūtra* (above, Vol. XX, p. 7, note 1), though *talāra*, no doubt the same as *talavara*, is explained in Hemachandra's *Deśīnāmamālā* (V, 3), as *nagara-rakshaka* while *talāri*, another modification of the same word, is described as a *kotwāl* (i.e. prefect of the police of a town) in the *Rāyavāchakamu* and other works (*Bhār. Vid.*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 3-4, pp. 127 ff.). The word is found in Telugu-Kannaḍa as *talāri* and in Tamil as *talaiyāri*, 'the village workman, one of the subordinate officers of a village' (Wilson's Glossary).

Mahādaṇḍanāyaka (XXXIV, 202, l.2), 'a chief leader of forces', official designation of a military officer often employed as the governor of a district or province.

Mahādeva (XXXIV, 19, l.1), same as the god Śiva.

Mahādevī, title applied to the queens of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula-Chāntamūla ; (XXXIV, 19, ll.8-9), to Kupaṇaśrī ; (XXIX, 139), to Khaṁḍuvulā ; (XXXIV, 22, l.6), to Vaṁmabhaṭā. See *Mahadevihi*.

Mahādevī-pariveṇa (4), 'the private chamber of a Buddhist monk, which has been built by a queen'
Mahānaṁdā (XXXIV, 203, l.4), name of a well.

mahā-nigāya (2A, l.6, 2B, l.8)=Skt. *mahā-nikāya*, probably the dwelling of Buddhist monks of a particular community.

Mahārāja, royal title applied to the Ikshvāku kings often also called *Rājan* ; (4 ; XXIX, 139 ; XXXIV, 19, ll.1, 5, 9 ; 22, l.4), to Ehuvula-Chāntamūla ; (1A, l.1 ; B, l.1 ; 2B, l.1 ; XXXIV, 22, l.1), to Chāntamūla ; (XXVI, 125), to Ruḷapurushadatta (Rudrapurushadatta) ; (2B, l.3 ; XXXIII, 191, l.2 ; XXXIV, 19, l.4 ; 22, l.3), to Vīrapurushadatta.

Mahārājakumāra (XXXIV, 19, l.8), designation of the Ikshvāku prince Vīrapurushadatta, son of king Ehuvula-Chāntamūla.

Mahāvihāra-vāsin (XXXIII, 250, l.2), 'a dweller in the Mahāvihāra [at ancient Vijayapura in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley]' ; explained by some as the name of a community of Ceylonese monks.

Mahāsenapati, *Mahāsenāpati*, 'a chief commander of the forces', official designation of several persons ; (6C II, l.1), of Ayabhuti (Āryabhūti) ; (3, l.6), of the Ikshvāku prince Elī-Ehavūla-dāsaṁnaka ; (6A, ll.3-4), of Chaṁtapuḷa of the Kuḷahaka family ; (XXXIV, 19, l.8), of the Ikshvāku prince Vīrapurushadatta.

Mahisarasiri (1A, l.8)=Skt. *Mahīsāraśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

mahisi (3, l.5)=Skt. *mahishī* (XXXIV, 19, l.8), 'queen'.

Māgha (XXXIII, 149, l.2), name of the eleventh lunar month.

Māṭharī-puttra (XXXIV, 19, l.4), 'son of a lady born in a family belonging to the Māṭhara *gotra*', metronymic of the Ikshvāku king Vīrapurushadatta.

Māḍhari-puta (1A, l.2), *Māḍhari-pūta* (3, l.4), *Māḍharī-putra* (XXXIII, 191, l.2)=Skt. *Māṭharī-puttra*, q. v.

mātūya (XXXIV, 22, l.6)=Skt. *mātuḥ*, 'of [one's] mother (i.e. step-mother)'. Cf. *matāhi*.

Mitasiri (1A, l.7)=Skt. *Mitraśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

mukhya-pāchaka (7A, l.1), 'the chief cook'.

Muḍerā (XXXIV, 203, l.4), name of a locality.

•*Mulasiri* (1A, l.8)=Skt. *Mūlaśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Mūlabhuta (6C I, l.4)=Skt. °*bhūta* or °*bhūti*, personal name of an *āveśanika*.

Yakhilinikā (3, l.5), personal name of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Vīrapurushadatta, in which *nikā* (*annikā*) is a suffix.

yati-samaṇa-khaṁdhikata (5, l.3)=Skt. *yati-śramaṇa-skandhīkṛita*, 'highly honoured by the Brāhmaṇical ascetics and Buddhist monks', epithet of a religious personage.

Yavana (XXXIII, 250, l.1), probably the ancient Greek settlement in the Kābul valley in Afghanistan.

Yorājibhi (XXXIV, 202, l.2), probably a mistake for *Yonarājabhih*=Skt. *Yavana-rājaiḥ*, 'by the Yavana (i.e. Greek) rulers'.

raṁño (1A, l.2, etc.), *raño* (2A, l.2 ; 3, l.3 ; XXXIV, 22, l.5)=Skt. *rājñaḥ* (XXXIII, 149, l.1), 'the king's'. See *Rājan*.

[*Ra?*]*ṭapuṭa* (6B II, l.2), personal name of a male.

Raṭhika (6B I, l.2 ; 6B IV, l.1)=Skt. *Rāshṭrika*, probably 'the governor of a territorial unit called *rāshṭra*'.

Ratavasa (1B, l.3)=Skt. *Ratavaśā* or *Rativaśā*, personal name of a female.

Rājan, royal title ; (XXXIV, 202, l.1), of the Ābhīra king Vasusheṇa ; (XXXIV, 19, l.2, etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla ; (XXXIV, 19, l.7, etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula-Chāntamūla ; (XXXIV, 22, ll.5-6), of the Ikshvāku king Rudrapurushadatta ; (1A, l.2, etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Vīrapurushadatta. Cf. *Mahārāja*.

Rājamisiri-kulaka (XXXIV, 209, II, l.2), name of a family.

Rāmasiri. See *Kāmasiri*.

Rāmasy=eva sarvva-jan-ābhirāmasya (XXXIV, 19, l.5) 'of one who is loved by all people like Rāma', used in the description of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula-Chāntamūla.

ruju (XXXIV, 203, l.5)=Skt. *ṛiju*, '[one who is] straightforward'.

Ruḍapurisadata (XXXIV, 22, ll.5-6)=Skt. *Rudrapurushadatta*, personal name of an Ikshvāku king. See *Rulapurisadāta*.

Rudradāman (XXXIV, 203, l.3), personal name of a Śaka resident of Avanti.

ruṁbara-bhava (XXXIV, 203, l.3), probably=Skt. *udumbara-bhava*, 'born (i.e. made out) of *udumbara* wood', epithet of the god Ashṭabhujasvāmin.

Rulapurisadāta (XXVI, 125—wrongly read), the same as Skt. *Rudrapurushadatta*, personal name of an Ikshvāku king. See *Ruḍapurisadata*.

ropita (XXXIV, 203, l.5), 'caused to be planted'.

vaṭa-nyāsana-prema-nishṭha (XXXIV, 203, ll.5-6), 'one who is steadfast in his love for planting banyan trees'.

vaḍhamāna (2A, l.6 ; 2B, l.8 ; 7B II)=Skt. *vardhamāna*, a kind of religious establishment.

vadhi (1B, l.4)=Skt. *vṛiddhi*, 'interest'.

Vanavāsa (XXXIII, 250, l.1), the district round modern Banavāsi in the North Kanara District of Mysore. See *Vānavāsaka*.

Vaṁmabhaṭā (XXXIV, 22, l.7)=Skt. *Varmabhaṭā*, personal name of a lady who was a daughter of a *Mahākshatrapa* and a queen of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula-Chāntamūla.

Vardhamānaka (XXXIV, 203, l.6), personal name of a male.

varsha (XXXIII, 149, l.1), 'year'.

varsha-paksha (4), 'a fortnight of the rainy season', the rainy season (Śrāvaṇa-badi 1 to Kārttika-sudi 15) being one of the three seasons in which the official year was divided in ancient India and the two others being *grīshma* and *hemanta*.

vasa-sata (1A, l.3)=Skt. *varsha-śata*, literally 'one hundred years', used in the sense of 'long life'.

Vasiṭhi-puta (1B, l.2)=Skt. *Vāsishṭhī putra*, 'son of a lady born in a family belonging to the Vasishṭha *gotra*', metronymic of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula-Chāntamūla. See *Vāsiṭhi-puta*, etc.

Vasusheṇa (XXXIV, 202, l.1), personal name of an Ābhīra king.

Vānavāsaka (XXXIV, 203, l.3), 'resident of Vanavāsa (modern Banavāsi in the North Kanara District, Mysore)', epithet of Vishṇurudraśivalānanda-Sātakarṇṇi. See *Vanavāsa*.

vā-pā (XXXIV, 202 l.1), abbreviation of Pkt. *vāsa-pākha=vassa-pakkha*=Skt. *varsha-paksha*, 'a fortnight of the rainy season'. See *vāsa-pakha, varsha-paksha*.

vāpi (XXXIV, 203 l.4), 'a well'.

vāsa-pakha (1A, l.3), *vāsā-pakha* (XXXIV, 22, l.8)=Skt. *varsha*° or *varshā-paksha* 'a fortnight of the rainy season'. See *vā-pā*.

Vāsiṭhi-puta, Vāsiṭhī-putta, Vāsishṭhī-putra, Vāsishṭhī-puttra, Vāseṭhī-putra, Vāse(si)shṭhī-putra =Skt. *Vāsishṭhī-putra*, 'son of a lady born in a family belonging to the Vāsishṭha *gotra*', metronymic of several rulers : (XXXIV, 202, l.1), of the Ābhīra king Vasusheṇa ; (2B, l.4 ; XXXIV, 19, l.1), of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula-Chāntamūla ; (1A, l.5 : XXXIV, 19, l.2), of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla ; (XXXIV, 22, l.5), of the Ikshvāku king Rudrapurushadatta. See *Vasiṭhi-puta*.

vigata-jvar-ālaya (7A, l.4), probably 'the abode of recluses ' or 'temple of the Recluse (Budha)'.

Vichayapura (7B II)=Skt. *Vijayapura*, q.v.

Vijaya (1A, l.3 : 1B, l.2), name of a year of the Jupiter's sixty-year cycle, which was the first year of the cycle originally.

Vijayapura (2A, l.5 ; 2B, l.7), *Vijayapurī* (4 ; XXXIV, 211, l.4), name of the Ikshvāku capital in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley.

vijaya-vaijayika (XXXIV, 19, l.9), better *vaijaya-vijayika*, 'yielding victory after victory '.

Vijhabodhisiri (1A, l.7)=Skt. *Vindhyabodhiśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*= Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

vipul-ārttha-kāṅkshin (7A, l.5), ' one who wishes for great welfare of all the beings ', or ' one who wants salvation '.

Vibhajavāda (XXXIII, 250, l.1)=Pali *Vibhajjavāda*, Skt. *Vibhajyavāda* or *Vibhajyavādin*, ' belonging to the Vibhajjavāda (Vibhajyavāda) School [of Buddhist monks]'.

Vira-Aribha .. (7B, III), partially preserved name of a prince. Cf. the name *Vīrapurushadatta*.

Virapurisadata (1B, l.2), *Virapurusadata* (7B IV), *Vīrapurasadata* (2A, l.1), *Vīrapurisadata* (XXXIII, 191, l.2 ; XXXIV, 22, l.3), *Vīrapurisadatta* (2B, ll. 3-4)=Skt. *Vīrapurushadatta* (really *Vīra-Purushadatta*), personal name of an Ikshvāku king.

Vishṇurudraśivalānanda-Sātakarṇṇi (XXXIV, 203, l.3), personal name of a resident of Vanavāsa.

vihāra (XXXIII, 250, l.3 ; XXXIV, 211, l.5), ' a Buddhist monastery '.

vihāra-bāhī (7A, l.5), ' the wing of a [Buddhist] monastery '.

vihāra-mukhya (7A, l.4), ' the principal monastery '.

Vīrapurushadatta (XXXIV, 19, l.4). See *Virapurisadata*, etc.

Vīrapurushadatta (XXXIV, 19, l.9), personal name of an Ikshvāku prince who was a son of king Ehuvula-Chāntamūla and grandson of king Vīrapurushadatta.

vejayika (1B, l.2)=Skt. *vaijayika*, ' yielding victory '.

Vaira-vāṇiya-puta (XXXIII, 191, l.4)=Skt. *Vaira-vāṇija-putra*, ' son of Vaira, the merchant ', epithet of Saṅghila II, grandson of Saṅghila I.

Vairasirinaka (XXXIII, 191, l.7), personal name of a male, the name being *Vairasiri* (Skt *Vairaśrī*), with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it, and also *naka* (*aṇaka*), a suffix.

Śaka (XXXIV, 203, l.3), name of a people.

śatru-gaṇ-āvamardin (XXXIV 203, l.5), ' one who has subdued the hosts of one's enemies', epithet of an engraver.

Śivaseba (XXXIV, 202, l.2), correctly *Śivaśepa*, personal name of a male. Cf. the name *Śunaḥśepa* or *Śunaḥśepha*.

śukla-paksha (XXXIII, 149, l.2), 'bright fortnight'.

śailamayī (4), 'made of stone'.

śrī (XXXIII, 149, l.1), honorific suffixed to the name of Ehavala, i.e. the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula Chāntamūla. Cf. *siri*.

Śrīparvvata (4), ancient name of the Nallamalai range.

śreshṭhīnīya (4), correctly *śreshṭhinyā*, 'together with the [*śreshṭhin's*] wife'.

saṁva (XXXIV, 19, l.2), abbreviation of *saṁvachhara*=Skt. *saṁvatsara*, 'the [regnal] year'.

saṁvachhara (XXXIII, 191, l.3 ; XXXIV, 22, l.7 ; XXXIV, 211, l.2)=Skt. *saṁvatsara* (4 ; XXXIV, 202, l. 1). 'the [regnal] year.' See *savachhara*.

sakasamaya-parasamaya (XXXIV, 211, l.6)=Skt. *svakasamaya-parasamaya*, 'one's own doctrine and other rival doctrines', not the Jain *sva-samaya* and *para-samaya* explained in Kundakund-āchārya's *Samayasāra* as respectively 'the soul which is consecrated in right conduct, belief and knowledge and is self-absorbed' and 'the soul which stands in the condition determined by *karman* and is absorbed in non-self' (above. Vol. XXIV, p. 272).

saga-gata (1A, l.3 ; XXXIV, 22, l.8)=Skt. *svarga-gata*, 'one who has gone to heaven (i.e. died)'.

Sagara-Dilīp-Āṁbarīsha-Yudhishṭhira-tulya-dharmma-vijaya (XXXIV, 19, l.5), 'one who has lawfully obtained victories like Sagara, Dilīpa, Ambarīsha and Yudhishṭhira', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula-Chāntamūla.

sagotā (XXXIV, 22, ll. 6-7)=Skt. *sagotrā*. See *Bahaphala-sagotā*.

Saṁghanikā (XXXIII, 191, l.7), personal name of a female, the real name being *Saṁghā* and *anikā* (*aṁnikā*) a suffix.

Saṁghila (XXXIII, 191, l.4), personal name of a householder as well as of his grandson (son's son).

Saṁjayapurīya (XXXIV, 202, l.2), 'resident of Sañjayapura (probably modern Sañjān in the Thana District of Bombay)'.

Saṭhapa (1B, l.8 ; XXXIV, 210, l.2), personal name of males. Cf. the name *Śaṭhagopa* popular in the Tamil-speaking area.

sata (XXVI. 125), mistake for *sava*, Pkt. abbreviation of Skt. *saṁvatsara*, 'the [regnal] year'.

sata (XXXIV, 210, l.6)=Skt. *śata*, 'a hundred'.

satama (3, l.3)=Skt. *saptama*, 'seventh'.

Satilasiri (1A, l.10)=Skt. *Satilaśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

satya-vrata (XXXIV, 203, l.5), 'one who has taken a vow of truthfulness'.

sa-ñāti-mita-baṁdha[*va*] (XXXIII, 191, l.9)=Skt. *sa-jñāti-mitra-bāndhava*, 'together with one's kinsmen, friends and relations'.

Samagandaka-vathava (XXXIV, 210, l.2)=Skt. °*vāstavya*, 'resident of [a locality called] Samāgandaka'.

samara-vijayin (XXXIII. 149, l.4), 'victor in (or, by means of) battles', epithet of *Senāpati* Aṇikki.

Samuda (7B IV)=Skt. *Samudra*, probably a personal name.

Samudaṁnikā (XXXIII, 191, l.6), pesonal name of a female, the real name being *Samudā* (Skt. *Samudrā*) and *aṁnikā* a suffix.

Samudasiri (1A, l. 11)=Skt. *Samudraśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Samusiri (1A, l.7), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it ; possibly a mistake for *Samudasiri*=Skt. *Samudraśrī*.

saṁpadata (XXVI, 125) =Skt. *sampradatta*, ' given '.

Saṁmāsaṁbudha (XXXIII, 191, l. 1)=Skt. *Samyaksambuddha*, ' the perfectly enlightened one ', i.e. the Buddha.

Samyaksambuddha (4), epithet of the Buddha.

Sarasikā (1A, l. 13), personal name of a female.

sarvva-guṇa-pārami(mī)-prāpta (4), ' one who attained perfection in all the [good] qualities ', epithet of the Buddha.

Sarvvadev-ādhivāsa (XXXIII, 149, l.6), ' abode of the god Sarva (i.e. Śiva) ', epithet of the *prāsāda* (temple) built by *Talavara* Eliśrī.

Sarvva-sattv-ottama (4), ' the best among all beings ', epithet of the Buddha.

savachhara (1A, l.3 ; 2A, l.3 ; 7B IV ; 2B, l.5 ; 3, l.2)=Skt. *saṁvatsara* ' the year '. See *saṁvachhara*.

sav-athesu apatihata-saṁkapasa (1A, l.5)=Skt. *sarv-ārtheshu apratihata-saṅkalpasya*, ' of one whose will was unchecked in all matters', used in the description of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

sava-loka-mahita (1B, l.1)=Skt. *sarva-loka-mahita*, 'honoured by the whole world (or, all people)', epithet of the god Noḍagīsarasāmi (=°īśvarasvāmin).

sava-satānaṁ (XXXIII, 250, l.3)=Skt. *sarva-sattvānām*, ' of all the beings '.

sava-sat-otama (XXXIII, 191, l.1)=Skt. *sarva-sattv-ottama*, ' best among all the beings ', epithet of the Samyaksambuddha (i.e. the Buddha).

sahamati (1B, l.3), literally ' one who has the same mind or thought as another '. i.e. ' an associate'.

sahodarāhi (1A, l.6)=Skt. *sahodarībhiḥ*, ' by [one's] sisters '.

Sāgaraṁnikā (XXXIII, 191, l.6), personal name of a female, the real name being *Sāgarā* and *aṁnikā* a suffix.

Sātakaṇṇi (XXXIV, 203, l.3). See *Vishṇurudraśivalānanda-Sātakaṇṇi*.

sāmi=Skt. *svāmin*, a royal title of foreign origin later adopted by some indigenous Indian kings including the Ikshvākus ; (3, l.1), title of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula Chāntamūla. See *svāmin*.

sāmi (1B, ll. 1, 4 ; XXVI, 125) =Skt. *svāmin*, suffixed to the name of a god. See *svāmin*.

sālā (2A, l. 15 ; 2B, l. 10)=Skt. *śālā*, probably ' a hall '.

siri=Skt. *śrī*, honorific prefixed to the names of many persons, especially rulers ; (1B, l.2 ; 2B, l. 5 ; 3, l.2 ; 4 ; 5, l.1, etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula-Chāntamūla ; (6A, ll. 4-5), of *Mahāsenāpati* Chaṁtapuḷa : (1A, l.2 etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla ; (1 A-B, l.2 ; 2A, l.1 ; 2B, ll. 3-4 ; 3, l.4), of the Ikshvāku king Vīrapurushadatta.

siri (2A, l.12 ; 2B, l.12)=*śrī*, honorific suffixed to the names of males. Cf. *Ehavalaśrī* and *śrī*.

siri (1A, ll. 6-12)=Skt. *śrī*, honorific suffixed to the names of ladies.

Siriparata (2B, l.6 ; XXXIV, 211, ll. 3-4)=Skt. *Śrīparvata*, ancient name of the Nallamalai range

Sivanāgasiri (1A, ll. 11-12)=Skt. *Śivanāgaśrī*, personal name of a lady with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Sisaba (XXXIV, 209, II, ll. 3-4). personal name of a soldier.

sukh-athana (2B, l. 17). *sukh-athanā* (2A, l. 17)=Skt. *sukh-ārthanā*, ' a prayer for the happiness [of] '. See *hita-sukh-athanāya*.

sunhā (XXXIV, 22, l.4)=Skt. *snushā*. ' daughter-in-law '.

supayuta (XXXIV, 210, l. 7)=Skt. *suprayukta*, 'well-fixed (i.e. well-deposited [in a guild]) '.

seṭhi-pamakha (1B, l.7)=Skt. *śreshṭhi-pramukha*, ' [a guild] headed by the banker '.

seṭhi-bālikā (1B, l.3)=Skt. *śreshṭhi-bālikā*, ' daughter of a banker '.

Seṭhivara-vaḍhamāna (2A, l.6, 2B, l.8)=Skt. *śreshṭhivara-vardhamāna*, a religious institution maintained by a banker. Cf. *Maharaja-vaḍhamāna*.

Seḍa-giri (XXXIV, 203, l.4)=*Seṭa-giri*, name of a hill bordering the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley, mentioned as Seṭa-giri in a Nāsik inscription (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 197) in the description of the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarni.

Senāpati, 'a leader of forces', official designation of several persons ; (XXXIII, 149, 1.4), of Aṇikki ; (6B III, l.1), of Karadaru-kumāra ; (6B II, l.1), of Raṭapuṭa.

seni (1B, l.5)=Skt. *śreṇi*, *śreṇī*, ' a guild '.

Sembaka-Vardhamānaka (XXXIV, 203, l.6), ' Vardhamānaka belonging to the Sembaka family or clan '.

seyatha (1B, l.3)=Pali *seyyathā*, Skt. *tad=yathā*, ' namely '.

sela-maḍava (2A, ll. 7-8 ; 2B, ll. 9-10)= Skt. *śaila-maṇḍapa*, ' a stone-built hall '.

Sesebamāguruka (XXXIV, 19, l.7), probably a person named *Māgūruka* of the *Seseba* family.

sodhita (XXXIV, 203, l.4)=Skt. *śodhita*, ' cleansed (i.e. renovated) '.

Skaṁdagopa (XXXIV, 19, l.6)=*Skandagopa*, personal name of a *Mahātalavara*.

stamba (7A, l.2 ; XXXIV, 19, l. 10), correctly *stambha*, ' a pillar '.

Syandaka-parvata (4), name of a hill.

Syandaka-parvata-śreshṭhin (4), ' a banker residing at [a place at the foot of] the Syandaka-parvata '.

sva-vīryy-ārjjita-vijaya-kīrtti (XXXIV, 19, l.4), ' one who achieved fame for victories obtained by his own prowess ', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

svāmin, royal title of foreign origin adopted by indigenous Indian rulers ; (XXXIV, 22, l.4), of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula-Chāntamūla (XXXIV, 22, l.2), of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla ; (XXXIV, 22, l. 3), of the Ikshvāku king Vīrapurushadatta. See *sāmi*.

svāmin (XXXIV, 19, ll. 1, 10), suffixed to the name of the god Pushpabhadra otherwise called Mahādeva. See *sāmi*.

Haṁka (6B IV, l. 2), personal name of a male.

Halaṁpurasāmi (XXVI, 125)=Skt. °*svāmin*, name of a diety.

Hāritī-putra (XXXIV, 19, l. 8), ' son of a lady born in a family belonging to the Hārita *gotra* ', metronymic of the Ikshvāku prince Vīrapurushadatta, son of Ehuvula-Chāntamūla.

hita-sukh-athanāya (XXXIII, 250, l.3)= Skt. *hita-sukh-ārthanayā* ' with a prayer for the welfare and happiness [of] '.

hiraṇa-koṭi-go-satasahasa-hala-satasahasa-padāyi (1A, ll. 4-5) =Skt. *hiraṇya-koṭi-go-śatasahasra-hala-śatasahasra-pradāyin*, ' one who bestowed crores of gold [coins], lakhs of cows and lakhs of plough measures of land ', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

Hutavaha-tanaya (XXXIII, 149, l.3), 'son of the fire god', epithet of the god Kumāra or Kārttikeya.

hema (5, l. 2), abbreviation of *hemanta*, ' the winter season (Mārgaśīrsha-badi 1 to Phālguna-sudi 15) ', one of the three seasons in which the official year was divided in ancient India, the two others being *grīshma* and *varshā*.

No. 2—KILARATTI INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA SOMESVARA I, SAKA 968

(*1 Plate*)

SHRINIVAS RITTI, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 6.4.1960*)

In the course of my epigraphical survey of the Lingsugur Taluk in the Raichur District, Mysore, in September 1959, I visited a village named **Kilāraṭṭi.** The inscription edited here was discovered in that village. The stone bearing the inscription is now fixed into the ceiling of the Hanumān temple outside the village. The record is engraved in twenty lines and covers a space about 3 feet 4 inches in length and 3 feet in breadth. The stone is split in the middle, but fortunately no letters are lost. The first three lines of the inscription are, however, difficult to copy owing to the presence of a big stone beam.

The **characters** of the epigraph are Kannaḍa and its language is Kannaḍa prose, except a verse in Sanskrit in lines 18-19. As regards palaeography, three different forms of the medial *u* sign are worth noticing ; cf. *ḷu* in °*dindāḷuttamire* (line 8), *ḷu* in *nelerīḍinoḷu* (line 9) and *pu* in *puras saharāgi* (line 15). The *e* sign has sometimes a peculiar form ; cf. *te* and *le* in °*kōteya neleṟīḍinoḷu* (line 9). The letter *ph* is distinguished from *p* by a loop in the left arm of *p* ; cf. *phalam = akku* (line 17). As regards **orthography,** notice may be made of the reduplication of certain consonants following *r*.

The **date** of the record is **Śaka 968, Vyaya, Pushya ba. 9, Wednesday, Uttarāyaṇa, Makara-saṁkrānti.** The details regularly correspond to **December 24, 1046 A.D.**

The epigraph begins with the usual *praśasti* of the Western Chālukya kings and refers itself to the reign of **Trailōkyamalla.** Next is introduced the king's younger brother *Sama[illegible]kamalla Kumāra* **Jayasiṁha** as administering the *Kuttumḍitti-agrahāra* of **Bannigoḷa,** situated in the division of **Karaḍikal-300,** from his headquarters at the fort of **Pannāḷe.** The purpose of the record is to register a grant of five *mattar* of black-soil and five *mattar* of red-soil land to the god Bhōgēśvara. The grant was entrusted to Dēvasiṅgha-bhaḷāra. This portion is followed by imprecatory passages in Kannaḍa and Sanskrit. The last line states that the record was written by *Sēnabōva* Bammaṇayya.

The inscription introduces to us the Chālukya prince Jayasiṁha who is described as the *priy-ānuja* (the beloved younger brother) of the ruling king Trailōkyamalla who is none else than Sōmēśvara I, the son of Jagadēkamalla Jayasiṁha II, since the date of the record, viz. 1046 A.D. falls in the reign of Sōmēśvara I Āhavamalla.

No inscription of a brother of Sōmēśvara I was so long known.[2] That, however, Sōmēśvara I had a younger brother is hinted at in a newly discovered inscription from Vēnra[3] in the Deglur

[1] It is registered as No. B 494 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1959-60.

[2] Sōmēśvara I is known to have had two sisters, viz. Hammā or Avvaladēvi married to the Sēvuṇa prince Bhillama III (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, chart facing p. 428), and Sōmaladēvi (*Hyd. Arch. Series*, No. 18, Inscription No. 2).

[3] This inscription was copied in October 1959 by my colleague Mr G. Bhattacharya. It is registered as No. B 216 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1959-60.

Taluk of the Nanded District, while an inscription at Mōrigēri[1] in the Hadagali Taluk of the Bellary District, mentions the name of this brother as Jayasiṁha. The former, while giving a genealogical account of the family, describes Trailōkyamalla (Sōmēśvara I) as the *agr-ātmaja*[2] or the elder son of Jayasiṁha (i.e. Jayasiṁha II). Similarly the Mōrigēri inscription describes Sōmēśvara I as *Jayasiṁha-vallabh-āgraja*, thus indicating that he had a younger brother named Jayasiṁha. Again a Tamil inscription from Maṇimaṅgalam, belonging to the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājēndra, while describing the famous battle of Koppam which the Chōḷa king fought with Sōmēśvara I, mentions Jayasiṁha, a younger brother of the Chālukya king, among the heroes who fell in the battle.[3] The editor of the Maṇimaṅgalam record observed, 'This prince is not mentioned in the Western Chālukyan inscriptions.'[4] About the same prince, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri remarked, 'This could not have been the younger brother of Vikramāditya VI; he survived the battle of Koppam for many years'.[5] But there is no doubt now of the existence of *Samaraikamalla Kumāra* Jayasiṁha, the younger brother of Sōmēśvara I. The reason for the absence of the name of this prince in the usual genealogy of the Chālukya family is apparently his untimely death at the battle of Koppam which is supposed to have taken place in 1053 A.D.[6]

The present record states that, in 1046 A.D., prince Jayasiṁha was governing Bannigoḷa from the fort of Pannāḷe where his paternal aunt Akkādēvi is known to have had her headquarters in 1050 A.D.[7] Bannigoḷa came to be administrated by Kētaladēvi, queen of Sōmēśvara I, in 1055 A.D.[8]

The **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription are Karaḍikal-300, Bannigoḷa and Pannāḷe. Karaḍikal, the headquarters of the division, is the present Karaḍikal about two miles away from Chhāvaṇi the headquarters of the Lingsugar Taluk. Bannigoḷa is the modern Bannigōḷ in the same Taluk. This village is described as a *Kuttumbitti-agrahāra* in the present record as well as the Bannigōḷ inscription referred to above. It is difficult to make out the exact import of the expression *kuttumbitti* which also occurs as *kuttumvritti* in some other records. It may be suggested that this is a corrupt form of *kuṭumba-vritti*, i.e. a holding given for the maintenance of one's family. I am unable to locate Pannāḷe[9] which was apparently somewhere near Bannigōḷ.

I am thankful to my colleague Mr. B. R. Gopal who kindly drew my attention to the Maṇimaṅgalam record referred to above.

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[1] *SII*, Vol. IX, Part i, No. 101.

[2] Cf. *jayanidhi-Jayasiṁhaṁ tad-agr-ātmajaṁ mēru-nibhaṁ Trailōkyamallan°* (lines 27-28).

[3] Cf. *SII*, Vol. III, p. 60 : *Chaḷukki-tambi Jayasiṅgaṇum°* (line 9).

[4] Ibid, p. 58, note.

[5] *The Cōlas*, p. 278, note 76.

[6] S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 112.

[7] See *SII*, Vol. XI, Part i, No. 86.

[8] *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, No. B 342.

[9] The Śilāhāra chiefs of Karāḍ were associated with a Pannāla-durga or Praṇālaka-durga which was identified by Fleet with Panhāḷā, twelve miles to the north-west of Kolhapur (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 546, 549). An inscription from Sūḍi (above, Vol. XV, pp. 78 ff.), dated Śaka 973, represents Akkādēvi as governing the divisions of Kisukāḍu-70, Torugare 60 and Māsavāḍi-140, from the *nelevīḍu* of Pannāḷeya kōṭe. In another inscription from Korlhaḷḷi (*SII*. Vol. XI, Part i, No. 86) dated Śaka 97[2], the same lady is stated to have been governing the same divisions with an additional one, viz, Bāgadage-70, from Parnāvaḷeya-kōte, which is apparently the same as Pannāḷeya kōte of the Sūḍi record. Barnett, the editor of the latter record, followed Fleet in identifying Pannāḷeya kōṭe. I doubt if the Pannāḷeya kōte mentioned in our record could be identified with Panhāḷā near Kolhapur, which is far away from Bannigōl.

KILARATTI INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA SOMESVARA I, SAKA 968

Size : One-fifth

TEXT[1]

1 ....[2]

2 ....[**Chāḷuky-ābha**]**raṇam** śrīma[t*]-**Traiḷōkyamalladēvara** vija[ya]-

3 [rā]jyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivriddhi(vṛiddhi)-pravarddhamā[na]m=āchaṁdrārka-tāraṁbaraṁ sa-

4 luttamire [||*] Ta[t*]-priy-ānujaṁ svasti-śrīmat-**Samaraikamalladēv..-nām-ā-**

5 di-samasta-prasa(śa)sti-sahitaṁ śrīmat-Kumāraṁ **Jayasiṁgha-**

6 **dēvar Karaḍikal-mūnūṟaṟ**=oḷagaṇa kuttuṁbitti-agra-

7 hāraṁ **Bannigoḷanaṁ** tribhōg-ābhyaṁtara-su(si)ddhiyiṁ dushṭa-ni-

8 graha-visi(śi)shṭa-pratipāḷanadiṁd=āḷuttamire **Pannāḷeyada** kō-

9 ṭeya nelevīḍinoḷu Svasti **Sa(Śa)ka-nṛipa-kāḷātīta-saṁva-**

10 **tsara-śataṁga[ḷ*]** 968 neya **Vyaya-saṁvatsaraṁ** pravarttise tad-varsh-ābhyaṁ-[3]

11 tarada **Pushya bahuḷa 9 Budhavāradaṁd=Uttarāyaṇa-Makha(ka)-**

12 **ra-saṁkrāṁti-**nimittadiṁ Dēvasiṁghabhaḷāra[r*]gge dhārā-pūrvvakaṁ geydu

13 Bhōgēsva(śva)radēva[r*]gge ūriṁda mūḍaṇa ḍoṁkivoladalli biṭṭa kariya

14 nelaṁ matta[4] 5 kisu-kāḍu matta[4] 5 aṁtu mattaru 10 [||*] Īdha[5]

15 Ūroḍeyar=aivaruṁ purassaharāgi dharmmavaṁ pratipāḷisuvaru [|*] Ī(I)dan=ā-

16 r=ōrvvaru pratipāḷisidargge Bāṇarāsiyoḷ[6]=sāsira kavileyaṁ brāhma-

17 ṇarggaṁ tapōdhanarggaṁ koṭṭa phaḷam=akku [|*] Idan=aḷidargga(gge) kavileyuṁ brāhma-

18 ṇaruṁ tapōdhanan[7]=aḷida pañcha-mahā-pātakana(v=a)kku || Sva-dattaṁ(ttāṁ) paradattaṁ(ttāṁ) vā

19 yō harēta vasuṁdharā[m |*] shashṭir=vvarsha-sahasrāṇi mi(vi)shṭā(shṭhā)yām jāyatē kri-[miḥ ||]

20 Baredaṁ Sēnabōvaṁ Bammaṇayya ||[8]

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[1] From impressions.

[2] This portion has been covered by the stone beam on which the inscribed slab rests.

[3] The *anusvāra* is a little towards the letter *rshā*.

[4] *Matta* stands for *Mattar*.

[5] Read *idaṁ*.

[6] Read *Vāraṇāsi* (Sanskrit *Vārāṇasī*).

[7] Read *kavileyumaṁ Brāhmaṇarumaṁ tapōdhanaruman°*.

[8] This line is engraved in smaller characters.

No. 3—FRAGMENTARY PILLAR INSCRIPTION FROM AMARAVATI[1]

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 20.4.1960*)

The **Amarāvatī** (Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh) inscriptions published in Burgess's *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. I, were generally assigned to c. second century A.D. But the characters of one of them, appearing as No. 4 on Plate LVI and recording the gift of a pillar by a general named Muḍakatala, were rightly regarded as of the Mauryan type and it was observed on the strength of this evidence that 'though, in the second century, vast additions, if not almost entire reconstruction, were effected, the great *Chaitya* (i.e. the one at Amarāvatī) dates originally from perhaps about 200 B.C.' A number of such early inscriptions were unearthed in the course of later excavations at Amarāvatī along with some records of later dates and, while publishing them in the pages of this journal, Vol. XV, pp. 258 ff., R.P. Chanda thus observed on the palaeography of the earliest group of them : 'all the signs from the ancient Brāhmī epigraphs from Amarāvatī agree with the southern variety of the Aśoka alphabet.'[2] Recently more such inscriptions, along with some of later dates, have been traced or dug up at Amarāvatī and these are being noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1959-60. The **most important** among these epigraphs is a **fragmentary record** on the side face of a sand stone slab apparently cut out from an inscribed **pillar of the Aśokan type** probably for the purpose of using it as a stepping stone. It is stated to have been a surface find and was traced in the house of an inhabitant of the area near the great *Stūpa* at Amarāvatī. This inscription is edited in the following lines.

The inscribed side of the slab measures about 10 inches in length and 17 inches in height. The fragmentary inscription contains only seven lines of writing and the maximum number of letters in a line of the extant writing is seven in line 5. The first few letters of line 6 and all the letters in line 7 are damaged. A number of **letters are apparently lost both at the beginning and at the end** of each of the lines. There is some trace of the original 'Mauryan polish' on the inscribed face of the slab, none of the other sides representing the surface of the pillar on which the inscription was originally incised. The **Brāhmī characters** and **Prakrit language**, in which the record is written, resemble those of some of the inscriptions of Aśoka discovered in Western and Southern India, especially the Rock Edicts at Girnar. As regards **palaeography**, it may be observed that the letter *r* is not of the cork-screw but of the straight-vertical type while the right limb of *bh* is fashioned by a single vertical line and not by three strokes. The **orthography** of the inscription is characterised by the use of both *r* and *l*. Although the contents of the fragmentary inscription do not exactly tally with those of any of the known edicts of Aśoka, as will be seen below, the record certainly looks like **an as yet unknown pillar edict of the Maurya king Aśoka (c. 269-232 B.C.)**. If its ascription to the Maurya king is justified, the record under study is the first pillar inscription of Aśoka so far discovered in South India.

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[1] Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this paper.

[2] Op. cit., p .260.

It is generally believed that the Aśokan pillars were made at a quarry near Chunar in the Mirzapur District, U.P., and were transported to different places, some of them hundreds of miles away.[1] Historians have praised the ingenuity of the Mauryan engineers and craftsmen for the carriage of such unwieldy masses to great distances especially in view of the extreme difficulty of the conveyance of the Aśokan pillars from Topra in the Punjab and Meerut in U.P. to Delhi and their re-erection there, which is known to have been experienced by the engineers of Sulṭān Fīrūz Tughluq (1351-88 A.D.) of Delhi and is vividly described by Shams-i-Sirāj.[2] The surprise of scholars would no doubt be even greater if Aśoka's artisans were really responsible for transporting one of the pillars from Chunar to Amarāvatī, a distance of nearly a thousand miles across rivers, forests and mountains.[3]

In the first line of the inscription, we can read *para[r]ta(tra) abh[i]* which is followed by a damaged *s* so that the second word may be *abhisita*. Both these words, viz. *paratra*, 'in the future world', and *abhisita* (Sanskrit *abhiṣhikta*, 'anointed'), are often found in the inscriptions of Aśoka, although not both together in the same sentence. Since it is difficult to accommodate the ideas expressed by the two words in the same context, we may suggest a fullstop between them. The most important linguistic and palaeographical feature of this line of writing is probably noticed in the word *paratra* in which *tra* appears to be written as *rta*. Both these features are found in the language and palaeography of the Girnar edicts of Aśoka and have not yet been noticed elsewhere.[4]

The second line reads *[dha] kho likhite [me]* in which *dha* seems to be the second letter of *idha* so that the words of the sentence stand for Sanskrit *iha khalu likhitaṁ mayā*, 'indeed [it] has been written here by me'. The style of the sentence is no doubt clearly Aśokan and all the four words are found in Aśoka's edicts. It is also well known that the fact of writing down the edicts and getting them inscribed on stone (i.e. rocks and pillars) is often referred to in the known edicts of Aśoka. The word *kho* (Sanskrit *khalu*) is quite common in Aśoka's records,[5] but is rare in other Prakrit inscriptions. The word *idha* occurs several times in the Girnar Rock Edicts (e.g. I, line 2 ; VI, line 12 ; XIII, lines 8 and 9) and once in Rock Edict IV at Dhauli.

The third line has *jano bahūnī*, 'the people ... many ...', and both the words *jana* and *bahu* are found many times in the records of Aśoka. The form *jano* in masc. nom. sing. occurs in Girnar, VII, line 2 ; IX, lines 1 and 2 ; X, line 1 ; XIII, line 5 ; XIV, line 4 ; and also in Shahbazgarhi VII, line 3 ; IX, line 18 ; XIII, line 6. The other word appears in the forms *bahuni* and *bahūni* in most versions of the edicts of Aśoka.

Line 4 has *anusuyaṁti sa* followed by a damaged letter which may probably be read as *[me]*. This would stand in Sanskrit as *anuśochanti tat mayā*, '[They] regret. Therefore .... by me.' The verb *anusu* may also stand for Sanskrit *anuśru*, 'to hear repeatedly as from a sacred authority'. In that case, *anuśrūyante tat mayā* would mean '[The texts] are, therefore, heard

[1] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 1932, pp. 214-15. As is well known, the pillar inscriptions of Aśoka have been found at the following places : (1) Delhi (originally from Topra in the Ambala District, East Punjab), (2) Delhi (originally from Meerut, U.P.), (3) Allahabad (originally from Kosam in the Allahabad District, U.P.), (4-6) Radhiah (Lauriya-Araraj), Mathia (Lauriya Navandgarh or Nandangarh) and Rampurva, all three in the Champaran District, North Bihar, (7-8) Rummindei and Nigalisagar in the Nepalese Tarai, (9) Sarnath near Banaras, U.P., and (10) Sanchi near Bhilsa, M.P.

[2] Cf. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. III, p. 350.

[3] Mr. A. Ghosh, Director General of Archaeology in India, informs us that the pillar is of fine-grained quartzite (metamorphosed sandstone) of the Nallamalai range and not Chunar sandstone.

[4] See *pārarti(tri)kāya* in Girnar, X, line 3, which is found in Aśoka's other records as *pālatikāya* (Dhauli, Jaugada and Erragudi), *pālaṁtikāye* (Kalsi) and *paratrikaye* (Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra).

[5] Cf. Girnar, IX, lines 3 and 7 ; X, line 4 ; Kalsi, IX, line 25 ; X, line 28 ; XIII, line 14 ; Shahbazgarhi, VI, line 16 ; IX, line 18 ; X, line 22 ; XIII, line 11 ; Mansehra, VII, line 32 ; IX, lines 3 and 4 ; X, line 11 ; Dhauli, IX, line 3 ; Jaugada, IX, lines 2, 3 and 5 ; Pillar Edicts (Topra), I, line 5 ; III, line 19 VII, line 30 ; Sarnath, line 3 ; Calcutta-Bairat, line 3 ; Brahmagiri, lines 2 and 4 ; Siddhapura, lines 5, 6 and 9 ; Jatinga Rameśvara, line 4.

by me repeatedly.' If there is really any reference to religious texts, they may of course be the *dharma-paryāyas* enumerated in the Calcutta-Bairat Minor Rock Edict.[1] This would then show that the inscription under study is almost certainly an Aśokan edict. Whatever, however, may be the interpretation of the passage, it is in perfect Aśokan style, though the word *anusuyaṁti* is not found in the inscriptions of Aśoka so far discovered.

Line 5 has *ra chhijiti vijaye* (Sanskrit . . . *chhidyate vijaye*), in which *chhijiti* means 'is broken or cut or destroyed' and *vijaye*, 'in conquest', i.e. 'when one gets a victory [in a battle or war]'. The word *vijaye* may also be regarded as standing for Sanskrit *vijayaḥ* masc. nom. sing. instead of masc. loc. sing. This word reminds us of the concluding part of Rock Edict XIII wherein Aśoka denounces the conquest of peoples by arms and applauds the conquest of their hearts through *Dharma* and wherein the word *vijaya* occurs several times. The word *chhijiti*, however, is not noticed in the known inscriptions of Aśoka.

The extant *aksharas* of line 6 are [*pi cha*] *mame*(*ma*) *pi* (Sanskrit *api cha mama api*, 'and then again of myself also'). The last three *aksharas* may also be read as *m*[*ā*]*m=api*, 'me too' ; but that is less likely since, in that sense, *maṁ pi* would probably be the proper expression in an inscription of Aśoka (cf. *maṁ* for Sanskrit *mām* in Pillar Edict VI). The first three letters of line 7 look like *pi tata* probably standing for Sanskrit *api tatra*, 'too . . . there'.

As already indicated above, the language of the inscription **closely resembles that of the Girnar version** of Aśoka's Rock Edicts. In this connection, we may note the retention of *ra* in *para*[*r*]*ta*(*tra*) without changing it to *la* and the form *jano* in masc. nom. sing. *Vijaye*, whether it is masc. nom. sing. or masc. loc. sing., would also suit the Girnar dialect. As regards *me*, the Girnar edicts have both *mama* and *me* as gen. sing. and *mayā* as inst. sing., though the Minor Rock Edicts in Mysore have both *mayā* and *me* as inst. sing. and *me* also as gen. sing. Considering the fragmentary nature of the line, it is not impossible to regard *me* in line 2 as gen. sing.

We have seen that the palaeography and language of the inscription under study do not go against its ascription to the Maurya emperor Aśoka and that, on the other hand, its style seems to be perfectly Aśokan while its contents remind us of those of some of the known edicts of Aśoka. The ideas suggested by the words of the inscription are similar to those peculiar to the records of Aśoka and have not yet been noticed in any other inscription. The use of the First Person singular is also rare in royal records excepting those of Aśoka. These facts, when considered along with others that the inscription was engraved on a sand stone pillar like those of Aśoka, that the pillar bore the so-called Mauryan polish and that the record has to be assigned to the Maurya age on grounds of palaeography, indeed make it very probable that **the epigraph belongs to Aśoka** who alone is known to have raised numerous inscribed pillars of the same type in various localities of his vast empire. The great *Stūpa* at Amarāvatī thus seems to have been built not about 200 B.C. as suggested by Burgess but by Aśoka about half a century earlier.

This is in consonance with the Buddhist tradition that the said Maurya emperor built no less than eightyfour thousand *Stūpas* throughout his empire.[2] The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang, who travelled in India in the first half of the seventh century A.D., says that he found a *Stūpa* built by Aśoka as far south as Kāñchīpura near Madras.[3] Hiuen-tsang also visited the headquarters of the country called T'e-na-ka-che-ka (i.e. Dhānyakaṭaka, i.e. Dharaṇikoṭa near Amarāvatī) or Ta-An-to-lo (i.e. Great Andhra).[4] He does not speak of any Aśoka *Stūpa* there, though he

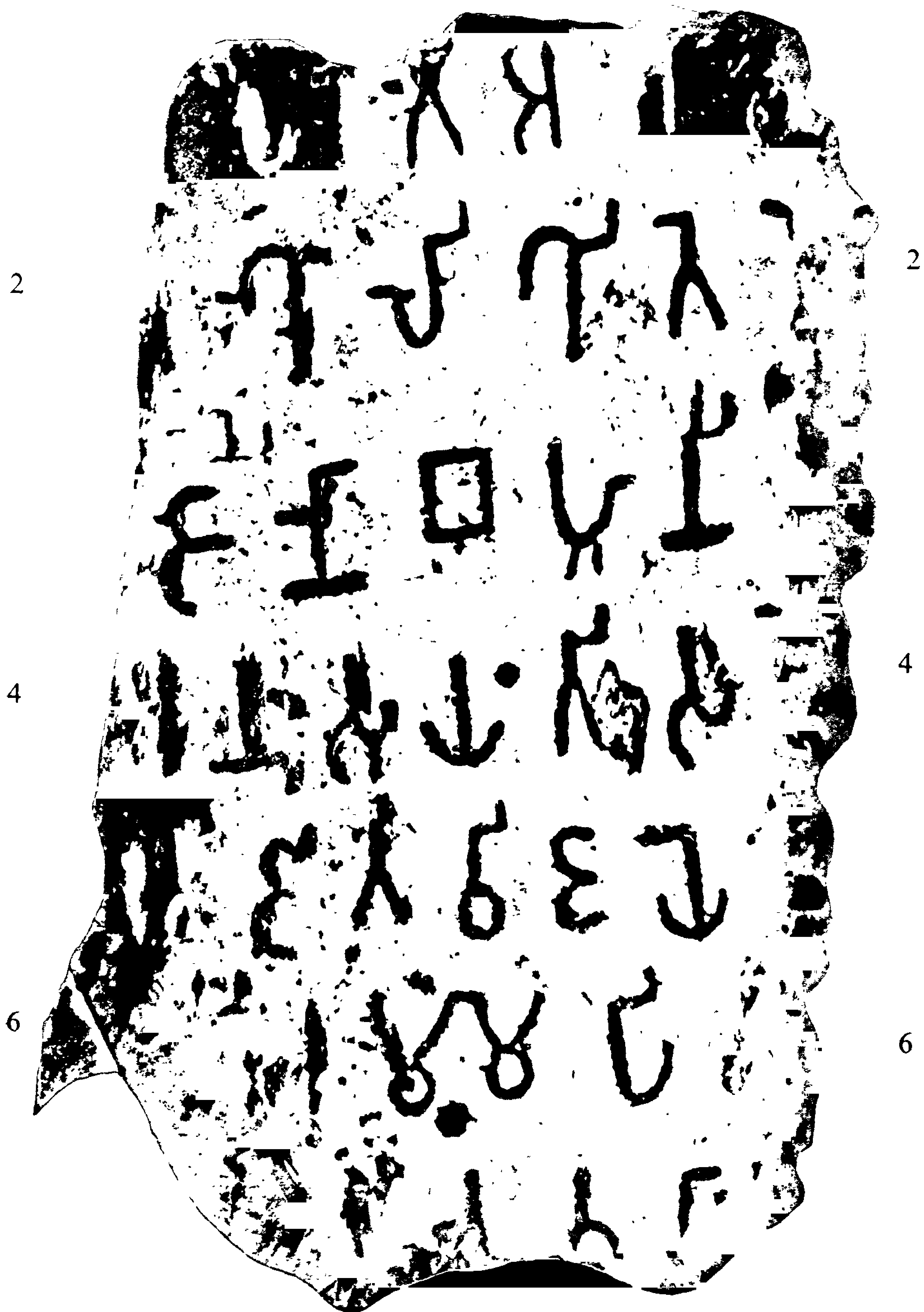
[1] *CII*, Vol. I, pp. 172 f.

[2] Smith, *Early History of India*, 1924, p. 172.

[3] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 226.

[4] Ibid., pp. 214, 216 ; Cunningham, *Geography of Ancient India*, p. 622. Hiuen-tsang places the Pūrva-śaila and Aparaśaila to the east and west of the capital of the country.

FRAGMENTARY PILLAR INSCRIPTION FROM AMARAVATI



Size : One-half

refers to one Aśoka *Stūpa* at Ping-k'i-lo (probably Ping-k'i-pu-lo, i.e. Veṅgīpura), the capital of the neighbouring An-to-lo or Andhra country, and another at the capital of the Chu-li-ya country, i.e. the territory of the Telugu-Cholas.[1] But the silence of the Chinese pilgrim regarding the existence of a *Stūpa* built by Aśoka at Dhānyakataka or Amarāvatī cannot of course be regarded as definitely proving that none actually existed there. The present inscription seems to suggest that the Amarāvatī *Stūpa* was **built by Aśoka about the middle of the third century B**

TEXT[2]

1 para[r]ta(tra) [|*] abl [isa][3]

2 [dha][4] kho likhite [m]e

3 jano[5] bahūnī[6]

4 anusuyaṁti [|*] sa[7]

5 ra chhijiti vijaye[8]

6 [pi cha] mam[e][9] pi

7 [pi tata tā]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 209, 224. The pilgrim saw an Aśoka *Stūpa* at the capital of Kaliṅga, probably at Kaliṅganagara, modern Mukhaliṅgam near Śrīkākuḷam (ibid., p. 198), but may not have visited Sālihuṇḍām, in the Srikakulam District, where also there was probably a *Stūpa* built by Aśoka according to an early tradition (above, Vol. XXXI, p. 88, note 2).

[2] From impressions.

[3] The intended word may be *abhisita*.

[4] The intended word may be *idha*.

[5] Above this word, there are traces looking like the *aksharas nera*. It is difficult to say whether they were actually incised or are mere marks on the stone.

[6] The *akshara* after *nī* is unrecognisable.

[7] The *akshara* following *sa*, which was endowed with an *e-mātrā*, is unrecognisable, but may be *me*.

[8] The *akshara* following *ye* is unrecognisable.

[9] Read *mama*. The reading of the last three *aksharas* may also be *m[ā]m=api*; but, as indicated above, that is less likely.

No. 4—THREE EARLY MEDIEVAL INSCRIPTIONS

(*2 Plates*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 4.1.1960*)

1. Kabul Inscription of Shāhi Khiṅgāla

In May 1956, the Government of India sent an Archaeological Delegation for exploration in Afghanistan. Cyclostyled copies of the Preliminary Report of the Delegation (with printed Plates), by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran and Dr. Y. D. Sharma, both officers of the Department of Archaeology, were distributed among the members of the Archaeological Advisory Board meeting at New Delhi in September 1956. This Report contains the notice of an interesting inscription.

The members of the Delegation learnt at Kabul that a marble image of Gaṇēśa had been discovered some years ago somewhere at **Gardez** (famous for its fortress called Bala Hissar) about 70 miles to the south of Kabul and that the image was later removed to **Kabul** where it was being worshipped by the Hindu residents of the city at **Dargah Pīr Ratan Nāth** near the Pamir Cinema. At Gardez, however, the local people could not confirm the story of the discovery of the image at that place. The image under worship at Dargah Pīr Ratan Nāth measures 28 inches in height and 14 inches in breadth. There is an inscription in two lines on its base. A photograph of the inscribed image appears in the Report, Plate II, A. Unfortunately the Delegation did not bring any inked impression of the record. The image has also been recently illustrated by Prof. G. Tucci in his article entitled 'Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat' appearing in the *East and West*, Vol. 9, No. 4, December 1958, pp. 276-328, figure 40 (at p. 323). The Report of Ramachandran and Sharma contains a Roman transcript (without diacritical marks) and a translation of the epigraph. Tucci also quotes the epigraphic text, as read by him on the basis of a photograph of the image, in footnote 29 (at pp. 327-28) of his article. But neither of the published transcripts of the inscription is free from errors. We edit the epigraph in the following pages from the photograph in the Report of Ramachandran and Sharma.

The **characters** of the Kabul Gaṇēśa image inscription belong to the North Indian (Siddhamātṛikā) alphabet of the sixth or seventh century A. D. That it is not much later than the middle of the seventh century is clear from the use of the tripartite form of the letter *y*. The latest occurrence of this form of the said letter has been noticed in Eastern India in such early seventh century inscriptions as the Patiakella plate[1] of Śambhuyaśas, dated 602 A. D., and the Dubi plates[2] of Bhāskaravarman (c. 600-50 A. D.), while in the Rajasthan area of Western India it is also found rarely in the late seventh century epigraphs like the Dhulev plate[3] of Bhētti dated in the Harsha year 73 corresponding to 679 A. D. The number 13 has been written in the inscription with the symbols for 10 and 3. In some cases (cf. *shāhi-pādaiḥ* in line 2), the letter *h* looks like *bh*. The **language** of our record is Sanskrit although there are a few errors of rammar and orthography in the text.

[1] Above, Vol. IX, Plate between pp. 286 and 287.

[2] Ibid, Vol. XXX, pp. 287 ff. and Plates.

[3] Ibid, Plate facing p. 4.

The inscription begins with a *siddham* symbol followed by a sentence, at the end of which there is a floral design indicating the completion of the writing. The sentence states that [an image of] Mahā-Vināyaka was installed by *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* **Shāhi Khiṅgāla** on the **thirteenth of the bright half of the month of Jyēshṭha in the year 8**, apparently of the Shāhi king's reign, when the constellation was **Viśākha** and the *lagna* **Siṁha**. In the passage *saṁvatsarē ashṭatamē saṁ 8* in line 1, Ramachandran and Sharma read *mahā°* for *saṁ 8*. In the same line, the word *tithau*, read by them as well as by Tucci, looks on the photograph as *tilau* (which has of course to be corrected to *tithau*) while the word read as *ri(ri)kshē* looks on the photograph as *ji(ri)kshē*. The word at the end of line 1 and the beginning of line 2 has been read by Ramachandran and Sharma as *chitra-[ka]rma*, of which Tucci reads only the first *akshara*. But, in the photograph, the word looks more like *chitra[ka]m*. The passage *°idaṁ Mahā-Vināyaka* in line 2 requires to be corrected to *°idaṁ Mahā-Vināyaka-bimbaṁ*.

More important than all these is, however, the last passage containing the Shāhi king's name which Ramachandran and Sharma read as *°Khiṅgalaiḥ khyāta-shāhi-padaiḥ* (with the addition of diacritical marks) and Tucci as *°Khiṅgal-ōtyāna-shāhi-padai[ḥ]*. In regard to his reading, Tucci observes, " I am not absolutely sure about the reading *ōtyāna* ; it could also be *ōḍyāna* or *ōdyāna* .... A good rubbing can settle the point. If the reading is confirmed, we have here the first mention of a king of Udyāna, Uḍḍiyāna (i. e. the Swat valley)." The name of the king is, however, *Khiṅgāla* and not *Khiṅgala*, while the vowel-mark with the letter *l* is clearly *au* and neither *ai* as read by Ramachandran and Sharma (who wrongly read a *visarga* after *lai*) nor *ō* as read by Tucci. Outside this passage, the letter *n* occurs only once in *Mahā-Vināyaka* while *t* occurs several times. In *n* in this case, both the left and right lower limbs are shorter than those of *t*. If this is a purposeful distinction made by the engraver, we should better read the two *aksharas* following *lau* as *tyāta*, though the readings *nyāna*, *nyāta* and *tyāna* cannot be regarded as altogether impossible, since, as indicated above, the distinction between the letters *bh* and *h* is not clearly indicated by the engraver of the record. In any case, the readings *khyāta*, *ḍyāna* or *dyāna* are not supported by the photograph. As regards Tucci's suggestion that the king might have been a Shāhi ruler of Udyāna (*Udyāna-shāhi*), it is doubtful whether the Shāhis of Swat, if any Shāhi house actually ruled there, can be regarded as in occupation of the Gardez region within the dominions of the Shāhis of Kapiśā or Kabul since, in the period in question, the latter were probably the strongest amongst the Shāhi houses, although it may of course be conjectured that the image in question was carried to Gardez from the Swat valley.

In the second quarter of the seventh century A. D., when the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang was passing through Uttarāpatha or the north-western division of Bhāratavarsha, the emperor of Kapiśā which then dominated over ten neighbouring States and comprised Lampāka (Laghman), Nagara or Nagarahāra (Jalālābād), Gandhāra (the Peshawar region)[1] and probably also Jāguḍa (Southern Afghanistan with Ghaznī as the chief city), had a residence (i.e. a secondary capital) at Udabhāṇḍa or Udabhāṇḍapura (modern Und near Attock).[2] It appears that under the pressure of the Turks and Chinese from the north and the Arabs from the south and west, the Shāhi kings of Kapiśā left the western provinces of their empire in the hands of viceroys and gradually made Udabhāṇḍa their main seat. This is suggested by the Arabic work *Hududul' Alam* (982-83 A. D.) and Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (c. 1150 A.D.)[3] which mention the said city as the capital of the Shāhi emperors. While Hiuen-tsang mentions Udabhāṇḍa as the residence of the king of Kāpiśa about

[1] The Takshaśilā region about the Rawalpindi District had been formerly subject to Kapiśā but was at Hiuen-tsang's time a dependancy of Kashmir (Watters, *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 240).

[2] Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 60-61 ; Beal, *The Life of Hiuen-tsiang*, p. 192.

[3] *Proc. IHC*, 1939, p. 670 ; *Rājatar.*, V, 155.

the middle of the seventh century, Kalhaṇa speaks of it as the capital of the Shāhis since the time of Lalliya Shāhi (c. 875-90 A. D.).[1] He further mentions Lalliya's kingdom as lying between the lands of the Darads (i.e. Dardistan) and the Turushkas (Turks).[2]

The name of Shāhi Khiṅgāla reminds us of Khiṅkhila *alias* Narēndrāditya mentioned as an ancient king of Kashmir and as a successor of Mihirakula, apparently the Hūṇa king of that name who ruled in c. 510-35 A. D., in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[3] There are some copper coins with the legend *Khiṅgi*[4] (the fuller form may have been *Khiṅgila*) while another coin is known to bear the legend *Dēva-Shāhi-Khiṅgila*.[5] It is difficult to say whether Khiṅgāla of our inscription is identical with Khiṅgila of the coins and Khiṅkhila of the Kashmir chronicle. His identification with Khiṅkhila Narēndrāditya would, however, suggest that, at the time of the ruler in question, Kashmir formed a part of the Shāhi empire.

The names of the following Shāhi kings have been recently revealed by the Gilgit manuscripts : (1) Paṭōladēva-shāhi Vajrāditya Nandin ; (2) Śrī-Dēva-Shāhi Surēndravikramāditya Nanda (Nandin) who seems to have had a queen named Śamidēvī Trailōkyadēvī ; and (3) *Shāhānushāhi* Paṭōla-shāhi Śrī-nava-Surēndrāditya Nandidēva who had a queen named Anaṅgadēvī and is apparently identical with *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Paṭōla-shāhi Śrī-nava-Surēndrāditya Nandidēva claiming descent from the Bhagadatta family and mentioned in the Hatun inscription.[6] These Shāhis, who probably ruled about the seventh century A. D., have been supposed to have ruled over the Darad country in the upper valley of the Kishenganga. Their names, in which several names have been clubbed together, are interesting in view of the double name of the king mentioned in our record. Ōtyāta-shāhi seems to be a second name of Shāhi Khiṅgāla and is probably not connected with the territory over which he ruled.

The image of Gaṇēśa, called Mahā-Vināyaka in the inscription, represents the deity as standing in the *ālīḍha* pose. His limbs are muscular. The trunk, which was turned to the left, is broken. The tusk, indicated on the left, is also broken. He has a close-fitting coronet on the head and a close-fitting necklace on the neck. The ears look like foliage. There were four hands, all of which are broken. The god has a snake as his *yajñ-ōpavīta* and his under garment is decorated with a lion's or tiger's head and claws apparently to satisfy the prescription that Vināyaka's cloth should be the tiger's skin.[7] The image is characterised by the god's usual pot-belly (*lamb-ōdara*) and also the *ūrdhva-mēḍhra*. It is difficult to say whether the image represents a Brahmanical or a Buddhist deity.

The elephant-headed god Gaṇēśa or Vināyaka is a non-Aryan divinity adopted in the Brāhmanical pantheon not much earlier than the third or fourth century A. D.[8] The earliest images of the deity are supposed to be those found in the Sankisa mound (Etah District, U. P.) and Bhumārā (Satna District, Madhya Pradesh), both of about the fifth century A. D., while its representation on a terracotta bas-relief from Akra (Bannu District, West Pakistan) is also assigned to the same age.[9] The discovery of the Akra bas-relief and the image bearing the inscription under study points to the popularity of the god in the Uttarāpatha division of Bhāratavarsha not long after he was adopted in the Brahmanical pantheon.

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[1] Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 235.
[2] *Rajatar.*, V, 155.
[3] Cf. I, 364 ; Stein's trans., Vol. I, verse 347, note 107.
[4] Smith, *Catalogue of Coins*, pp. 265, 267.
[5] Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, 1893, pp. 97, 110, Plate VII, No. 11.
[6] Above, Vol. XXX, p. 229.
[7] Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, p.124.
[8] Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 14, note 7 ; Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 206-07.
[9] A. Getty, *Gaṇeśa*, p. 26.

THREE EARLY MEDIEVAL INSCRIPTIONS—PLATE I

1. Kabul Inscription of Shani Khingala



(from Photograph)

2. Sitabhinji Inscription of Disabhanja

A



(from Photograph)

B

Eye copy

TEXT[1]

1 [Siddham][2] [||*] **Sa[ṁ]vatsarē ashṭatamē**[3] **saṁ 8 Jyēshṭha-māsa-śukla-paksha-tilau(thau) ttrayōdaśyāṁ śu-di 10 3** ji(ṛi)k[sh]ē **Viśākhē śubhē Siṁ[hē]** chi[traka]-[4]

2 [m] mahat pratishṭhāpitam=idaṁ Mahā-Vināyaka[5] paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Shāhi-Khiṁgāl-Autyāta**[6]**-shāhi-pādai[ḥ]**[7]

TRANSLATION

May it be well! In the **eighth year—year 8,** on the **thirteenth tithi of the bright half of the month of Jyēshṭha—bright day 13,** in the constellation **Viśākha** (*and*) the auspicious **Siṁha** (*lagna*), this lovely (*and*) big (*image of*) Mahā-Vināyaka has been installed by[8] the illustrious *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* **Shāhi Khiṅgāla** (*alias*) **Ōtyāta-shāhi.**

2. Sītābhiñji Inscription of Diśābhañja

Sometime ago an interesting tempera painting was found in a rock shelter called **Rāvaṇa-chhāyā** in the village of **Sītābhiñji** in the Keonjhar District of Orissa. It depicts a king on the back of an elephant who is in a procession and is preceded by footmen, a horseman and a dancing woman and followed by a female attendant. There is a painted label in one line giving the name of the king as **Diśābhañja.** This painted record was published in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*. Vol. XIX, pp. 191 ff. and Plate, by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran who assigns its characters to 'about the 4th century A.D.'[9] While writing on the Bhañjas of Khiñjalī-maṇḍala, we pointed out that the characters of the inscription belong to the Kaliṅga script (an admixture of the Northern and Southern alphabets) generally found in the copper-plate inscriptions of the Ganjam region, which are assignable to dates between the eighth and eleventh centuries A.D., and also raised the question whether Diśābhañja of the Sītābhiñji inscription could be identified with Digbhañja *alias* Diśābhañja who was a son of Raṇabhañja ruling over Khiñjalī-maṇḍala from Dhṛitipura and flourished about the third quarter of the tenth century A.D.[10]

Recently Dr. R. C. Majumdar has observed that 'the characters of the short record at Sītābhiñji can by no means be regarded as later than those of the charters of the early kings of Kaliṅga who have been unanimously referred to the fifth century A.D.' and that 'Diśābhañja of Sītābhiñji may justly be regarded as the earliest Bhañja king who flourished in the fourth or fifth century A.D.'[11] In our opinion, however, this view regarding the date of the Sītābhiñji

[1] From a photograph.
[2] Expressed by symbol.
[3] Read *ashṭamē*.
[4] The *akshara ka* is broken away. The reading of the word as *chitra-karmma* may not be impossible.
[5] Read °*yaka-bimbaṁ*.
[6] As indicated above, the letters read as *t* may be *n* also.
[7] There is a floral design after this.
[8] Literally, 'by the feet of'. The word *pāda* is used in the original in an honorific sense.
[9] See also *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, p. 69. For the painting, see Ramachandran's paper in *Artibus Asiae*, No. XIV, 1951, pp. 5-25.
[10] Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 227-28; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 275 and note 2.
[11] *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 73-74.

inscription is based on a misunderstanding on the evidence of its palaeography which is certainly not much earlier than the eighth century A.D. Ramachandran and Majumdar have been apparently influenced by the fact that the letters *j* and *ś* (one of the two types) as used in the record are found in North Indian inscriptions of the Gupta age. But it has unfortunately been overlooked that the same forms of the letters are also noticed in the inscriptions of the Kaliṅga area, which belong to the 7th century and later. It has also been overlooked that the palaeography of some of the letters and signs used in the record is decidedly later than the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.

The inscription reads: *Māhārāja-śrī-Diśābhañja.* The first word is not *Mahārāja* as read by Ramachandran. It may be pointed out at the outset that the word *māhārāja* is an Oriya corruption of Sanskrit *mahārāja*, which is not expected in an inscription of so early a date as the fourth or fifth century A.D.

The letter *m* in *mā* is of the Telugu-Kannaḍa type. It has resemblance with the form of the letter sometimes occurring in mid-seventh century records like the Nelkunda grant[1] of Abhinavāditya and the Amudalapadu plates[2] of Vikramāditya I. It may also be compared with the form of *m* in Dēvēndravarman's plates of the Gaṅga year 183 (c. 680 A.D.) and the Parlakimedi plates of Vajrahasta (tenth or eleventh century A.D.).[3] The long curve of the *ā-mātrā* is not expected in records of the fourth or fifth century A.D. On the other hand, it is apparently later than the shorter form of the same sign in the mid-seventh century records referred to above.

The right limb of *h* in *hā* has a downward knot in the middle, its end being considerably curved below, although the left limb of the letter is straight. This form of the letter is not expected in any epigraph of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. but can be compared with *h* in °*h=āhava* in line 6, *mahēśvarō* in line 13 and *nahi* in line 33 of the Pattali grant of the year 313 (c. 810 A.D.).[4] It may also be compared with the early Grantha *h* as found in the Kuram plates of Pallava Paramēśvaravarman I (c. 670-700 A.D.) and the Kasakudi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (c. 731-96 A.D.).[5]

The letter *r* in *rā* has an *u-mātrā* like curve attached to its lower end, which is not expected in Brāhmī inscriptions since its analogue is noticed only in the Siddhamātṛikā stage of the northern alphabet. The lower part of *r* in the Sītābhiñji epigraph reminds us of the corresponding part of the letter in records like the Morbi plates of 904 A.D.[6]

As regards the English E type of *j*, which is found in early North Indian inscriptions, it has to be noticed that the same form of the letter also occurs in early medieval Southern records like the Andhavaram plates[7] of the year 216 (c. 713 A.D.), the Russelkonda plates[8] of Nēṭṭabhañja

[1] See above, Vol. XXXII, Plate between pp. 216 and 217 (cf. *pravarddhamāna* in line 22; also *nāma* in line 12, *mahārāja* in line 20).

[2] Ibid. Plate between pp. 182 and 183 (cf. *mānavya* and *mātṛi*° line 3, *mātṛi*° in line 4, *paramēśvara* in line 23, etc.).

[3] See Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prāchīn Lipimālā*, Plate LVII, e; Plate LIX (the third one of the forms).

[4] Above, Vol. XXXII, Plate between pages 204 and 205. Cf. also *h* in *hētō* in line 2 of the Svalpavelura grant (ibid., Vol. XXIV, Plate facing p. 135) which is not earlier than the ninth century.

[5] Ojha, op. cit., Plate III, c; Plate LIII, b. See also *h* in *mahārāja* in line 12 of the Galavalli Plates of 890 A.D. (above, Vol. XXXI, Plate opposite p. 190).

[6] See Ojha, op. cit., Plate XXIV.

[7] See above, Vol. XXXI, Plate facing p. 200 (*janita* in line 6, *jyashṭha* in line 12 and *jala* in line 21).

[8] Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, Plate between pp. 262 and 263 (*jājvalyamāna* in line 4, *rājaputtra* in line 18, etc.).

(eighth or ninth century A.D.), the Pattali grant[1] of c. 810 A.D. and the Kalahandi plates of the year 383 (c. 880 A.D.).[2] It is also noticed in the Svalpavelura grant[3] which is not earlier than the ninth century A.D.

The letter *ś* in *śrī* has the peculiar Telugu-Kannaḍa form not expected in records of the fourth or fifth century A.D. It resembles the form of the letter as found in the Pattali grant of c. 810 A.D.,[4] the Galavalli plates of c. 890 A.D.[5] and the Parlakimedi plates of the tenth or eleventh century A.D.[6] The same type of *ś* also occurs in many other records such as the Gautamī plates[7] of Indravarman which have been assigned to the eighth century A.D.

D in *di* is of the North Indian (Siddhamātṛikā) type endowed with a tail which is not found with the letter before the sixth century A.D. The longish *i-mātrā* found with the letter is also too early for the fourth or fifth century A.D.

Ś in *śā* is found in early North Indian records like the Allahabad pillar inscription[8] of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.). But it has to be noticed that it is found also in early medieval inscriptions of the east coast such as those of the Śailōdbhava king Dharmarāja (close of the 7th century A.D.),[9] the Russelkonda plates[10] of the eighth or ninth century A.D. and the Parlakimedi plates[11] of the tenth or eleventh century. This form of *ś* may also be compared with that of the same letter in the Vishamagiri[12] and Svalpavelura[13] plates which are not earlier than the ninth century A.D.

Bh is of the wide-top type which is found in early medieval records of the Telugu-Kannaḍa area like the Kalahandi plates of c. 880 A.D.[14]

In the conjunct *ñj*, the superscript *ñ*, which is separated from the subscript *j*, is rather unusual. But it is certainly not expected in records of the fourth or fifth century A.D. since it is considerably removed from the original form of the letter. However, it reminds us of subscript *ñ* in the records of the early medieval period such as the Neulpur plate[15] of the close of the ninth century A.D., Madras Museum plates of the tenth century,[16] Baud plates[17] of the year 158 (989 A.D.) and later epigraphs.

I do not think that the Sītābhiñji inscription can be assigned to a date much earlier than the Russelkonda plates of the eighth or ninth century A.D. King Diśābhañja may have been

[1] See *janita-jaya* in line 6 (ibid., Vol. XXXII, Plate between pp. 204 and 205).

[2] See *rājyē* in line 22 (ibid., Plate facing p. 321).

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXIV, Plate facing p. 135 (cf. *jīvitaṁ* in line 25).

[4] Cf. *kuśa* in line 20, *naś=cha* in line 23 and *diśā* in line 24 (above, Vol. XXXII, Plate between pp. 204 and 205).

[5] Ibid., Vol. XXXI, Plate facing p. 190 (cf. *śikharā* in line 2, *yaśō* in line 7).

[6] Cf. *śrī* in line 13 (ibid., Vol. III, Plate facing p. 222).

[7] Ibid., Vol. XXIV, Plate facing p. 181.

[8] Ojha, op. cit., Plate XVI.

[9] See e.g., ibid., Vol. XXIX, Plate facing p. 40 (*Śailōdbhavaḥ* in line 8, etc.).

[10] Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, Plate between pp. 262 and 263 (cf. *śūra* in line 11, *śarad-arka* in line 15, etc.).

[11] Ojha, op. cit., Plate LIX (the second of the three forms).

[12] Above, Vol. XIX, Plate between pp. 136 and 137 (cf. *śikhara* in line 3).

[13] Ibid., Vol. XXIV, Plate facing p. 135 (cf. *śarmmaṇā°* in line 16).

[14] See above, Vol. XXI, Plate facing p. 321 (cf. *°bhaya* in line 13, etc.).

[15] Ibid., Vol. XV, Plate between pp. 4 and 5 (cf. *samājñāpayati* in line 7).

[16] Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, Plate between pp. 50 and 51 (cf. *rājñā* in line 29).

[17] Ibid., Vol. XXIX, Plate between pp. 216 and 217 (cf. *samājñāpayati* in line 26).

connected with this Nēṭṭabhañja. Whether he was identical with Diśābhañja, son of Raṇabhañja of Khiñjalī-maṇḍala, cannot be determined definitely. But I do not consider it impossible since the Kaliṅga script was an artificial alphabet in which letters could retain their old forms for a longer time.[1]

King Nēṭṭabhañja who issued the Russelkonda plates from Vārāḍḍā (modern Bāraḍā or Bāruḍā near Russelkonda, now called Bhanjanagar, in the Ganjam District) also issued the Baud plates[2] from Nav-Āṅgulaka-pattana which is the modern Angul in the Dhenkanal District near the District of Keonjhar. Thus the dominions of this Nēṭṭabhañja of the eighth or ninth century A.D. appear to have comprised the Ganjam area in the south-west and the Dhenkanal-Keonjhar region in the north-east and it is interesting in this connection to note that, in the tenth century A.D., the earlier Bhañjas of Khiñjalī-maṇḍala also ruled over the same area between the Ganjam and Baudh-Keonjhar regions of Orissa.[3] It is therefore likely that Nēṭṭabhañja, who claimed to have belonged to the dynasty of Drumarāja, was an earlier member of the Bhañja family of Khiñjalī-maṇḍala. He seems to have flourished after the fall of the Śailōdbhavas in the eighth century and before the rise of the Bhauma-Karas of Jajpur about 831 A.D. His descendants, viz. the Bhañjas of Khiñjalī-maṇḍala who sometimes used the Bhauma-Kara era, were apparently feudatories of the Bhauma-Kara kings. We have elsewhere shown that the early Bhañjas of Khiñjalī-maṇḍala ruled from Dhṛitipura in the Baudh-Keonjhar region till the time of Raṇabhañja and that they were driven out of that region by the Sōmavaṁśī king Yayāti Mahāśivagupta I (c. 970-1000 A.D.) so that Raṇabhañja's descendants beginning with his son Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalasa ruled from Vañjulvaka in the Ganjam region.[4] If Diśābhañja of the Sītābhiñji inscription can be identified with Digbhañja-Diśābhañja who was another son of Raṇabhañja, he was probably the elder brother of Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalasa and the last Bhañja ruler of Dhṛitipura. It has, however, to be pointed out that, among the records of this family, only the Sītābhiñji epigraph of Diśābhañja and the Russelkonda plates of Nēṭṭabhañja are written in the Kaliṅga script (the Northern element being more prominent in the latter) while all other records issued from Dhṛitipura and Vañjulvaka are written in the North Indian (Siddhamātṛikā and Gauḍīya) characters.

3. Nausāri Inscription of the time of Yādava Rāmadēva, V.S. 1359

Under cover of a letter dated the 27th November 1958, Dr. J. M. Unvala of Bombay was kind enough to send me for examination one inked impression of a stone inscription. He gave the following details about the whereabouts of the inscribed stone : " The inscription was found on a laterite slab at **Nausāri in the Surat District** of Bombay under the gate (Gujarātī *pōl*) of a private street. Above the inscription, the slab has the representation of a horseman overpowering an enemy. Such stones, found in many places in Gujarat, are called *pāliānō patthar* in Gujarātī. The gate under which the inscribed slab was found is at least 350 years old."

From Dr. Unvala's description, it is quite clear that the slab bearing the inscription is what is called a hero stone, i.e. a memorial raised in honour of a warrior who died in a battle fighting for a good cause. There are altogether 12 lines of writing on the slab and they cover an area about 19½ inches in height and 24 inches in breadth. The formation of the letters exhibits

[1] Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 259, note 3.
[2] *JBORS*, Vol. XVII, pp. 104 ff.
[3] Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 261.
[4] Ibid., pp. 274, 276.

considerable carelessness on the part of the engraver while a layer of the stone has peeled off here and there damaging a number of letters. Moreover, the letters of the writing in a roundish space about the middle of the epigraph, with a diameter of about 10 inches and affecting lines 5-12 of the inscription, are more or less completely rubbed off probably as a result of the stone having been used for some time as a sharpener of axes, etc. The record is thus **fragmentary**.

The **characters** of the inscription are Nāgarī and its **language** is Sanskrit. It is written in prose and verse. The date of the epigraph is given in lines 1-3 as the **expired Vikrama year 1359, Plavaṅga, Jyēshṭha-badi 6, Monday.** These details indicate the **6th May 1303 A.D.**

The inscription begins with a rather peculiar variety of the *siddham* symbol followed by the word *svasti* and the date referred to above. It then refers to the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja* **Rāmadēva** stationed at **Dēvagiri** (lines 3-4). This ruler is none other than the well-known king Rāmadēva or Rāmachandra (1271-1311 A.D.) of the Yādava dynasty of Dēvagiri which is the modern Daulatābād in the Aurangabad District of Bombay. Line 5 introduces Rāmadēva's subordinate whose territory included śrīman-**Nausārikā,** i.e. the modern Nausāri where the inscribed slab has been found, with the well-known expression *tat-pāda-padm-ōpajīvī*. The following passage in lines 6-7 reads : *Rāṇaka......rāja-śrī-Karṇadēvē*. Unfortunately about 12 letters after *rāṇaka* in this passage are either indifferently formed or totally rubbed off. The few letters before *rāja* may be *[pradhā]na-mahā* and it is possible that **Karṇadēva** enjoyed the titles *Pradhāna* or *Mahāpradhāna* and *Mahārāja*. After *Rāṇaka*, the following two letters may be *suṁka* reminding us of the official designation *Śuṅkaveggaḍe* (Kannaḍa) or *Śulkādhyaksha*. Thus Karṇadēva, Yādava Rāmachandra's subordinate ruling over the Nausārikā region, seems to have enjoyed the royal titles *Rāṇaka* and *Mahārāja* side by side with certain official designations. The identity of this Karṇadēva, however, cannot be determined. Of course, about the time in question, Chaulukya-Vāghēlā Karṇa II was ruling over parts of Khandesh as a vassal of Yādava Rāmachandra after he had lost the kingdom of Gujarat to Sultān 'Alāuddīn Khaljī. It is difficult to believe that the Nausāri region formed a part of the territory ruled by him. A certain Kṛishṇadēva is known to have served Yādava Rāmachandra in 1289 A.D. as the governor of the whole of the Koṅkaṇ[1] and, since the name *Kṛishṇa* is sometimes known to have been re-Sanskritised from Prakrit *Kaṇṇara* as *Karṇa*,[2] it is not impossible to regard Karṇadēva of our record as identical with the said Kṛishṇadēva of the Koṅkaṇ. Otherwise it will have to be supposed that our Karṇadēva was a governor of the Yādava king stationed at Nausāri itself.

The above section in prose is followed by three stanzas in which the record proper is written. Unfortunately the damaged nature of the writing stands in the way of a satisfactory interpretation of this part. There is no doubt, however, that it refers to the death of a hero in a battle. But the details cannot be made out satisfactorily. Lines 7-8 appear to mention Maṇḍana, Jaṁsika and Śrībaḍa probably as personal names.

The **inscription is important** from several points of view. In the first place, it is the only epigraphic record coming from the northernmost area of the Yādava empire and is one of the few such documents of the 14th century referring to the reign of the Yādava king Rāmadēva or Rāmachandra. Secondly, it points for the first time to the inclusion of Nausāri in the dominions of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri about the beginning of the 14th century. Thirdly, it throws some light on the otherwise obscure history of the Lāṭa country during the early medieval age.

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[1] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 529-30.

[2] *JIH*, Vol. XXXVII, Part iii, December 1959, p. 407.

The latest date for Rāmachandra's reign supplied by epigraphic records falls in September 1310 A.D. when the Yādava king granted some land in Khandesh according to his Purushōttampūrī plates.[1] Muslim sources seem to suggest that he died shortly afterwards.[2]

Muslim historians appear to indicate that the Narmadā was the northern boundary of Rāmachandra's kingdom. In 1294 A.D., 'Alāuddīn Khaljī, nephew of Jalāluddīn Fīrūz Shāh the Khaljī Sulṭān of Delhi, crossed the Narmadā and the Tāptī and reached Elichpur in Berar within Rāmachandra's territory and marched on to the Yādava capital Dēvagiri where Rāmachandra was defeated. The Yādava king was compelled to surrender Elichpur and its dependencies and agreed to remit the revenues of the said province to 'Alāuddīn annually. In 1306-07, 'Alāuddīn, who had in the meantime become the Sulṭān of Delhi and had conquered the kingdom of Gujarāt from the Chaulukya-Vāghēlā king Karṇa II, noticed that the Yādava king failed to remit the revenues of the Elichpur province for the past three years and sent an army under Malik Kafur against Dēvagiri. He also ordered Alp Khān, governor of Gujarāt, to attack the Yādava kingdom at the same time. Malik Kafur occupied the Elichpur province and advanced against Dēvagiri while Alp Khān attacked Karṇa II who was then ruling from Nandurbar in Khandesh as a vassal of Rāmachandra. The Yādava king offered his submission to Malik Kafur and agreed to rule his kingdom as a vassal of the Khaljī Sulṭān. He went to Delhi where he was received by 'Alāuddīn with marks of favour and distinction. The Sulṭān is stated to have given him on this occasion the district of Nausāri in Gujarat as a personal estate and a hundred thousand *ṭaṅkas* to pay his expenses at home.[3] Our inscription, however, shows that Nausāri originally formed a part of the Yādava kingdom. It thus appears to have been a portion of the northern areas of Rāmachandra's kingdom, which were recently annexed to the Sulṭān's empire by Alp Khān and Malik Kafur.

In the 13th century, the Lāṭa country comprising the Nausāri-Broach region was a small state on the confines of the kingdoms of the Chaulukya-Vāghēlās of Gujarat, the Paramāras of Malwa and the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. The Lāṭa kings were compelled to offer allegiance to one of their three greater neighbours as occasions demanded although they appear to have generally accepted the vassalage of the Paramāras. The *Hammīramadamardana* mentions Siṁha, the king of Lāṭa, and his nephew named Saṅgrāmasiṁha or Śaṅkha, son of Sindhurāja, while the same Siṁha is mentioned in an inscription as the vanquisher of Yādava Siṁhaṇa's forces apparently as a vassal of the Paramāra king Arjunavarman (known dates between 1211 and 1215 A.D.).[4] According to the *Vasantavilāsa*, when Chaulukya-Vāghēlā Lavaṇaprasāda and Paramāra Subhaṭavarman, the father and predecessor of Arjunavarman, were fighting each other and when the Yādavas took advantage of the situation and invaded Lāṭa, Śaṅkha defeated them on the bank of the Rēvā (Narmadā).[5] The *Hammīramadamardana* also refers to Śaṅkha's victory over the army of Yādava Siṁhaṇa.[5]

While the *Hammīramadamardana* calls Śaṅkha a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, i.e. feudatory, of Paramāra Dēvapāla (c. 1216-36 A.D.), Mērutuṅga mentions him as the *Mahāsādhanika*, i.e.

[1] Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 199 ff.

[2] V. V. Mirashi gives the date of Rāmachandra's death as 1312 A.D. (ibid., p. 208). While R. G. Bhandarkar puts it as 1309 A.D. and J. F. Fleet as 1310 A.D. (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 251, 533), Wolseley Haig says that Rāmachandra died ' either late in 1309 or early in 1310 ' (*CHI*, Vol. III, p. 115). But the Purushōttampurī plates show that the king's death took place after September 1310 A.D.

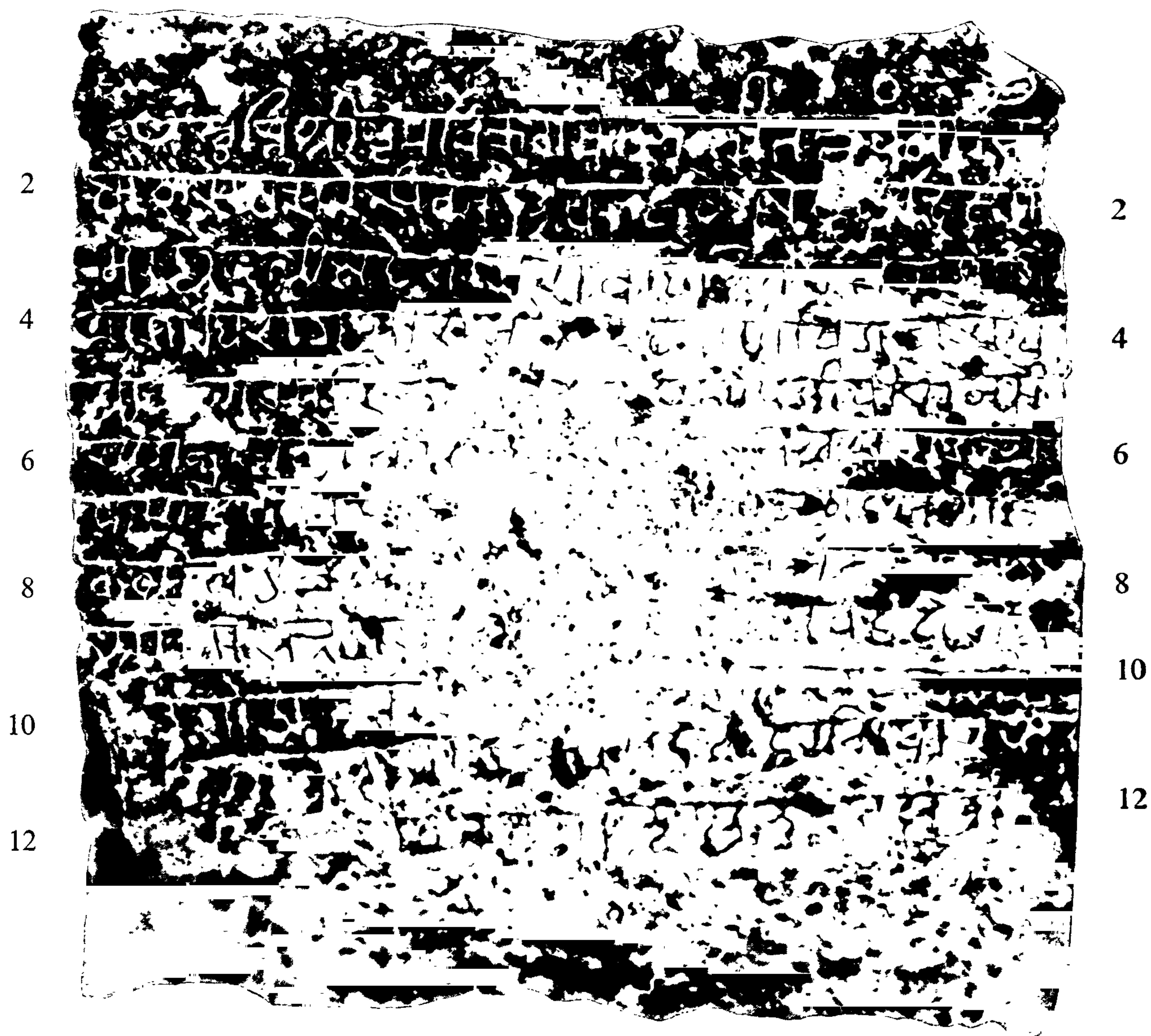
[3] See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. 1, Part ii, pp. 530-32 ; *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 96, 112-14.

[4] A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp. 153-54 ; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 142.

[5] Majumdar, op. cit., p. 154.

THREE EARLY MEDIEVAL INSCRIPTIONS—PLATE II

3. Nausari Inscription of the time of Yadava Ramadeva, V. S. 1359



Size : One-fourth

governor, of Broach.[1] In V.S. 1298 (1241 A.D.), however, Broach was under Chaulukya-Vāghēlā Vīsaladēva[2] and this suggests that the northern part of Lāṭa was soon annexed to the Chaulukya-Vāghēlā kingdom. The inclusion of Nausāri in the Yādava kingdom in the present inscription seems to suggest that the southern part of Lāṭa was likewise annexed to the Yādava kingdom during the rule of Siṁhaṇa (c. 1210-47 A.D.) on the overthrow or subjugation of the Lāṭa family. That Siṁhaṇa's army overran the country around Bharukachchha (Broach) is known from the *Kīrtikaumudī*.[3] We know that Siṁhaṇa invaded Gujarat several times and that on one such occasion, his general Rāma, son of the celebrated Yādava general Khōlēśvara, lost his life while fighting on the Narmadā.[4] Although the Yādavas and the Chaulukya-Vāghēlās were often fighting against each other, the overthrow or subjugation of the Lāṭa house and the division of the territory between the above two powers may have been the result of a joint successful adventure of theirs against the Paramāras of Malwa.

Another king of Lāṭa, apparently belonging to the same family represented by Siṁha, Sindhurāja and Saṁgrāmasiṁha or Śaṅkha, was Sahajapāla who is sometimes identified with Siṁha and believed to have ruled over South Lāṭa.[4] Since Śaṅkha is once represented as a scion of the Chāhmāna family, the Lāṭa kings in question may be regarded as Chāhamānas.[5] It is difficult to say whether Karṇadēva, who governed Nausāri in 1303 A.D. as a vassal of the Yādava king Rāmachandra, was a scion of the same dynasty.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, both Dēvagiri and **Nausārikā** are well known.

TEXT[6]

1 Siddham[7] svasti [||*] śrī-nṛipa-**Vikrama-kāl-ātīta-Plavaṁg-ābhi-**

2 **dhāna-saṁvatsarē Saṁvat 135[9] varshē Jyē[shṭha-ba]di 6 Sō-**

3 **mē**=dy=ēha śrīmad-**Dēvagirāv**=adhishṭhita-mahārājādhi-

4 rājādhi[8]-rāja-śrī-**Rāmadēva-**kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē

5 śrī[man-**Nau**]**sārikāyāṁ** [tat-pāda-padm-ō]pajīvī-garnyō[9]

6 rāṇaka-suṁka.....................[pradhā]na-[mahā]rāja-[śrī]-

7 **Karṇṇa**[**dēvē**] nṛipa.....................Maṁḍana-Jaṁsi-

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[1] Ibid., pp. 154-55.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Ibid., p. 151.

[4] Ibid., p. 154.

[5] Ibid., p. 153.

[6] From an impression.

[7] Expressed by symbol.

[8] The three *aksharas* at the beginning of the line are redundant.

[9] The intended reading may be °*jīvy-agragaṇyō*.

8 ka-Śrībaḍa-trayē..... ....naṁ cha..........

9 svapaṁ[1] || 1.....................[ś=cha] v[ṛi]ddhayē gajā

10 ......[va]ṁśōḍā tatō................rāya-[va]na-rā

11 ......kundā gaja. ....dēvō harati | ghōra-pā[2]

12 ......[patita]ḥ || 3 śubhaṁ bhaya(va)tu ||

[1] Read *svayam*.

[2] The intended word sseems to be *pātakā*.

MGIPC—S1—2 DGA/60—22-9-62—750 Bks.

No 5—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KALYANPUR

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR AND V. S. SUBRAHMANYAM, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 6.1.1960*)

The village of **Kalyāṇpur** lies about 42 miles to the south of Udaipur. Near the village, there are extensive ruins of an ancient town. A copper-plate grant which was discovered sometime ago at Kalyāṇpur but was later found in the possession of a Brāhmaṇa resident of Dhulēv (also called Ṛishabhdēv) about four miles from the said village, has been published in the pages of this journal.[1] The charter was issued by *Mahārāja* Bhētti from Kishkindhā, which was apparently his capital, in the year 73 of the Harsha era, corresponding to 679 A.D. It has been suggested that the ruins of the town near Kalyāṇpur represent the site of ancient Kishkindhā.[2] Two other copper-plate grants issued from Kishkindhipura, no doubt identical with Kishkindhā, come from the former Dungarpur State lying to the south of the Kalyāṇpur region. These two records, the first of which was issued by Bhāvihita in the Harsha year 48 (654 A.D.) and the second by Bābhaṭa in the Harsha year 83 (689 A.D.) have also been published recently.[3] Both these chiefs, who enjoyed feudatory titles, claim to have belonged to the Guhila or Guhilaputra dynasty. Bhāvihita seems to have succeeded the Guhila chief Dēvagaṇa who was his paternal uncle, while Bābhaṭa was probably a son of the said Dēvagaṇa. Since Bhētti ruled from Kishkindhā between Bhāvihita and Bābhaṭa, it is very probable that he also belonged to the Guhila family of Kishkindhā or Kishkindhipura near Kalyāṇpur and was either a younger brother of Bhāvihita or an elder brother of Bābhaṭa. One *Rājaputra* Ghōrghaṭasvāmin is mentioned in Bhābhaṭa's record and he may have been a son of Bābhaṭa, although it is uncertain whether he ever ascended the throne.

The **two stone inscriptions** edited here were discovered at Kalyāṇpur and the inscribed slabs are now preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur. They were noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1954-55, Nos. B 98-99. The earlier of the two has also been published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXXV, Part i, pp. 73-74 (without illustration), although the name of the king mentioned in the record has been wrongly read there. The notice of the second inscription in the *Annual Report on the working of the Rajputana Museum* for the year ending 31st March 1929, pp. 1-2, is likewise full of errors. The first of the records mentions a certain ***Mahārāja* Paḍḍa**, but has no date. The second of them mentions a chief named **Kadachhi** though it is fragmentary and it is difficult to say whether the portion containing the year of its incision is rubbed off. As, however, will be shown below, the inscription mentioning Paḍḍa and that of the time of Kadachhi can be assigned respectively to the **seventh and eighth centuries A.D.** on grounds of palaeography. The findspot and palaeography of our records thus suggest that these two chiefs also belonged to the Guhila house of Kishkindhā or Kishkindhipura and ruled from the same city. We have elsewhere suggested that Paḍḍa was a predecessor of Dēvagaṇa and Kadachhi a successor of Bābhaṭa.[4]

[1] Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 1 ff., 5 ff.
[2] Ibid., p. 4.
[3] Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 167 ff.
[4] Ibid., p. 170.

1. Inscription of the time of Mahārāja Paḍḍa

The inscription contains five lines of writing covering an area about nine inches in length and six inches in height. It is in an excellent state of preservation.

The **characters** of the inscription are of the ornamental type and belong to the North Indian (*Siddhamātṛikā*) alphabet of about the **seventh century A.D.** They are each about ¾ inch in height. The most interesting palaeographical feature of the record is the use of the tripartite form of the letter *y*. We know that the use of this form of *y* was discontinued in East India in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. its latest use being noticed in East Indian records like the Patiakella plates[1] of 602 A.D. and the Dubi plates[2] of Bhāskaravarman (c. 600-50 A.D.). In Western India, however, its use lingered on for another half a century. Thus the earlier tripartite and the later bipartite forms of *y* are noticed side by side in records like the Dungarpur plates (654 A.D.) of Bhāvihita, referred to above, and the Kundesvar inscription[3] of Guhila Aparājita of Mewar, dated 661 A.D., though the slightly later Dhulēv plate (679 A.D.) of Bhētti, mentioned above, uses only the earlier form of the letter. As already indicated, it is probable that *Mahārāja* Paḍḍa of our record was a predecessor of Dēvagaṇa. He probably ruled sometime about the second quarter of the seventh century. The palaeography of the inscription under study is quite in keeping with this suggestion.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written partly in verse and partly in prose. The plural in *karu-charaṇa-manaś-śirōbhiḥ* is of grammatical interest since it should have been singular according to Pāṇini (II, 4,2). There is nothing remarkable in its **orthography** except that the word *sāyujya* has been spelt as *sāyōjya* in line 4.

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the word *svasti*. Then follow a small passage in prose, a stanza in the *Anushṭubh* metre and another small passage in prose, with which the epigraph ends. These three passages state that a person named Āmnāya built a temple of the god Śūlin (i.e. Śiva) in the *rājya* (i.e. during the rule or in the kingdom) of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Paḍḍa. Āmnāya is stated to have built the temple out of money earned by righteous means, for the attainment of *Śiva-sāyujya* after having bowed down to Śaṅkara (Śiva) with his hands, feet, mind and head. The expression *Śiva-sāyujya* means communion with or absorption in the god Śiva.[4] The work is further stated to have been done by Āmnāya in accordance with the *āmnāya*, i.e. the sacred texts handed down by tradition.

TEXT[5]

1 सिद्धं[6] स्वस्ति [।।*] प्रणम्य शङ्करं करचरणमन:(न)-

2 श्शिरोभि: ।। आम्नायेन यथाम्नायं वि-

3 त्तमादाय धर्म्मत: [।*] कारितं शूलिनो

4 वेश्म शिवसायो(यु)ज्यसिद्धये ।।[7]

5 श्रीमहाराजपड्डराज्ये ।।[8]

[1] Ibid, Vol. IX, Plate between pp. 286 and 287.

[2] Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 287 ff. and Plates.

[3] Ojha, *Prāchīn Bhāratīya Lipimālā*, Plate XX.

[4] Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 297-98.

[5] From impressions.

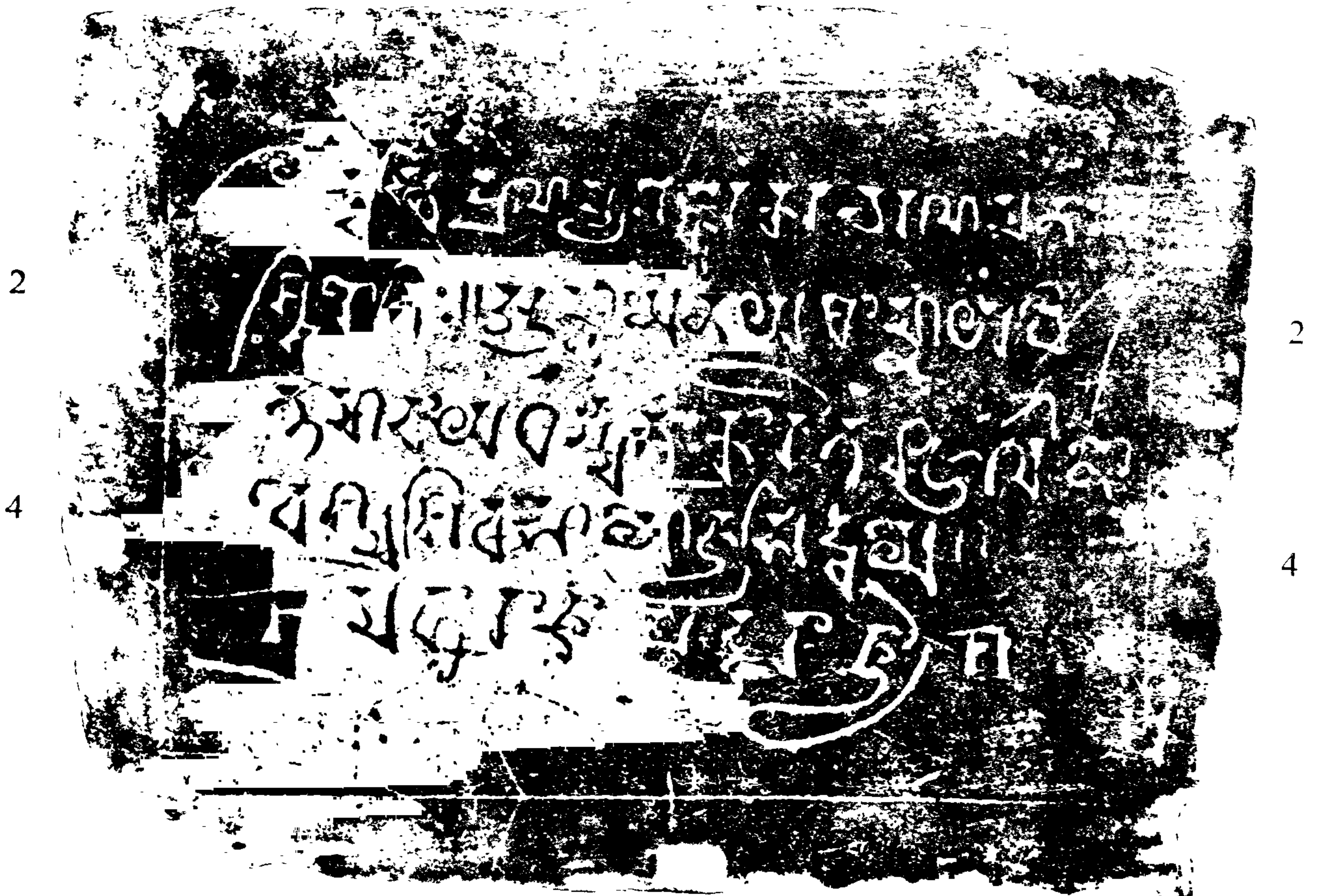
[6] Expressed by symbol.

[7] The metre of the stanza is *Anushṭubh*.

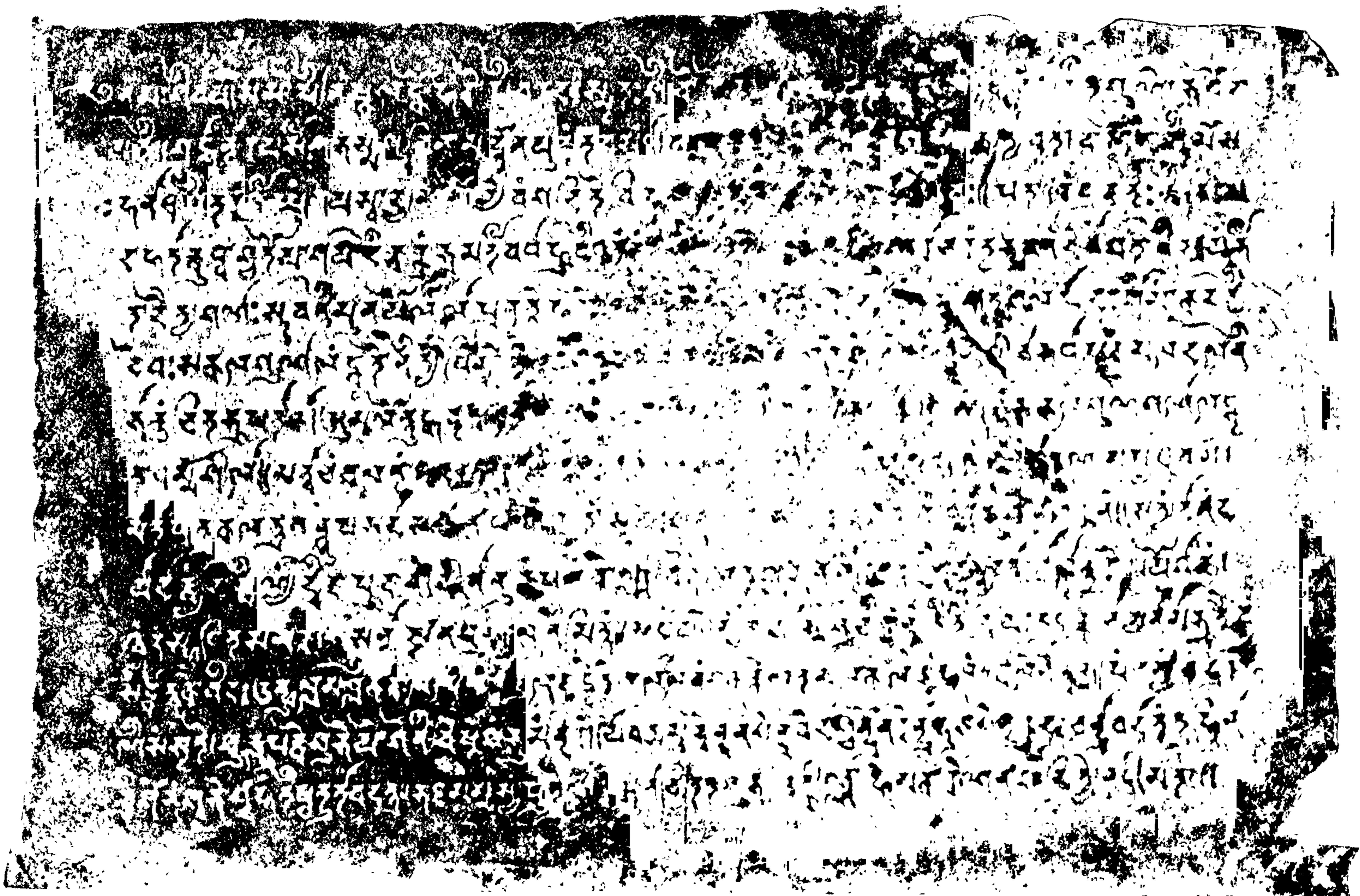
[8] The full-stop is indicated by two *daṇḍas* joined at the top by a horizontal stroke.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KALYANPUR

1. Inscription of the time of Mahārāja Paḍḍa



2. Inscription of the time of Kadachhi



Size : One-half

2. Inscription of the time of Kadachhi

There are altogether 14 lines of writing in this inscription. The letters are small in size. In average, they are each a little above ¼ inch in height. The writing covers an area about 14 inches in length and about 9½ inches in height. The preservation of the record is unsatisfactory. It seems that the inscribed surface of the slab was used for sharpening some tool like an axe. The tool was rubbed on the slab from the upper right side a little slantingly towards the middle. As a result, a number of letters in lines 1-10 have been rubbed off, many of them completely. The internal evidence shows that the epigraph was originally set up in a Śiva temple, the construction of which is recorded in it.

The **palaeography** of the inscription is later than that of the inscription of the time of Paḍḍa edited above. It uses throughout the later bipartite form of *y*. The letters have ornamental formation. The lower end of *t* curves towards the right. On grounds of palaeography, the record may be assigned to the **eighth or ninth century A.D.** But as we have suggested elsewhere,[1] the chief Kadachhi mentioned in it, probably belonged to the Guhila house of Kishkindhā or Kishkindhipura and ruled after Guhila Bābhaṭa of the same family sometime in the eighth century A.D. and that the said house of the Guhilas was ousted by the Guhilas of Mewar sometime afterwards.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written in verse with a small passage in prose at the beginning. As regards **orthography**, mention may be made of the use of the class nasal in expressions like *Gaṅgāṅ=dhāraya°* in line 2. The words *samāraṇa* used for *saṁskaraṇa* in verse 8 (line 11) and *chintita* for *rachita* in verse 13 (line 14) are of lexical interest.

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the passage *namaḥ Śivāya*. Then follow three partially preserved stanzas (verses 1-3) in lines 1-5, all in adoration to the god Śiva. The next fragmentary stanza (verse 4) in lines 5-6 introduces a person named **Kadachhi** who seems to have been the chief, during whose rule the inscription was set up. The preserved portion of verse 5 in lines 6-8 refers to a lady who may have been a wife of Kadachhi. The following stanza (verse 6) in lines 8-9, only a few words of which can be deciphered, appears to have contained a reference to the construction of a Śiva temple by the same lady. This is not only suggested by its concluding words, viz. *bhuvō maṇḍanam* (i.e. an ornament of the earth) probably qualifying a word like *mandiram*, but also by verses 11-12 below which quote the details of the date (without mentioning the year) when a temple of Śambhu (Śiva) was *nivishṭa*, probably referring to its consecration ceremony, and also pray for the long life of the said temple. The details of the date quoted in this connection, in which the mention of the year only is missing, seem to sugggest that the year was referred to in the damaged parts of verse 5.

Verse 7 (lines 9-10) which along with the following verses can fortunately be fully read, recounts the qualities of the lady named Vōṇṇā who was responsible for the construction of the temple, while the next stanza (verse 8) in lines 10-11 refers to a grant of forty *drammas* (i.e. 40 coins of that name), no doubt made by the lady in question, for future necessities such as the carrying out of repairs to the breaks and damages apparently in the said temple of Śiva, for [the burning of] *guggulu* [before the deity in it] and for the sweeping no doubt of its floor and compound.

Verse 9 in lines 11-12 mentions a Śaiva teacher named Kuṭukk-āchārya, who may have been the lady's preceptor, as one rendering help in the pious work, i.e. the construction of the temple of Śiva.

[1] Cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 170.

The following two stanzas (verses 10-11) in lines 12-13 state that the temple was consecrated (*nivishṭa*) on an auspicious *yōga* during the fifth *tithi* of the **bright fortnight of the month of Chaitra,** when the moon was in conjunction with the Rōhiṇī *nakshatra.* Verse 12 in lines 13-14 contains a prayer to the effect that the temple of Śambhu, white like the moon and beautiful like the snow-mountain, might last as long as the seas, the mountains, the Vēdas, the moon, the kings, the king of the serpents and the Rudras would endure. This is followed by the concluding stanza (verse 13 in line 14) which states that [the inscription] was composed (*chintitā*) by **Jhaṅgu, son of** *Bhaṭṭa* Mamma, and that it was engraved by the *hēmakāra* (goldsmith) Nāgāditya.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : verses 1, 4, 8 *Āryā* ; verses 2, 3, 6 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 5 *Sragdharā* ; verses 7, 9-11, 13 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 12 *Indravajrā.*]

1 सिद्धम्[2] [।*] नमः शिवाय । सोमोपि निष्कलङ्को हरोपि वरदः स्मृतः
शिवो [रौद्रः ।] . . . . हि विपरीतगुणो भवो ज-

2 यति ॥ [१*] गङ्गान्धारयसीश भस्मशुचिना मूर्द्ध्ना न युक्तं तव
संध्याव[न्दन] — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — त्यावृतं(तम्) । वासो नास्ति ममे-

3 ह नाथ पितरं श्री(शी)घ्रं नयस्वाद्य मां गौर्ये(र्यै)वं गदिते वि[हस्य]
◡ ◡ — — — [सदा पा]तु वः ॥[२*] प[ा]तालं व्रजतिः(ति) क्षितिः प-

4 दहता क्षुब्धाश्च तोयाशया दिक्चक्रं भ्रमतीव बाहुविधु[तं] — — ◡ — — ◡
— | — — — [स]चराचरं तृ(त्रि)भुवनं [दे]वा गता विस्मयं भी-

5 ता दैत्यगणाः स्तुवन्ति मुनयो लीलाप्रनृत्ते ह[रे ॥] [३*] . . . .
. . . . . . लपादः श्रीमां(मान्) कदछि[3]-

6 देवः सकलगुणालं(ल)ङ्कृतो नित्यं (त्यम्)॥ [४*] बि[म्बो] — — ◡ — — ◡ ◡
◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — — — — [ग्री]वा सुबाहू कमलदलनि-

7 भा कुंचितभ्रूपताका । आमूलोत्तुङ्गवृ[त्त] ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ —
— — - — — — ◡ — — सकलगुणगणालङ्कृ-

8 ता धर्म्मशीला ॥ [५*] मत्वा चंचलतां ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — — ◡ — — ◡ —
-- — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — ण्यमप्यध्रुवम् ।

9 मातापुत्त्रकलत्त्रबन्धुषु सदा स — ◡ — — [युं]तं — — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡
— — — भुवो मण्डनं(नम्) ॥ [६*] सत्यं दानं द-

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[1] From impressions. Some letters, not clear on the impressions, can be seen on their backside.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

[3] The intended reading may be *Kadachchhi°* which would suit the metre.

10 या दाक्ष्यं दाक्षिण्यं द्विजपूजनं(नम्) । दीनानुकंपनं वोण्णा विजा[नाति
शुभानना] ॥ [७*] चत्वारिंशद्द्रम्मा दत्ताः कालान्तरोपयोगार्थं(र्थम्) ।

11 खंडस्फुटितसमारणसन्मा(म्मा)ज्र्जन[गुग्गु]लुनिमित्तं(त्तम्) ॥ [८*] सहायो धम्मं-
कार्येस्मि(स्मिन्) शुचि[र्दक्षो] जितेंद्रियः । कुटुक्काचार्यनामाभूत्सै(च्छै)व-

12 सिद्धान्तकोविदः [॥ ९*] उत्फुल्लमल्लिकाजाललीनालिकुलज्झ(झ)ङ्कृते ।
एलालवंगकक्कोलतमालकलिकाकुले ॥[१०*] काले चैत्त्रस्य पंचम्यां चंद्रे [रो]हि-

13 णिसंशृ(श्रि)ते । शुक्लपक्षे शुभे योगे निविष्टं शंभुमं(म)न्दिरं(रम्) ॥ [११*][1]
यावत्समुद्रेन्द्रनगेन्द्रवेदाश्चन्द्रो नरेन्द्रा भुजगेन्द्ररुद्राः । चन्द्रावदातं तुहिना-

14 द्रिशोभं शंभोर्गृहं तिष्ठतु तावदत्त्र ॥ [१२*] भट्टमम्मस्य पुत्त्रेण झं(झ)ङ्कुना
चिंतिता शुभा । उत्कीर्ण्णा हेमकारेण नागादित्येन धीमता ॥ [१३*][2]

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[1] Verses 10-11 together form a *yugmaka*.

[2] A word like *praśasti* is understood in this stanza.

No. 6—BONDA PLATES OF MAHASIVAGUPTA, YEAR 22

(*2 Plates*)

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR, AND THE LATE PANDIT L. P. PANDEYA, RAIGARH

(*Received on 18.6.1960*)

This set of three copper plates was discovered together with another set of plates of Tīvaradēva by one Gosai Ram Rawat while digging the foundation of a house on the 5th May 1959 at Bōṇḍā, a village in the Sarangarh Tahsil of the Raigarh District in Madhya Pradesh. The village is a large one and is situated on the right bank of the Mahānadī, opposite the village of Bālpur. Both the sets of plates were taken to Pipardulā in the Baloda Bazar Tahsil of the Raipur District, from where Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya obtained them through the courtesy of Shri Birbal Prasad and Shiv Lal Prasad of that village. They were then sent to the Government Epigraphist for India. The grant is edited here from the original plates.

The three plates were held together by a ring, about ·4″ in thickness, which passed through a round hole (·7″ in diameter) in the middle of the left side of each plate, about 1″ from the edge. The two ends of the ring were soldered below a circular seal, about 3·7″ in diameter. The ring was not cut when the plates reached Pandit Pandeya. The seal is like those of the other plates of Mahā-Śivagupta.[1] Its countersunk surface is divided into three parts, the upper part bearing in relief the figure of a couchant bull (Nandī), facing left, with a *triśūla* in front and a *maṅgala-kalaśa* behind. Below this device and separated from it by two horizontal lines appears the metrical legend in two lines. Below the legend is a large full-blown lotus, flanked by a leaf on either side. The weight of the three plates is 135 *tolas* and that of the ring with the seal 81 *tolas*.

The record consists of twentynine lines, of which the first twentyeight are equally divided among the four inscribed sides, viz., the inner side of the first plate, the two sides of the second plate and the inner side of the third plate, the last line containing only two letters and a numerical symbol being inscribed on the outer side of the third plate. The letters were neatly written and deeply engraved, some of them showing through on the back of the first and third plates. The edges of the plates were not raised ; still the inscription is in a good state of preservation.

The characters are of the box-headed variety, resembling those of the Mallār,[2] Bārdūlā[3] and Lōdhiā[4] plates of Mahā-Śivagupta. As remarked before while editing the Mallār plates, they are somewhat more elongated and angular than those of the grants of the Vākāṭaka and Śarabhapurīya kings. The following peculiarities may be noted. The letters *a*, *ā* and <u>kh</u> have a redundant curve added to the vertical on the right, which is not noticed in the other grants of this king. See, e.g., *api* (line 19), *agnē* (line 21), *āchchhēttā* (line 24) and *sukhaṁ* (line 15). On the other hand, a similar curve, though an essential part of subscript *ñ*, is not engraved in the case of the conjunct *jñ* in *prajñā* in line 3. Initial *ē* is differentiated from <u>ch</u> by the absence of a box-head ; see *ēta-dvayaṁ* (line 18). A final consonant is shown either by the addition of a slanting stroke at the

[1] See, e.g., the seal of the Mallār plates (above, Vol. XXIII, Plate facing page 121) and of the Lōdhiā plates (ibid., Vol. XXVII, Plate facing page 325).

[2] Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 113 ff.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXVII, pp. 287 ff.

[4] Ibid., pp. 319 ff.

bottom of its vertical or by a curve encircling it. For an instance of the former, see *dadyāt* (line 23) and for that of the latter, see *sambat* (line 28). Numerical symbols for 2, 6 and 20 occur in lines 28 and 29. Punctuation is shown by means of two vertical strokes, the first of which is hooked.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, the whole record is in prose. The legend on the seal is, of course, in verse as in the grants of the Vākāṭakas, Śarabhapurīyas and other Sōmavaṁśīs. As regards **orthography,** we may notice the following. The consonant preceding and following *r* is reduplicated ; see, e.g., *sagōttra* (line 12) and *śauryya* (line 3) and that before *ṛi* is also reduplicated, though wrongly, in *Sannidhāttṛi* (line 8). *B* is used for *v* in several places ; see *Byāsa* (line 20), *sambat* (line 28), etc. *Anusvāra* before *ś* and *s* is changed to the guttural nasal ; see *vaṅśa* (line 5), *nṛiśaṅsāt* (lines 17-18), etc. The writer has generally written short medial *i* in place of the long one : see, e.g., *mahim* (line 17). Such mistakes as *tāmbra* (line 13) and *uchchhrijya* (line 20) were evidently due to wrong pronunciation.

The plates were issued by the illustrious **Mahā-Śivagupta,** the son of the illustrious **Harshadēva,**[1] who was born in the **Sōmavaṁśa** (lunar race) and was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva). They record the grant of the village **Śarkarā-pāṭaka** situated in the *vishaya* (district) of **Lāyōḍḍaka,** which the king made on the **Pausha-saṅkrānti.** The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Trivikramasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and the Chhandōga (Sāmavēda). The charter is **dated** on the **sixth** *tithi* of the **first fortnight** of **Pausha** in the **twenty-second year** of the king's increasingly victorious reign. The date is recorded in both words and numerical symbols.

Mahā-Śivagupta belonged to a royal family which is called *Pāṇḍu-vaṁśa* in earlier grants[2] and *Sōma-vaṁśa* in later ones.[3] Several copper-plate and stone inscriptions of this family have been found in Chhattisgarh. Earlier scholars like Fleet and Kielhorn, who edited them, referred them to the eighth or ninth century A.D. Fleet, for instance, while editing the Rājim plates of Tīvaradēva, the granduncle of Mahā-Śivagupta, remarked, " Tīvaradēva cannot be allotted to an earlier date than roughly about A.D. 800."[4] Kielhorn, who edited the Sirpur stone inscription of Śivagupta (identical with Mahā-Śivagupta of the present grant), observed as follows : "The inscription is not dated, but it may, on palaeographic grounds, be referred to the eighth or ninth century A.D. And this, too, is the time to which, on the grounds of language and style, I would assign the copper-plate grants of Tīvaradēva. I am, at any rate, convinced that neither inscription can be older than A.D. 700."[5] This view was contested by Prof. Mirashi who, while editing the Ṭhākurdiyā plates[6] of Mahā-Pravararāja, showed that Tīvaradēva flourished about the middle of the sixth century A.D. Further examination of the matter led him to fix tentatively the accession of Tīvaradēva in 560 A.D. and the reign-period of his grand-nephew Mahā-Śivagupta *alias* Bālārjuna as 590-650 A.D.[7] We know from the Lōdhiā plates that the latter had a long reign of more than 57 years as he had come to the throne when quite young and was known as *Bālārjuna* on account of his skill in archery. He was probably the king of Kōsala who submitted to Pulakēśin II as stated in the latter's Aihoḷe inscription. It was evidently to his court that Hiuen-tsang paid a visit during his itinerary.

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[1] He is called Harshagupta in the legend on the seal.

[2] See, e.g., the Bamhanī plates, line 1 (ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 140) ; Rājim (*CII*, Vol. III, p. 295) and Balōdā (above, Vol. VII, pp. 104-05) plates of Tīvaradēva ; etc.

[3] See, e.g., the Mallār plates (ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 120) ; Sirpur stone inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 180), etc.

[4] *CII*, Vol. III, p. 294.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 179. See also above, Vol. IV, p. 258.

[6] Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 15 f.

[7] Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 229 ; *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. VIII, p. 55.

As the records of Sōmavaṁśī kings are singularly lacking in details necessary for computation, the period assigned above to Mahā-Śivagupta could not be verified till now. The present charter fortunately contains some particulars which, if properly utilised, may help us in its verification. The grant was made on the occasion of the Pausha-saṅkrānti, which is the same as the Makara-saṅkrānti. The *tithi* on which it occurred is not stated in connection with it : but it was probably identical with the date of the record, which is given at the end as the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausha (or Pushya) in the twenty-second [regnal] year. In ancient times, grants were no doubt sometimes recorded several days or even months after they were made;[1] but the mention of the month Pausha both in connection with the occasion of the gift and its recording makes it very likely that the two dates were identical. Besides, from two other grants of this king we know that his gifts were recorded on the same day on which they were made. Thus, the Bārdūlā plates show that his grant of the village Vaṭapadraka was made on the Kārttika-śukla-dvādaśī and that it was recorded on the same day.[2] Similarly, the grant mentioned in the Lōdhiā plates was made and recorded on the same *tithi,* viz. Kārttika-paurṇamāsī.[3] We may therefore conclude that the present grant also was made and recorded on the occasion of the Makara-saṅkrānti which occurred on the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausha.

Usually, the fortnights of a lunar month are specified as *śukla* or *krishṇa.* In the present grant, however, the fortnight in which the grant was recorded is called *prathama* or first. As both the *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta* schemes of lunar months were prevalent in ancient times, the mention of the fortnight as first makes it doubtful whether the *śukla* or the *krishṇa paksha* is meant. The records of the Śarabhapurīya and Sōmavaṁśī kings do not generally mention the fortnight, but count the days or *tithis* from 1 to 30.[4] This custom was prevalent both in the case of the *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* lunar months[5] and therefore affords no clue to the solution of the present problem. The Lōdhiā plates, however, indicate that the *pūrṇimānta* scheme was in vogue in Chhattisgarh in the time of Mahā-Śivagupta. These plates mention the *tithi* first as *Kārttika-paurṇamāsī* and then as *Kārttika-dina 30,*[6] which clearly shows that it was cited according to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme. If the same scheme was intended in the case of the present grant also, its date *Pausha-prathama-paksha-shashṭhī* would mean the sixth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* month Pausha. Now, the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Pausha is identical with the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Mārgaśīrsha. So we shall have to suppose that the Makara-saṅkrānti occurred in the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Mārgaśīrsha. This is impossible ; for the saṅkrānti which occurs in *amānta* Mārgaśīrsha must be Dhanus, not Makara. The mention of the Makara-saṅkrānti in the present grant clearly shows that the month Pausha in which it occurred must be taken to be *amānta.*[7] The sixth

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[1] See the dates of some Gaṅga grants discussed above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 171 f.

[2] See lines 15 and 30 of the Bārdūlā plates (ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 291).

[3] See lines 10-11 and 32 of the Lōdhiā plates (ibid., pp. 323-25).

[4] See, e.g., Mārgaśira 25 of the Āraṅg plates of Mahā-Jayarāja (*CII,* Vol. III, p. 194) ; Vaiśākha-di 29 of the Āraṅg plates of Mahā-Sudēvarāja (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 22) ; Śrāvaṇa-di 29 of the Khariar plates of Sudēvarāja (ibid., Vol. IX, p. 173) ; Jyēshṭha-di 27 of the Balōdā plates of Tīvaradēva (ibid., Vol. VII, p. 106) ; Kārttika-dina 30 of the Lōdhiā plates of Mahā-Śivagupta (ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 325).

[5] For its use in connection with the *pūrnimānta* scheme. see the date of the Majhgawam plates of Hastin (*CII,* Vol. III, pp. 107-08) and that of the Khōh plates of Sankshōbha (ibid., pp. 114-15). For its connection with the *amānta* scheme, see above, Vol. XXVI, p. 329.

[6] Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 325.

[7] It may seem strange that both the *pūrnimānta* and *amānta* schemes should have been used in the official records of the same king Mahā-Śivagupta. This is not, however, a unique instance of the type. We have an exactly similar case in the records of the Kalachuri king Prithvīdēva I of Ratnapur. His Raipur plates of the Kalachuri year 821 are dated according to the *amānta* scheme, while his Amōdā plates issued ten years later in the Kalachuri year 831 are dated according to the *pūrnimānta* scheme. See *CII,* Vol. IV, pp. 399 and 403. There are, of course, numerous instances of both the schemes being prevalent in the same area and in the same period. See, e.g., above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 173. [As the court of the same king could have scarcely been oblivious of the confusion that would result from the indiscriminate use of *amānta* and *pūrnimānta* months without proper indication, in the dating of royal records, we are not inclined to subscribe to these views.—Ed.]

***tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausha** must, therefore, be taken to mean the sixth lunar day of the **bright fortnight of that month.**

As stated above, the reign period of Mahā-Śivagupta was tentatively fixed as 590-650 A.D.[1] Let us therefore see how far this period is corroborated by the date of the present plates. If Mahā-Śivagupta began to reign in *c.* 590 A.D., his twentysecond regnal year must be in the neighbourhood of 611 A.D. We have calculated the moment of the Makara-saṅkrānti and the duration of the ***tithi*** Pausha-śukla-shashṭhī for all years in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D.[2] The only year in this period in which the *saṅkrānti* and the *tithi* came together is 616 A.D. In that year the Makara-saṅkrānti occurred at sunrise on the 20th December, while the *tithi* Pausha-śukla-shashṭhī ended 2 hours and 50 minutes after mean sunrise on that day. The 20th of December 616 A.D. is therfore probably the date of the piesent grant. As it was made in the twentysecond year of Mahā-Śivagupta's reign, the king came to the throne in 595 A.D. This is perhaps the only instance in which it has been possible to determine the year of accession of a king whose records are dated only in regnal years. Its corroboration will have to be left to future discoveries.[3]

There are only two places mentioned in the present grant viz. the donated village Śarkarāpāṭaka[4] and Lāyōḍḍaka, the headquarters of the district in which it was situated. The former cannot be traced in the vicinity of the village Bōṇḍā where the plates were found ; the latter may be identical with the village Lārā which lies about 10 miles north by east of Bōṇḍā.

TEXT[5]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[6] [।*] स्वस्त्यशेषक्षी(क्षि)ति(ती)श[वि]द्याभ्यासविशेषासादितमहनीयविन-

2 यसम्पत्संपादितसकलविजिगि(गी)षुगुणो गुणवत्समाश्रयः

3 प्रकृष्टतरशौर्य्यप्रज्ञाप्रभावसंभावितमहाभ्युदयः कार्त्तिके-

4 य इव कृत्तिवाससो राज्ञः श्रि(श्री)हर्षदेवस्य सूनु[:*] सोम-

5 वङ्श[7]सम्भवः परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्यातश्रि(श्री)महाशी(शि)व-

6 गुप्तराज[:*] कुशलि(ली) ॥ लायोड्डक[8]वैषयिकशर्क्करापाटके ब्रा-

7 ह्मणां(णान्) संपु(पू)ज्य सप्रधाना[न्*] प्रतिवासिनो यथाकालाध्यासिन[:*]

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[1] Cf. also above, Vol. XXVII, p. 289 and Vol. XXXI, p. 220 ; *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III, p. 322.

[2] These dates have been calculated with the help of the Tables in Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Part I.

[3] [See above, p. 62, note 7.—Ed.]

[4] This village is different from Śarkarāpadraka granted by the Śarabhapurīya king Narēndra. The latter was situated in the territorial division Nandapura. See *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 145.

[5] From the original plates.

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

[7] Read *vaṁśa*.

[8] For the form of the letter *ḍ* see *piḍā* in line 11.

Second Plate, First Side

8 समाहर्त्तृसन्निधात्तृ(तृ)प्रमुखानन्याङश्चा[1]स्मत्पादोपजीवी(वि)न[:][2]

9 सर्व्वराजपुरुषान्समाज्ञापयति [।*] विदितमस्तु भवतां यथा-

10 स्माभिरयङ्ग्रामः सनिधिः सोपनिधिः सदशापराधः सर्व्वक-

11 रादानसमेतः सर्व्वपि(पी)डावर्ज्जितः प्रतिपिद्धचाटभटप्रवे-

12 शो च्छान्दोग[3]भरद्वाजसगोत्त्रभट्टत्(त्रि)विक्रमस्वामिने पौषसंक्रान्त्या-

13 मुदकपूर्व्वं मातापित्त्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृ(वृ)द्धये ताम्ब्र[4]शासनेना-

14 चन्द्रार्कसमकालोपभोगार्थं प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत्यास्य विधे-

Second Plate, Second Side

15 यतया समुचितं भोगभागादिकमुपनयद्भिर्भवद्भि[:*] सुखं[5] प्रती(ति)-

16 वस्तव्य(व्य)मिति ॥ भाविनश्च भूमिपालानुद्दिश्येदमभिधि(धी)य[ते] [।*] भूमि-

17 प्रदा दिवि ललन्ति पतन्ति हन्त हृत्वा महिं(हीं) नृपतयो नरके नृशङ्सा-

18 त्[6] [।*] एतद्व(द्द्व)यं परिकलय्य चलाञ्च लक्ष्मि(क्ष्मी)मा[यु*]स्तथा कुरुत य-

19 द्भवतामभि(भी)ष्ट(ष्टम्)[7] [॥*] अपि च [।*] रक्षापालनयोस्तावत्फलं सुगति-

20 दुर्गति(ती) [।*] को नाम स्वर्गमुच्छि(त्सृ)ज्य नर[कं] प्रतिपद्यते[8] ।[।*] ब्या(व्या)सगी-

21 तांश्चात्त्र श्लोकानुदाहरन्ति [।*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं

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[1] Read °*n=anyāṁś=ch=ā*°.

[2] The sense requires an expression like *sva-pād-ōpajīvinaḥ*.

[3] Read *pravēśaś=chhandōga*.

[4] Read *tāmra*.

[5] This *akshara* has a redundant curve attached to its vertical on the right. See its form in line 16 of the Mallār plates (above, Vol. XXIII, plate facing p. 120).

[6] Read *nṛiśaṁsāḥ*.

[7] The metre of the verse is *Vasantatilakā*.

[8] The metre of the verse is *Anushṭubh*.

BONDA PLATES OF MAHASIVAGUPTA, YEAR 22—PLATE I

i

ii, a

ii, b

iii, a

Scale : Three-fifths

iii, b



Scale : Three-fifths

SEAL



(from Photograph)

Third Plate, First Side

22 भूर्व्वैष्णवि(वी) सूर्य्यसुताश्च गावः [।*] दत्तास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति लोका य[:*]

23 क(का)ञ्चनं गाञ्च महिं(हीं)ञ्च दद्यात्[1] [।।*] [ष]ष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मो-

24 दति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्[2] [।।*] ब-

25 हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि-

26 त(स्त)स्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) [।।*] स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्बा[3] यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*] महि(हीं)

27 महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाश्रे(च्छ्रे)योनुपालनमिति ।। प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये

28 सम्ब(संव)त्सरे द्वाविङशे(विंशे) पौषप्रथमपक्षषष्ठयामङ्केनापि संब(व)त् २० २ पुष्य-

Third Plate, Second Side

29 दिन ६ ।

Seal

राज्ञ[:*] श्री[हर्ष]गुप्तस्य सूनो[:*] सद्गुणशालिन[: ।*]

शासनं [शि]वगुप्तस्य स्थितमाभुवनस्थितेः ।।

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[1] The metre of this verse is *Indravajrā*.

[2] The metre of this verse and the following verses is *Anushṭubh*.

[3] Read *paradattāṁ vā*.

No. 7—SALRI INSCRIPTION OF CHANDESVARAHASTIN

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR AND J. SUNDARAM, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 15.6.1960)

The inscription under study was discovered at Sālrī near Salāṇu in the former Mandi State, now merged in Himachal Pradesh. It was noticed in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1907-08, p. 265, Plate 83, although it does not find a place in Bhandarkar's List. In his *Mathurā Inscriptions* (edited by K. L. Janert), p. 143, Lüders commented on the form of the name of the king during whose reign the epigraph was engraved.[1] The record is edited here from an impression preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The impression represents a stone inscription in three lines covering an area about 27½ inches long and about eight inches high. Single letters are each about one inch and a half in height. There is the representation of a long trident in the left margin of the epigraph with an axe joined to its shaft from the right and a goad from the left. It is not improbable that it was the emblem of the royal family to which the epigraph belongs. A combined trident and axe, closely resembling the symbol on our inscription with the goad omitted, is held by Lakulīśa, the great founder of the Lākulīśa sect of the Pāśupatas, in his left hand.[2] The symbol therefore was Śaivite in character. The Śaivite leanings of the kings mentioned in our record are also suggested by their names, viz., Īśvara and Chaṇḍēśvara, both meaning the god Śiva.

The **characters** of the epigraph belong to the Late Brāhmī alphabet as prevalent in the western areas of Northern India about the earlier part of the fourth century A. D. The forms of *ṇ*, *bh*, *y* and *l* are of the usual Northern type which are not found in the early epigraphs of Southern and Western India, while letters like *m*, *s* and *h* are expected in the records belonging to the western regions of Northern India. Such letters as *k* and *m* as used in our inscription do not appear to be later than the fourth century A. D.[3] whereas the types of medial *ī* sign used in *śrīścha*° in line 1 and *puri* in line 3 and the angularity of the right upper end of *ś* as in *Īśvara* in line 1 are not general expected in records earlier than the said century. The early type of subscript *ḍ* used in *ṇḍ* in line 2 of the epigraph under study reminds us of one of the two types of the same sign noticed in the Allahabad pillar inscription[4] of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A. D.), e.g. (1) in *daṇḍai*° in line 14 and *prachaṇḍa* in line 23, wherein the lower limb of *ḍ* is a straight stroke slanting towards the lower right, and (2) in *muruṇḍaiḥ* in line 23 and *daṇḍa*° in line 32, in which the lower end of the letter is curved towards the left rather sharply in the first case and slightly in the second.

[1] Lüders' suggestion that this name is *Śchaṇḍēśvara* and not *Chaṇḍēśvara* does not appear to be quite satisfactory. See below, p. 67 and note 5.

[2] Cf. the Mandasor image of Lakulīśa in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department*, Gwalior State, Vikrama 1982 (1925 26) Plate II, figure *a*; also M. B. Garde, *Archaeology in Gwalior*, Plate XXIX. Three of the attendants of Lakulīśa on the same stone bear the trident, axe and goad individually. The trident-axe symbol is noticed on a number of seals (cf., e.g., seals from Jhusi in the Allahabad Municipal Museum, Nos. JH 243, 244 and 285).

[3] Similar forms are found in the Mathura inscription of 380 A.D. (above, Vol. XXI, Plate facing p. 15), though the palaeography of that record gives the impression of a date earlier than that of the Allahabad pillar inscription (*CII*, Vol. III, Plate I) of the middle of the fourth century A.D.

[4] *CII*, Vol. III, Plate I.

This limb of subscript *ḍ* in our inscription is a straight vertical stroke earlier than the development of the letter noticed in the first of its two forms found in Samudragupta's epigraph referred to above.[1] Although this kind of slanting lower limb of the letter *ḍ* is found in the inscriptions of the Scythian and Kushāṇa rulers of the first and second centuries A.D., the palaeography of the inscription under study is of course considerably closer to that of Samudragupta's inscription than the records of the Early Scythians and Kushāṇas. Moreover, the early type of *ḍ* found in our inscription seems to be also noticed on certain coins of Kumāragupta I (414-55 A.D.).[2] An interesting palaeographical feature of our inscription is the outward curvature at the lower part of the left limb of *g* and *ś* as well as the serif with the subscripts in conjuncts. These two characteristics are sometimes noticed in the inscriptions of the ages of the Kushāṇas and the earlier Guptas. The Shorkot inscription[3] of 402 A.D. exhibits both the features, the second of them rarely.[4] But its palaeography is decidedly later than that of our epigraph.

The **language** of the inscription under study is Sanskrit. *Sandhi* has not been observed in *mahārāja-Īśvara* in line 1 while *srīś=Chaṇḍēśvara* has been written in lines 1-2 for *śrī-Chaṇḍēśvara*, this kind of avoidance of *samāsa* being sometimes found in some early inscriptions.[5]

The inscription contains a single sentence stating that *Mahārāja* **Chaṇḍēśvarahastin,** who was the son of *Mahārāja* **Īśvarahastin** and belonged to the Vātsa *gōtra*, built a city in a locality called **Śrēṇyaka** after having defeated a person named Rājjila. The family represented by the two *Mahārājas* with names ending in *hastin* may probably be regarded as the Hastin dynasty An *akshara* in the name of the city built by Chaṇḍēśvarahastin in Śrēṇyaka is damaged, though the name may have been **Bhaṭaśālipurī.** It is difficult to say whether the word *bhaṭa* had anything to do with the soldiers who must have fought in the battle referred to. The reference may also be to the temple of a deity called Bhaṭaśālin.

It is clear from the contents of the record that the victory over the enemy was regarded by *Mahārāja* Chaṇḍēśvarahastin as an achievement worthy enough to be commemorated by the construction of a city or temple probably on the site where the battle between himself and his adversary was fought.

The title *Mahārāja* assumed by the rulers mentioned in our record was first used in India by the Indo-Greek king Eucratides in the first half of the second century B.C., while, among indigenous Indian monarchs, it was first assumed by the Kaliṅga king Khāravēla who flourished about the close of the first century B.C.[6] In the second and third centuries A.D., some Indian kings called themselves *Rājan* and *Mahārāja* indiscriminately, although the former title was possibly somewhat more popular especially in South India.[7] With the popularisation of the imperial title *Mahārājādhirāja* by the Guptas from the fourth century A.D., *Mahārāja* generally became the title of smaller rulers and feudatories especially in North India.[8] These facts do not

[1] The *akshara nḍ* in the Mathurā inscription (380 A.D.) of Chandragupta II is of the same type ; but the lower limb is only slightly slanting. Cf. above, Vol. XXI, Plate facing p. 8, text line 17 (*lanḍō°*).

[2] See Altekar, *Gupta Gold Coins of the Bayana Hoard*, Plate XXXV, No. 36 ; Plate XXXVII, No. 63.

[3] Above, Vol. XVI, Plate facing p. 15.

[4] Cf. loc. cit., *sti* in *sarvvāsti* ; also *CII*, Vol. III, Plate XXXVI, B (*sti* in *°ty=asti* in line 2) ; etc.

[5] Cf. above, Vol. XXVI, p. 131, note 8.

[6] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 232, note 3 ; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 215. The Śuṅga king Bhāgavata is supposed to be called a *Mahārāja* in the Besnagar inscription (*Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 5, p. 152 and Plate XXVI ; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XXIII, 1914, p. 144). But the only *akshara* readable on the stone after the king's name is *ma* and it is difficult to say whether the intended word is *Mahārāja* or anything else.

[7] Cf. the Sātavāhana and Ikshvāku inscriptions, e g., *Select Inscriptions*, p. 196, text line 1 ; p 198, text line 10 ; p. 222 (No. 3), text lines 2 and 6 ; etc.

[8] Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 304-05.

clash with the ascription of our record to the beginning of the fourth century since, in the third and fourth centuries, the rulers of the western regions of North India often assumed the title *Mahārāja*.[1]

As regards the names of the two kings mentioned in our record, both ending in the word *hastin*, only a few such royal names are known to us from early records. Although king Hastin of the Parivrājaka family and rulers named Hastivarman in the Śālaṅkāyana and Eastern Gaṅga dynasties are well known,[2] names of early Indian rulers ending in *hastin* are no doubt rare. We know of one Raṇahastin who issued tiny silver coins bearing his name on the obverse and an elephant on the reverse apparently in reference to the second element in his name. A few such coins were found in Rajasthan and Kathiawar and at Kanauj. It is also known that Raṇahastin was another nam eof the celebrated Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Vatsarāja (c. 775-805 A.D.) who may have been the issuer of the coins in question.[3] The name Rājjila reminds us of a chief of the same name mentioned in the Vasantgadh (Sirohi District, Rajasthan) inscription of 625 A.D.[4] and of the chief Rājjila who was an ancestor of the Pratīhāra chiefs of the Jodhpur region mentioned in the Jodhpur and Ghatiyala inscriptions, dated respectively in 837 and 861 A.D.[5] The name Rājyila borne by a royal officer mentioned in the Karitalai plates (493 A.D.)[6] of the Uchchakalpa king Jayanātha seems to be a modification of the same name.

There are two **geographical names** in the inscription, viz. the locality called Śrēṇyaka and the city called Bha[ṭa?]śālipurī which may also have been the name of a temple. It is difficult to say if *°śālipurī* in the name is the origin of the name Sālrī where the inscription has been found. If such is the case, Śrēṇyaka would be the old name of the land around the said village.

TEXT[7]

1 Śrī-mahārāja-[8]**Īśvarahasti**-satputrēṇa mahārāja-śrīś-**Cha**-[9]

2 **ṇḍēśvarahastinā Rājjilaṁ** ..[10] yuddhē jitvā **Śrēṇyakē Bha**-

3 **[ṭa?]**[11]**śālipurī** kāritā Vātsa-sagōtrēṇa ||[12]

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[1] Cf. ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 62; *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 252, 283; etc.

[2] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 2089, pp. 386, 399; also see above, Vol. XXIV, p. 253, for a Hastin of the Maukhari family.

[3] See *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 193, ff.; Vol. XVI, pp. 282-83; Vol. XVIII, pp. 222-23. For the name Gṛihahastin, see Lüders' List, No. 34.

[4] Bhandarkar's List, No. 11.

[5] Ibid., Nos. 26 and 31.

[6] Ibid., No. 1194.

[7] From an impression.

[8] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[9] Read *śrī-Cha°*.

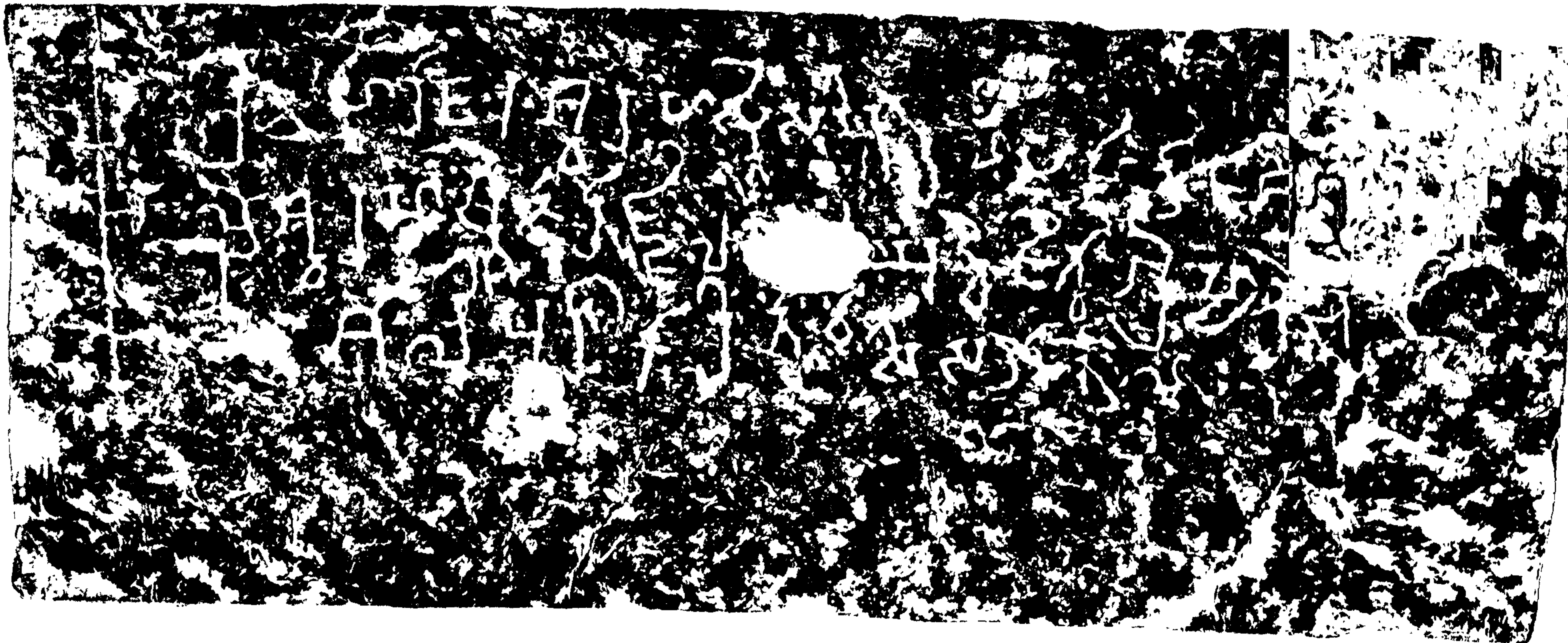
[10] These two *aksharas* are lost. Traces of what may be a superscript *t* forming a part of the second *akshara* are visible.

[11] One *akshara* is damaged here. The traces do not help us in restoring it, although it may have been *ṭa*.

[12] The punctuation is indicated by a *visarga*-like sign followed by a horizontal stroke.

SALRI INSCRIPTION OF CHANDESVARHASTIN

2



2

Scale : One-fourth

No. 8—ALLEGED COINS OF MAHISHA KINGS

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 22.6.1960)

It is well known to the students of Indian numismatics that Prof. V. V. Mirashi has been trying for the past ten years to prove the existence of a Mahisha dynasty of Śaka nationality founded by a king named Māna and of certain other rulers of that family as also to show that these Mahisha kings ruled over the southern part of the former Hyderabad State. The theories are based on his reading and interpretation of the legends on certain coins mostly discovered in the said area. It may also be known to our numismatists that we have often expressed the opinion that Prof. Mirashi's readings of the coin legends are doubtful and that his interpretations of the legends are still more dubious. But it has sometimes been complained that we have only characterised the published readings of the coin legends and their interpretations as unsatisfactory without offering any reading and interpretation ourselves.[1]

Our difficulty was that we were not prepared to commit without examining the coins and satisfying ourselves with the reading of the legends and their interpretation. Recently we had an opportunity of examining the plaster casts of some of the coins in the Hyderabad Museum including what Prof. Mirashi has published as those issued by the kings of the so-called Mahisha dynasty, and are now fortunately in a better position to express our opinion on them. The casts were prepared by Mr. A. N. Lahiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant of our office, when he visited the Museum in 1959, and we are thankful to him for placing them at our disposal.

Prof. Mirashi has recently discussed, in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 116-21, the history of his study of the coins of a ruler whom he calls the Śaka king Māna of the Mahisha dynasty. This story indicates the following stages in the development of his interesting theory about the kings of the Mahisha dynasty.

(1) In 1946, Prof. Mirashi received inked impressions of two coins in the possession of Mr. Hurmuz Kaus of Hyderabad and published them in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, pp. 34 ff. and Plate. The legend on the coins was read and translated by him as follows : *Raṁño Saga-Māna-Mahasa*[*sa**] (Sanskrit *Rājñaḥ Śaka-Māna-Mahishasya*), '[This coin is] of the Śaka king Māna of the Mahisha dynasty.' From the illustration, however, it is quite clear that not only *sa*, put in brackets with an asterisk after *mahasa*, is untraceable on the coins and is admittedly an imaginary addition, but there is also absolutely no trace of the word *raṁño* on them.[2] His interpretation of the legend was influenced by the Puranic passage *Śakyamānābhavad=rājā Mahishīṇāṁ* (v.l. *Mahishyāṇāṁ*) *mahīpatiḥ*. It seems that he corrected *Śakyamānābhavad*° to *Śaka-Māno=bhavad*° and *Mahishīṇāṁ* or *Mahishyāṇāṁ* to *Mahishāṇāṁ*. The territory over

[1] Cf. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, 1956, pp. 6 ff.; 116 ff.; 124 ff. Prof. Mirashi's articles on the coins in question are referred to below. Our comments on some of his theories based on these coins were offered earlier in op. cit., Vol. XII, pp. 50 ff.; *IHQ*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 174 ff.; Vol. XXIX, pp. 294 ff. Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in the present article.

[2] What has been read as *raṁño* with the remarks, 'These two *aksharas* appear very thin and crampled for want of space', is really a small symbol of six arches (i.e. a six-peaked hill), which is partly rubbed off.

which the Śaka king 'Māna the Mahisha' ruled was located by him in the region around Māhishmatī, i.e. modern Māndhātā or Maheshwar on the Narmadā. As, however, will be seen below, the letters *mahasa* constitute the first part of the word *Mahāsenāpatisa* found on other coins of the same person and therefore the existence of the Mahisha dynasty has no foundation at all.

(2) In 1949, Prof. Mirashi received photographs of two coins discovered in the course of excavations, the first at Kondapur and the second at Maski, from Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmed, then Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, and published them in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XI, pp. 1 ff. and Plate.[1] He also published a note on the responsibility of the Śaka kings of the Mahisha dynasty for the spread of the Śaka era in South India in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Cuttack Session, 1949, pp. 45 ff., as well as in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXVI, 1950, pp. 216 ff. The fragmentary legend on the said two coins from Kondapur and Maski, as he read it, ends with the letters *mahasa* which were taken to stand for Sanskrit *Mahisha* and he ascribed the Kondapur coin to the same Śaka king Māna of the Mahisha dynasty. The legend on the Maski coin was read by Prof. Mirashi as *yasasa Mahasa[sa*]* which suggested to him a Mahisha king with his name ending in the word *yaśas*, supposed to have been a later member of the family founded by the Mahisha-Śaka king Māna, though elsewhere he applies the name Yaśa to this king.[2] On the basis of the discovery of these coins at Kondapur in the Medak District and Maski in the Raichur District, he now suggested that the territory ruled by the kings of the Mahisha-Śaka dynasty comprised the southern part of the former Hyderabad State, which in his opinion was called Māhishaka in ancient times.[3] It was also suggested that the said Mahisha-Śaka house of Southern Hyderabad was an offshoot of the Kshaharāta-Śaka family of Western India. But, as has already been indicated above, *Mahasa*....actually stands for *Mahāsenāpatisa*. The dynastic and personal names of the issuer of the coins, which have been misunderstood even though they are quite clear, are being discussed below and it will be seen that they have nothing to do either with the Śakas or with any Mahisha dynasty.

(3) Two notes were published by Prof. Mirashi in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XII, 1950, pp. 87-89 and pp. 90-91 with Plates.[4] The subject of the first of the two notes is a coin in the possession of Mr. Hurmuz Kaus, which bears the legend *Saga-Māna-Chuṭukasa*, '[This coin is] of the Śaka Māna Chuṭuka,' as read and interpreted by Prof. Mirashi. It was now suggested that this Śaka king named Māna-Chuṭuka belonged to the family founded by the Śaka ruler Māna who himself as well as some of his successors (like....*yaśas* or *Yaśa* referred to above) assumed the dynastic name *Mahasa*=Sanskrit *Mahisha*. As will be seen below, Prof. Mirashi later regarded *Chuṭuka* as a shortened form of *Chuṭu-kula* which is, according to him, an epithet of Śaka Māna, and means 'belonging to the Chuṭu family.' But we have pointed out elsewhere[5] that the same Māna could have scarcely been described on some of his coins as 'Māna the Mahisha' and on others as 'Māna the Chuṭuka (i.e. Chuṭu).'

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[1] The article was reprinted in *Numismatic Series*, No. 3—'Some Coins of the Mahisha Dynasty', Hyderabad Museum, 1950, with illustration of the Kondapur and Maski coins as well as the two coins published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII.

[2] *Numismatic Series*, No. 7,—'Coins of King Sumahāgrāmaka from Kondapur Excavations' Hyderabad Museum, 1950, p. 2. In our opinion, the reading of what has been read as *yasa* is absolutely uncertain.

[3] For our comments on the location of the Mahisha country in the southern part of the former Hyderabad State, cf. *JNSI*, Vol. XII, pp. 50 ff.; *IHQ*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 174 ff.

[4] The coins dealt with in the second note were also published in *Numismatic Series*, No. 8.—'Some More Mahisha Coins from Kondapur Excavations', Hyderabad Museum, 1950.

[5] *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 8.

The subject of the second note of Prof. Mirashi is a number of coins on which the complete legend was read by him as *Mahāsenāpatisa Radaji-putasa Saga-Māna Chuṭukulasa*, with the remarks that sometimes *Senāpatiputa* and *Chuṭuka* occur in the legend instead of *Mahāsenāpati* and *Chuṭukula* respectively. As a matter of fact, however, the seventh and eighth letters of what actually reads *Mahasenapatisa Bharadaji-putasa* (i.e. the letters *sa bha*) were wrongly read as *puta*. But the word *Chuṭuka* has been rightly regarded by Prof. Mirashi as a shortened form of *Chuṭukula*, although his interpretation of the expression, as will be seen below, is wrong.

(4) In an article in the same journal, Vol. XV, 1953, pp. 115 ff. and Plate, Prof. Mirashi published another coin of the so-called *Mahāsenāpati* Śaka Māna from Kondapur, which helped him to correct the reading *Radaji-puta* of the legend on similar coins, published by him previously and referred to above, to *Bharadaja-puta* (Sanskrit *Bharadvāja-putra*). The legend is now read as *Mahāsenāpatisa Bharadaja-putasa Saga-Māna-Chuṭu-kulasa* (Sanskrit *Mahāsenāpateḥ Bhara dvāja-putrasya Śaka-Māna-Chuṭu-kulasya*) and translated as '[This coin is] of the *Mahāsenāpati* Śaka Māna, the son of Bharadvāja, who is of the Chuṭu family.' It is also suggested that Śaka Māna had issued these coins earlier when he was a *Mahāsenapati* while his coins bearing the epithet *raṁño* were issued at a later date after his assumption of royal title. Prof. Mirashi further observes, 'In two other respects, these Kondapur coins differ from those found elsewhere. They mention his (i.e. Śaka Māna's) family as *Chuṭu-kula* which is shortened to *Chuṭuka* in one case (see above, Vol. XII, Pl. VIII, Coin 8). On the other coins, he mentions instead the epithet *Mahasa* (Sanskrit *Mahisha*) derived from the country under his rule. He seems to have been well known as the king of the Mahishas.'[1] But, as we have pointed out above, the word *raṁño* does not actually occur on the coins in question. Elsewhere,[2] we commented on the interpretation of *Saga-Māna-Chuṭu-kulasa* (Sanskrit *Śaka-Māna-Chuṭu-kulasya*) as 'of the Śaka Māna belonging to the Chutu family' as quite unsatisfactory. If that was the meaning intended, the passage would have been worded as *Chuṭu-kulasa Saga-Mānasa* (Sanskrit *Chuṭu-kulasya Śaka-Mānasya*) or at least *Chuṭu-kula-Saga-Mānasa* (Sanskrit *Chuṭu-kula-Śaka-Mānasya*). There is no instance of the mention of a person and his dynasty in extremely awkward compound expressions like *Saga-Māna-Chuṭu-kula*, as Prof. Mirashi's interpretation would involve.

There is another interesting fact to which attention of scholars should be drawn in this connection. The occurrence of the epithet *Mahāsenāpatisa* on these coins suggests quite clearly that the letters *mahasa* read on the same person's other issues, published by Prof. Mirashi earlier, do not stand for *Mahisa[sa*]* (Sanskrit *Mahishasya*), 'of the Mahisha', but for *Mahāse[nāpatisa*]* (Sanskrit *Mahāsenāpateḥ*), 'of the *Mahāsenāpati* (i.e. great *Senāpati* or commander of forces)'. Considering, however, the arrangements of the words in the passage *Sagamāna Mahāse[nāpatisa*]* on this group of coins as well as the size of both the coins of this group and of the letters in the legend, it appears to us that the full legend here may have been *Sagamana Mahasenapatisa Chutukasa* (or *Chuṭukulasa*) and that the epithet *Bharadaji-putasa* (Sanskrit *Bhāradvājī-putrasya*, 'of one who is the son of a lady born in a family belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*)', may have been omitted for the sake of space. In any case, it is clear that the flans of these coins were considerably smaller than the die. As will be seen below, what Prof. Mirashi takes to be *Saga-Māna* (i.e. *Śaka-Māna*) we are inclined to take as *Sagamāna* (i.e. *Sagamānaṁ*), 'of the Sagamas (i.e. belonging to the Sagama family)'.

In our opinion, Coin No. 1, the inked rubbing of which has been published in *Numismatic Series*, No. 8, Plate I, reads *Bharadaji* and not *Bharadaja* and the legend fully preserved on Coin

[1] Op. cit., p. 117

[2] *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 8.

No. 5 on the same Plate[1] and incompletely on some others read *Mahasenapatisa Bharadaj*[*i*]-*putasa Sagamāna Chuṭukulasa*. The natural inclination of any student of Sanskrit and Prakrit would be to take the passage to stand for Sanskrit *Mahāsenāpateḥ Bhāradvājī-putrasya Sagamānāṁ Chuṭukulasya* and to translate it as '[This coin is] of *Mahāsenāpati* Bhāradvājī-putra Chuṭukula of the Sagamas (i.e. belonging to the Sagama dynasty)'. *Sagamāna Chuṭukula* may be compared to numerous such passages occurring in early South Indian inscriptions, e.g., *Pallavāṇa Sivakhaṁdavamo* (Sanskrit *Pallavānāṁ Śivaskandavarmā*), 'Śivaskandavarman of the Pallava family', occurring in the Hirahadagalli plates.[2] Whether *Sagama* is a Dravidian name or stands for Sanskrit *Saṅgama* or *Saṅgrāma* cannot be determined, although these are familiar personal names,[3] easily applicable to families, and the medieval Saṅgama dynasty (1336-1485 A.D.) of Vijayanagara is well-known to us.

The language of the passage also shows beyond doubt that *Chuṭukula* here has to be taken as a personal name. There is certainly no other satisfactory explanation of the passage. To some of our readers, however, *Chuṭukula* as a personal name would appear rather awkward, since the word *kula* forming its second part means 'a family' in Sanskrit. Of course, Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* recognises Rājakula-bhaṭṭa occurring in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* as the personal name of a poet. But there is reason to believe that, just as *Mihirakula* was Sanskritised from Persian *Mihrgul*, *Chuṭukula* is likewise the Sanskritised form of a Dravidian personal name.

We have certain coins found in the Karwar region, some of which bear the legend *Rañño Chuṭukaḍānaṁdasa*, '[This coin is] of king Chuṭukaḍānanda', and others with the legend *Rañño Muḍānaṁdasa*, '[This coin is] of king Muḍānanda', although both the groups are exactly similar in type.[4] There is absolutely no doubt that these coins were issued by two rulers (apparently related to each other) whose personal names were Chuṭukaḍānanda and Muḍānanda. There also cannot be any doubt that the personal name *Chuṭukaḍānanda* occurs in its Sanskrit garb as *Chuṭukulānanda* in the name of Hāritīputra Viṇhukaḍa-Chuṭukulānaṁda Sātakarṇi of an inscription[5] from Banavasi and of Hāritīputra Viṇhukaḍḍa-Chuṭukulānanda-Sātakarṇi of another inscription[6] from Malavalli. We have seen above that coins, wrongly attributed by Prof. Mirashi to king Māna of the Mahisha dynasty, represent the personal name of the issuer in some cases as *Chuṭukula* and in others in a shortened form as *Chuṭuka* which is the same as *Chuṭu* with the *svārthika* suffix *ka* added to it.[7] This fact would suggest that *Chuṭukula*, the Sanskritised form of Dravidian *Chuṭukaḍa*, was another slightly shortened form of the personal name *Chuṭukaḍānanda=Chuṭukulānanda*. It is of course difficult to say whether *ānanda*, the third element in the name, is also the Sanskritised form of a Dravidian word. But that personal names with this element were popular in certain areas of the Deccan, seems to be suggested by names like Muḍānanda found on the Karwar coins referred to above and Vishṇurudraśivalānanda-Sātakarṇi of Vanavāsa (modern Banavāsi in the North Kanara District, Mysore) mentioned in the Nagarjunikonda inscription[8] of the time of the Ābhīra king Vasusheṇa.

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[1] This is the same as Coin No. 6 in Plate VIII of *JNSI*, Vol. XII.

[2] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 437.

[3] Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 123, 1557, 1560, etc.

[4] Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc., pp. lxxxiii-lxxxiv, 59-60, Plate VIII, Nos. G.P. 2, 235, G.P. 3, and Nos. 236, G.P. 4.

[5] Ibid., p. liii, No. 25; Lüders' List, No. 1186; above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 239 ff.

[6] Rapson, op. cit., p. liv; Lüders' List, No. 1195.

[7] The addition of this suffix is quite common in early epigraphic records.

[8] *Indian Archaeology* 1958-59, p. 8; above Vol. XXXIV, p. 197.

The above discussions will make it clear that whatever has been said during the pas decade about the existence of kings of the Mahisha-Śaka dynasty and their rule over the southern part of the old Hyderabad State, on the basis of the erroneous reading and interpretation of the coin legends dealt with above, is entirely without any foundation.

Chuṭukula, who issued the coins discussed above and enjoyed the official designation *Mahāsenāpati*, seems to have been the military governor of a district or its subdivision within the dominions of some king who cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge. it appears that he flourished as a semi-independent ruler when the Sātavāhana power was fast declining. The issue of coins by such subordinate rulers is illustrated by certain coins bearing the legend *Sadakana-Kalalaya-mahārathisa* (Sanskrit *Sātakarni-Kalalāya-mahārāshṭriṇaḥ*), ' [This coin is] of Sātakarṇi-Kaḷalāya, the *Mahārāshṭrin* '.[1] The official designation *Mahārashṭrin* means ' the great *Rashṭrin* or the ruler of a *rāshṭra* ', i.e. ' a chief of the *Rāshṭrins* ', and *rāshṭra* means a group of villages or the subdivision of a district. The word *rashṭrin* reminds us of the designation *Rāshtrakūta*, ' head of a *rāshtra* ', coined on the analogy of *Gramakuta*, ' head of a *grama* or village '.[2] Another similar designation is *Rāshṭramahattara* mentioned along with *Grāmamahattara*.[3]

In this connection reference may be made to certain other coins published by Prof. Mirashi in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*. In a small note in Vol. XV, p. 120 and plate, he published a coin in the possession of Mr. Hurmuz Kaus of Hyderabad. In the fragmentary legend on the coin, Prof. Mirashi could not read anything besides the letters *sivalasa maha* which induced him to attribute the issue to a Mahisha king named Śivala. We, however, consider the suggestion absolutely unwarranted. In the first place, he admits the existence of a letter like *ka* before *si*. Thus the name may have been one ending in *śivala* as in the case of Vishṇurudra-śivalānanda-Śātakarṇi of a Nagarjunikonda inscription referred to above. Secondly, the two letters *maha* may suggest anything like *Mahārāja*, *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahārāshṭrin*, *Mahāgrāmika*, *Mahātalavara*,[4] etc., and there is no reason to confine ourselves to *Mahisha* even if such an epithet was known from epigraphic and numismatic records. But, as we have shown above, *Mahisha* does not occur in the legend of any Indian coin so far discovered.

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[1] Rapson, op. cit., pp. 58-59. Rapson also offered the alternative suggestion that *Sadakana* stands for Sanskrit *Śātakānām* from *Śātaka* and drew our attention to the personal names *sri-Śāta* and *Skandanāga-Śātaka* (op. cit., p. cxxxii). The expression *Śātakānām* means ' of the Sātakas ', i.e. ' belonging to the Śātaka family or people '. It is interesting in this connection to note that, while most versions of Rock Edict II of Asoka speak of *Satiya-puta* or *Sātiya-puta*, ' the king of the Satiyas or Sātiyas ' side by side with *Kerala-puta*, ' the king of the Keralas ' the Erragudi version has *Satika-puṭa* for *Satiya-puta* or *Sātiya-puta*. It is well known that *Kerala-puta*=Sanskrit *Kerala-putra*, literally ' the son of the Keralas ', occurs in the form *Kerobothros* in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* as well as in the works of Ptolemy and Pliny to indicate ' the king of the Keras (Keralas) '. See my *Maski Inscription of asoka*, p. 8, note 1. The original form of the name of the other people in question seems to have been Śātika or Sāntika. The land of the king called Satiya-puta=Sātiya-puta=Satika-puta is often located to the north of the territory of Kerala-puta in the Malayalam-speaking area, not very far away from the Chitaldrug region of Mysore where the coins of Sadakana Kaḷalāya-mahārathi were found. It is therefore not impossible that the Maharathi was a scion of the ancient race called Satiya=Sātiya=Satika in the inscriptions of Asoka. *Sadakana* would in that case stand for *Sātikānām* or *Śāntikanam*, ' of the Śātika or Sāntika race '.

[2] *Rāshṭrakūṭa* is mentioned in records like the Ellora plates of Dantidurga (above, Vol. XXV, pp. 25 ff.). *Rāshṭrin* is the same as *Rāshtrika*=Prakrit *Raṭhika* of records like the Hirahaḍagalli plates (above, Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.).

[3] Cf. *Rāshṭra-grāma-mahattara* in the Kavi plates in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 114 ff.

[4] For coins issued by a *Mahātalavara* or a *Talavara* whose name ended in *saha* (i.e. *sīha* Sanskrit *simha*), see *JNSI*, Vol. XV, pp. 117 ff.

Another note on a few coins discovered at Kondapur was published by Prof. Mirashi in the same journal, Vol. XII. 1950, pp. 92-93 and Plate, as well as in *Numismatic Series*. No, 7—'Coins of King Sumahāgrāmaka from Kondapur Excavations', Hyderabad Museum, 1950, pp. 1-2 and Plate. The legend on these coins has been made ont and interpreted by him as *Samahagāmakasa maha*....(Sanskrit *Samahāgrāmakasya maha*....), '[This coin is] of Sumahāgrāmaka Maha ....' We are indeed thankful to him that he was not inclined to regard the letters ***maha*** at the end of the legend to stand for *Mahasasa* (Sanskrit *Mahishasya*) and Sumahāgrāmaka as another king of the so-called Mahisha dynasty of Southern Hyderabad.

On an examination of the plaster casts of these coins, we find that the correct reading of the legend is *Mahagāmakasa Maṭhari-putasa*....*sa* (Sanskrit *Mahāgrāmikasya Māṭharī-putrasya*....*sya*), '[This coin is] of *Mahāgrāmika* Māṭharī-putra....'[1] The personal name of the *Mahāgrāmika* is unfortunately not preserved in any of the specimens. *Mahāgrāmika* means 'the great *Grāmika* (the headman of a village), i.e., a chief of the *Grāmikas*', or 'the head of a *mahāgrāma*.' The word *mahāgrāma* is known from South Indian records to mean a group of villages like the *rāshṭra*.[2] *Mahāgrāmika* was therefore an official designation similar to *Rāshṭrakūṭa Rāshṭramahattara*, *Rāshṭrin* and *Rāshṭrika*. In the Nagarjunikonda inscription of the time of Ābhīra Vasushena, Kauśikī-putra Śivaśepa of the Peribiḍeha family is endowed with the designations *Mahāgrāmika*, *Mahātalavara* and *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*.[3] The designation *Mahāgrāmika* reminds us of the officer entitled *Dāśagrāmika* who was apparently a *Grāmika* having jurisdiction over ten villages.[4] It appears that Mahāgrāma was a territorial unit like Daśagrāma.

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[1] See ibid., Vol. XXII, pp. 168 ff.

[2] *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 305.

[3] *Indian Archaeology*, 1958-59, p. 8; above, Vol. XXXIV, 7 p. 19, where *Mahāgrāmika* has been alternatively interpreted as 'an inhabitant of Mahāgrāma'.

[4] For the *Dāśagrāmika*, see *Gaudalēkhamālā*, p. 16, text line 47 (*yathā-kāl-ādhyāsinō Jyeshṭhakāyastha-Mahāmahattara-Mahattara-Dāśagrāmik-ādi-vishaya-vyavahāriṇah*); cf. also *JAS* Letters, Vol. XVII, p. 93.

APPENDIX I

Coins wrongly assigned to the so-called Mahisha Kings

A. COINS OF MAHĀSENĀPATI BHĀRADVĀJĪPUTRA CHUṬUKA OR CHUṬUKULA OF THE SAGAMA DYNASTY

Type I.—Elephant: : Ujjayinī Symbol[1] ; Copper

Obverse :—Elephant with uplifted trunk to right ; *Svastika* above the back of the elephant ; legend around in thick characters : *Sagamāna Mahās[enāpatisa]*....

Reverse :—Ujjayinī symbol with orbs having each a pellet in double circle ; *Svastika* between each pair of orbs.

1. [Mr. Hurmuz Kaus, Hyderabad : *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, p. 34, Plate at p. 35, figure A ; *Numismatic Series*, No. 3, Plate II, figure b-2].

Size—squarish, 1″×·9″ ; weight—130 grains ; Legend—....*gamana Maha[se]*....

2. [Mr. Hurmuz Kaus, Hyderabad : *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, p. 34, Plate at p. 35, figure B ; *Numismatic Series*, No. 3, Plate II, figure b-1].

Size—rectangular, .95″×.75″ (thick) ; Weight—180 grains ; Legend—*Sagamāna* [*Ma*].... There is a six-peaked hill symbol near the end of the elephant's tail.[2]

Type II.—Svastika[3] : : Thunderbolt and Arrow ; Lead and Copper

Obverse :—*Svastika* and legend around : *Mahāsenāpatisa Bharadajiputasa Sagamāna Chuṭukasa* (or *Chuṭukulasa*).

Reverse :—In pellet border, thunderbolt with arrow pointed downwards on right or left.

Variety A-1 : Lead, Squarish

Class I : Issuer's name—Chuṭu....

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations) : *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 90, Plate VIII, No. 2 ; *Numismatic Series*, No. 8, p. 1, Plates I-II, No. 1.]

Size—.9″×.8″ ; Weight—115 grains ; Legend—....[*ha*]*sanapatisa Bharadaji-putasa Sagamāna Chu*[*ṭu*].... ; arrow to the left of the thunderbolt.

2. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations) : *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 4 ; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 4.]

Size—.8″×.75″ ; Weight—128 grains ; Legend—.... *Bharadaja-patasa Sagamana*.... ; arrow probably to the left of the thunderbolt.

3. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations) : *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 5 ; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 5.]

Size—.75″×.75″ ; Weight—112 grains : Legend—....*tasa Bheradaja-putasa Sagamāna*.... ; arrow to the right of the thunderbolt.

Class II: Issuer's name—Chuṭuka

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[1] The Ujjayinī symbol connects this type with Type III below.

[2] This symbol has been wrongly regarded by Prof. Mirashi as the word *ramño*.

[3] The *Svastika* connects this type with Type III below.

4. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 3; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 2.]

Size—.9″×.65″[1]; Weight—77 grains; Legend—. . [*ta*]*sa* [*Bha*]*radaja-putasa Sagamāna Chuṭu*[*kasa*]; arrow to the right of the thunderbolt.

5. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 8; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 7.]

Size—.7″×.7″; Weight—80 grains; Legend—*Mahāsena*[*patisa*]. . . .[*puta*]*sa Sagamana Chaṭakasa*; arrow to the left of the thunderbolt.

Variety B-1 : Lead, Round—big; Issuer's name—Chuṭukula

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 6; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 5.]

Size—1.8″ in diameter; Weight—458 grains; Legend—*Mahāsenāpatasa* [*Bharada*]*ja-pata*[*sa*] *Sagamana Chūṭakūlasa*; the arrow is obliterated.

2. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, Vol. XV, p. 115, Plate VI, Nos. 1-2.]

Size—1.7″ in diameter; Weight—66$\frac{1}{2}$ grains; Legend—*Mahāsenāpatisa Bharadaja-putasa Sagamāna Chuṭukulasa.*

Variety B-2 : Copper, Round—small; Issuer's name—lost.

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 90, Plate VIII, No. 9; *Numismatic Series*, No. 8, p. 1, Plates I-II, No. 8.]

Size—.8″ in diameter; Weight—80 grains; Legend—. . . .[*Bha*]*radaja-putasa Sa*[*ga*]. . . . ; arrow to the left of the thunderbolt.

Type III.—Svastika : : Ujjayinī Symbol[2]; Lead, Round

Obverse:—*Svastika* and partially preserved legend around: . . . .[*sa*] *Bharadaja-putasa* [*Sagamā*]*na*. . . .

Reverse:—Ujjayinī symbol as on Type 1, but with cresent above.

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 7; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 6.]

Size—.75″ in diameter; Weight—115 grains.

Type IV.—Lion : : Ten-peaked Hill[3]; Lead, Round

Obverse:—Lion[4] to right with tail hanging down; *Svastika* above the back of the lion; a symbol looking like tree-in-railing to the left of *Svastika*; Legend—. . . .*Ma*[*hasa*]. . . .

Reverse:—In double-lined square, ten-peaked hill with a dot in each of the curves surmounted by a crescent which is flanked by what looks like ploughs.

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[1] The size is quoted by Prof. Mirashi differently as .95″×.85″ in *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 90. It is difficult to say which of the two quotations is correct.

[2] The *Svastika* connects this type with Type II and the Ujjayinī symbol with Type I above.

[3] The lion connects this type with Type V while the ten-peaked hill reminds us of the six-peaked hill on the reverse of Type VI, although the issuers of Types V-VI cannot be regarded as members of the Sagama dynasty without further evidence.

[4] Prof. Mirashi regards the animal as a horse.

ALLEGED COINS OF MAHISHA KINGS



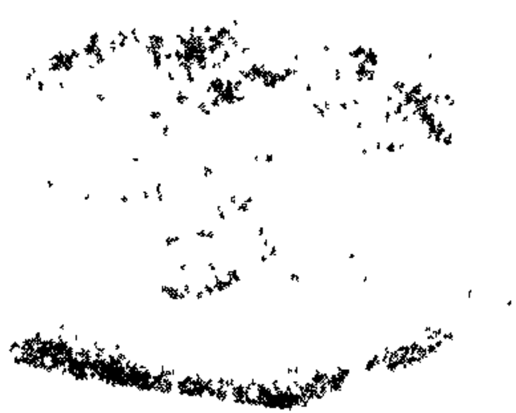

1




2




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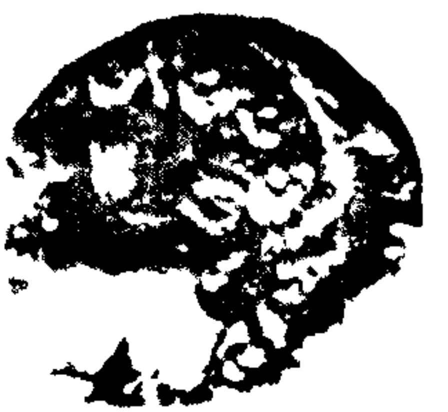

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(from Photograph)

1. Hyderabad Museum (from the Maski excavations) : *JNSI*, Vol. XI, p. 2, Plate II, No. 10 *Numismatic Series*, No. 3 ; p. 3, Plate II, figure a-2.]

Size—1.05″ in diameter ; Weight—210 grains ; Legend—.....*Maha[sa]*....[1]

B. COINS NOT ASSIGNABLE TO CHUṬUKA-CHUTUKULA

Type V.— Lion[2] : : Ujjayinī Symbol ; Lead, Roundish

Obverse :—Lion with upraised tail to left ; legend above—. .*Maharaṭhisa* (?).....[3]

Reverse :—Ujjayinī symbol with a pellet in each orb.

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations) : *JNSI*, Vol. XI, Plate II, p. 1 ; No. 9 ; *Numismatic Series*, No. 3, p. 1, Plate II, figure a-1.]

Size—.75″ in diameter ; Weight—72·5 grains.

Type VI.—Crescent : : Six-peaked Hill ; Lead, Roundish

Obverse :—Crescent. Legend (to be read from the outer side) around—. .*sivalasa*[4] *maha*. [5]

Reverse :—Similar to the reverse device of Type IV ; but the hill is six-peaked.

1. [Mr. Hurmuz Kaus, Hyderabad : *JNSI*, Vol. XV, p. 120, Plate VI, Nos. 6-7.]

Size—.85″ in diameter ; Weight—54 grains.

APPENDIX II

Coins of Mahārāshṭrin Chuṭukula

Among the coins in the Hyderabad Museum, of which plaster casts were prepared by Mr. A. N. Lahiri, there is one bearing the standing lion on the obverse and the tree-in-railing and Ujjayini symbols on the reverse as well as the legend *Mahāraṭhisa Chuṭukulasa* (Sanskrit *Mahārāshṭriṇaḥ Chnṭukulasya*), '[This coin is] of *Mahārāshṭrin* Chuṭukula'. From the specimen examined, it is not possible to say whether an expression like *Sagamāna* has been cut off before *Mahāraṭhisa*. Therefore, in the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to determine whether *Mahārāshṭrin* Chuṭukula of this coin is identical with *Mahāsenāpati* Bhāradvājī-putra Chuṭuka or Chuṭukula of the Sagama dynasty, whose coins have been discussed above. The identification is, however, not totally precluded by the difference in the official designations *Mahārāshṭrin* and *Mahāsenāpati* since the same person often enjoyed more than one such designation and, as we have seen above, a subordinate of the Ābhīra king Vasushena is known from a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription to have enjoyed three official designations at a time, viz. *Mahāgrāmika*, *Mahātalavara* and *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*. There are innumerable cases of this kind in later inscriptions.

Another coin of a similar type in the same collection bears the imperfect legend *Mahāraṭhisa* ....and may have been issued by *Mahārāshṭrin* Chuṭukula referred to above. A third coin in the

[1] Prof. Mirashi reads : *s[i]r[i]*.... *yasasa Mahasasa* and assigns the coin to a person named....yaśaḥ or Yaśa of the so-called Mahisha dynasty.

[2] The lion connects this type with Type V while the ten-peaked hill reminds us of the six-peaked hill on the reverse of Type VI, although the issuers of Types V-VI cannot be regarded as members of the Sagama dynasty without further evidence.

[3] Prof. Mirashi reads the legend as ....*na Mahasasa* [*sa*] and assigns the coin to the so-called Māna Mahisha.

[4] The name of the issuer of this coin is probably not *Śivala* but ends in it.

[5] It is difficult to say whether this stands for *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahāraṭhi* or any other similar official designation beginning with *mahā*.

same collection bears the figure of a humped bull on the obverse and the representation of a six-peaked hill, a *svastika* and the Ujjayinī symbol on the reverse. Only three *aksharas* of the legend on this coin are clear and they read....*kalasa*, probably the latter part of the expression *Chuṭukulasa*. It is, however, not possible to say from the specimen at our disposal whether the legend mentioned Chuṭukula as *Mahāsenāpati* or as *Mahārāshṭrin*.

Type I.—Lion to left . : Ujjayinī Symbol etc.; Lead

Obverse :—In incused area, lion with upraised tail standing to left; circular legend—*Mahārathisa Chuṭukulasa*.

Reverse :—In a square enclosure, symbols, of which only three are seen on the flan, viz. a zig-zag line, above which on the left is an Ujjayinī symbol with a dot in each orb and, on the right, a tree-in-railing.

1. [Hyderabad Museum]

Size—Round, .8 inch in diameter ; Legend—[*Mahāra*]*ṭhisa Ch*[*u*]*ṭukalasa*.

2. [Hyderabad Museum]

Size—Round, .9 inch in diameter ; Weight—74 grains ; Legend—*Maharaṭhi*[*sa*]........ The reverse is blurred.

Type II.—Bull to left : : Ujjayinī Symbol, etc. ; Lead

Obverse In an incused area, humped bull to right ; Legend—....*Chuṭukulasa*.

Reverse :—In a square enclosure, six-peaked hill, to the left of which is a *svastika* and, to the right, portion of an Ujjayinī symbol ; above the *svastika* is a partially preserved undefinable symbol.

1. [Hyderabad Museum]

Size—round, .95 inch in diameter ; Weight—127·9 grains ; Legend—(to the right)....*kalasa*.

No. 9—BHAIKSHUKI INSCRIPTION IN INDIAN MUSEUM

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(*Received on 16.6.1960*)

Only eight inscriptions written in the Bhaikshukī or arrow-head (sometimes, wedge-head) characters, prevalent among the Buddhist monks of the eastern regions of North India during the early medieval period, especially at Uddaṇḍapura (modern Biharsharif in the Patna District of Bihar), have so far been discovered. Out of them, the following six have already been edited with illustration : (1) Gayā (Bihar) image inscription published by C. Bendal in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 77-78, and by R. D. Banerji in the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, Vol. XX, pp. 153 ff. ;[1] (2) the Kara (near Allahabad, U. P.) inscription published by N. P. Chakravarti in the pages of this journal, Vol. XXII, pp. 37-39 ; and (3-6) three image inscriptions from Uren (Monghyr District, Bihar) and one from the Malda (West Bengal) B. R. Sen Museum, published by me, above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 220-26. The seventh Bhaikshukī inscription, which was found at Uren and is extremely damaged, was also noticed by me while editing the four inscriptions referred to above.[2] The eighth inscription in the Bhaikshukī script, which remains as yet unpublished, was found on the pedestal of an image of Jambhala belonging to the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The inscription, the findspot of which is not stated,[3] was examined by both R. D. Banerji and N. P. Chakravarti although that did not lead to the publication of the record. When I edited the Bhaikshukī inscriptions from Uren and the Malda Museum, I was also eager to publish this epigraph. But my attempts to trace the image in the Indian Museum proved unsuccessful.[4] Recently I found two impressions of the inscription in N. P. Chakravarti's files preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. On an examination of these impressions, I realised the reason why this well-known epigraph, which is the biggest Bhaikshukī inscription ever discovered, has remained so far unpublished. The fact is that it is extremely difficult to read and interpret and the reading of some of the letters is doubtful. Since, however, the number of Bhaikshukī inscriptions as yet discovered and published is not too many, I considered it necessary to bring it to the notice of scholars especially in view of the fact that the image bearing the record is not easily traceable. I therefore venture to publish my views on the reading and interpretation of the inscription in the following pages for whatever they may be worth. Students of Indian epigraphy are welcome to improve upon my transcript and translation of the record.

The engraving of the inscription on the pedestal of the image of Jambhala is not carefully done and its preservation is also unsatisfactory in a few places. The record is engraved in three sections, the entire inscribed area being about 8¾ inches in length and 3¼ inches in height and individual letters each about ¼ inch high. There are altogether nine lines of writing in the inscription. Lines 1-2 and 6-9 run through all the three sections while lines 3-5, which are very small, are engraved in the third section only. This is because engraving was not possible in the space to the left of lines 3-5. For a similar reason, the gap between lines 1 and 2 is more than between

[1] Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 222, note 2.

[2] Ibid., p. 222.

[3] The Superintendent of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, informs me that the image, noticed and illustrated in Foucher's *Étude sur l 'Iconographie Bouddhique de l' Inde*, p. 123 and figure 20 at p. 124, and in R. D. Banerji's *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*, p. 39, Plate XVIc, was secured from Ghoshīkuṇḍī (near Kiul in the Monghyr District, Bihar).

[4] Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 222, note 6.

any two other lines of writing in the epigraph. A small piece of stone appears to have broken **away** from the lower left end of the pedestal even before the incision of the record. This seems to be indicated by the last three lines of the inscription, each of which begins from a greater distance from the left margin than the previous line.

The **characters** of the record are similar to the Uren and Malda Museum inscriptions referred to above. But its palaeographical importance lies in the use of a few signs (e.g. *ḍ* in line 8 and initial *i* in line 9) not noticed in other epigraphs. The **language** of the major part of the record may be regarded as Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit, though a sentence in lines 7-8 is in fairly correct Sanskrit.

The **object** of the epigraph is to record the installation of the image on which it is engraved. It begins with a symbol for *siddham*. The first half of the inscription from the beginning of line 1 to the middle of line 6 offers the same two stanzas of the Buddhist formula that constitutes the text of the Uren inscriptions Nos. 2-3 and the main part of that of the Uren inscription No. 1, with negligible variations.[1] It reads as follows after the corrections of scribal errors :

Bhagavā āvuso[2] *paṭichchasamuppāda-dhammaṁ deseti* [|*]

paṭichchasamuppannānāṁ cha dhammānāṁ yo nirodho |

Ye dhammā hetu-prabhavā tesāṁ hetuṁ Tathāgato avacha [|*]

tesāṁ cha yo nirodho evaṁ-vādī Mahāśśamaṇo ||

Although some letters here and there in this part are either damaged or badly formed, there is no difficulty about the reading and interpretation of this section. But most parts of the latter half of the epigraph are beset with difficulties.

After the two stanzas quoted above, there are three sections of writing in the inscription, each of which ends with a double *daṇḍa* and may be regarded as a sentence. The first of the sections seems to read: *śrī-Saṁyya-satu(suta)-mahārāja-śrī-Pūrṇṇadi(vi)krama-kshā(kshmā)-dhipati*[*ḥ**], 'The illustrious *Mahārāja* **Pūrṇavikrama,** son of the illustrious Saṁyya, is the lord of the earth (i. e. the ruling king)'. This apparently refers to the ruler of the territory in which the image of Jambhala bearing the inscription under study was installed.

The second section seems to read : *śrī-Siṁhanāgāsāṁ(yāṁ) bhadanta-Jayasenasya deya-dharmo-yaṁ.* ' This (i.e. the image bearing the inscription) is the religious gift of the Venerable Jayasena at **Siṁhanāgā.**' The word *bhadanta* was used as an epithet of Buddhist monks. This section refers to a Buddhist monk named Jayasena who set up the image at a place called Siṁhanāgā no doubt for worship. It appears that there was a Buddhist monastery at Siṁhanāgā and that the image was installed in the said monastery. It is not impossible that Siṁhanāgā was the headquarters of Pūrṇavikrama's territory.

The third section, which is even more difficult than the previous two sentences, seems to read: *Kārttika-māsaṁ Gaüḍarāja-arvinaṁ samatna 70(?)-maṁ thāitaṁ*, probably meaning, '[It is] installed in the month of **Kārttika** of the **70th year** belonging to the new era of the **Gauḍa** king'. In this passage, the reading of the symbol looking like superscript *dh* joined to subscript *tt* is doubtful, although it has some resemblance with the numerical symbol for 70 which was written in early epigraphs as *pta* and in medieval records often as *vū, chū, thū*, etc. The word *samatna*, probably a scribal error for *samanta* or *samatta*, seems to be the same as Sanskrit *saṁvat* which is known to have been used in inscriptions in various corrupt forms such as *saṁmvat, samvata, samvatu, saṁvatū, saṁmat, samat, samata, samta, samatta, samanta, samasta, samaṁthu, smat*, etc.[3] But we

[1] Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 224.

[2] Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

[3] See *IHQ*, Vol. XXX, p. 383.

have no other instance in which a year of the date of an inscription is qualified by a word like *arviṇa* which is meaningless. 2t is possible to think that the intended reading is *a-pūrviṇa*, 'not of old', probably meaning that the year referred to was developed out of a recent regnal reckoning and not an old established era like the Tikrama-saṁvat. I am sorry that I cannot offer any better reading and interpretation os the passage.

We know that some epigraphic and literary records of the Gayā region of Bihar belonging to the twelfth century A.D. aefer to certain dates of the first few decades of the *atīta-rājya, gata-rājya* or *vinashṭa-rājya* of Govindapāḷa while the years of the well-known Lakshmaṇasena saṁvat, also originated in the same area, are usually referred to the *atīta-rājya* of Lakshmaṇasena, sometimes mentioned with the title *Gauḍeśvara*, 'the lord of Gauḍa.[1] It is not impossible that our inscription actually refers to the year 70 of the Lakshmaṇasena-saṁvat which, as we have suggested elsewhere, seems to have been originally counted from the accession of the Sena king Lakshmaṇasena in c. 1179 A.D., although, apparently owing to some confusion, it came to be counted later in North Bihar from various dates between 1108 and 1119 A.D.[1] Thus the inscription under study, probably dated in the year 70 may perhaps be assigned to c. 1249 A.D.

If our inscription is referred to a date about the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. and the image was secured by the Indian Museum from some locality in Bihar, king Pūrṇavikrama was apparently a small ruler of the area in question since Bihar is claimed to have been conquered by the Turkish Musalmans about the end of the twelfth century. The existence of some such rulers in South Bihar during the thirteenth century is known to us. An inscription[2] from Jānībighā near Bodhgayā in tae Gaya district of Bihar, dated in the Lakshmaṇasena year 83 (probably 1261 A.D.), mentions 'the king (*bhūpati*) *Āchārya* Jayasena, the lord of Pīṭhī (*Pīṭhīpati*)' and this Jayasena. was the son of Buddhasena who is apparectly identical wsth '*Āchārya* Buddhasena, the lord of Pīṭhī,' known from an undated inscription[3] from Mahābodhi (Bodhgayā). There is little doubt that the word *pīṭhī*, in the title *Rīṭhīpati* borne by these rulers, is the same as *pīṭha*[4] and indicates the Vajrāsana at Bodhgayā, which is believed to have been the seat of the Buddha while he was meditatsng for the attainment of *Nirvāṇa*. The title *Āchārya*, additionally borne by the rulers, was an epithet of a teacher or monk and may indicate their sacerdotal character. It may suggest that the said two rulers were the heads of the great Buddhist monastery at Bodhgayā and the superintendents of its property like the later *Mahanta Mahārājas*.[5] But if they were monks, Jayasena could not have been a real son of Buddhasena but was merely a disciple of the latter.[6] There is, however, some difficulty in accepting the suggestion.

It should be pointed out that a manuscript of the Buddhist works *Pacharakshā* is known to have been copied in Śaka 1211 (1289 A.D.) during the reign of a ruler named Madhusena who enjoyed the designations *Parameśvara. Paramasaugata. Paramamahārājādhirāja* and *Gauḍeśvara* and, though not called *Āchārya* and *Pīṭhīpati*, may have been a descendant of Buddhasena and Jayasena.[7] It should, moreover, be noted that an earlier 'lord of Pīṭhī' known from epigraphic and literary sources, was certainly not a genuine monk. The Sārnāth inscription[8] of Kumaradevī,

[1] *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 21 ff. ; *JASB*, N. S., Vol. XX. pp. 372-73.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 47 ; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1469.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, op. cit., p. 45 ; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1746.

[4] The feminine from *pīṭhī* is sometimes found in literary and epigraphic works. See Monier-Williams, *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s. v. ; above, Vol. V, p. 13, line 14.

[5] For this suggestion, see *JASB*, N. S., Vol. XXIX. p. 24.

[6] For the representation of a disciple as the son of his preceptor, see Bhandarkar's List, p. 25, note 1. Cf. the expression *ajja-guru*=Sanskrit *ārya-guru*, 'a grandfather-preceptor' (above, Vol. V, p. 230).

[7] Cf. *JASB*, N.S., Vol. XXIX, pp. 23 ff.

[8] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 324 ff.

queen of the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindachandra (c. 1114-55 A.D.), mentions her father Devarakshita of the Chhikkora family of lunar race as the successor of the latter's father Vallabharāja as 'the lord of Pīṭhī (or Pīṭhikā),' and her mother Śaṅkarādevī as the daughter of the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler Mahana (Mathana) of Aṅga (East Bihar), who is known to have been the maternal uncle and subordinate of the Pāla king Rāmapāla (c. 1195-1235 A.D.).[1] The same *Pīṭhīpati* Devarakshita is mentioned in the commentary of Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmacharita* as vanquished by Mathana and the commentary explains the designation as *Magadh-ādhipa*, 'lord of Magadha'.[2] The commentary on the *Rāmacharita* also equates *Pīṭhīpati* with *Magadh-ādhipati* elsewhere[3] while describing Bhīmayaśas who was a feudatory of Rāmapāla (c. 1082-1125 A.D.) and helped his overlord in overthrowing the Kaivarta king Bhīma of Varendrī (North Bengal). This Bhīmayaśas seems to be a later member of the family of Devarakshita. It also appears that these Pīṭhīpatis of the Chhikkora-Chhinda family were succeeded by the line represented by Buddhasena and Jayasena. Thus Buddhasena and Jayasena who were apparently ruling over parts of Bihar with their headquarters at Bodhgayā and had some relations with the management of the Buddhist monastery therein cannot be regarded as Buddhist monks merely because they are called *Pīṭhīpati*.

As regards the title *Āchārya*, it may be pointed out that a fragmentary Bodhgayā inscription[4] seems to represent one Jayasena as the *āchārya* of a Chhinda chief named Pūrṇabhadra. If this Jayasena is identified with the homonymous son of Buddhasena,[5] we may suggest that the members of his family were hereditary *Āchāryas* (i.e. teachers or preceptors) of the Chhinda rulers who probably dedicated their territory to their *Āchāryas*. This is not impossible in view of the well-known instance of the dedication of the kingdom of the Kalachuris of Tripurī in favour of their *guru*, the Śaiva saint Vāmadeva or Vāmaśambhu.[6] If such was the case, the epithet *Āchārya* borne by Buddhasena and Jayasena is probably explained. The manuscript of the *Pañcharakshā* may suggest that the use of this title was given up by the later members of the Sena family. The above suggestion further explains why the Chhinda ruling family was not extirpated but was merely shadowed by the Sena *Āchāryas* just as the ministers of the kings of Nepal shadowed

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[1] The marriage between the houses of Rāshtrakūṭa Mathana and Chhikkora Devarakshita is interesting because both the families hailed from the Kannada country. Devarakshita is called *Sindhurāja* in the commentary on the *Rāmacharita*, II, 8, and we know that the Kannada family name *Chhinda* or *Sinda* was often Sanskritised as *Sindhu* and associated with the Sindhu or Indus (*The Struggle for Empire*, p. 215). For the Sindas of South India who claimed both Nāga and Sindhu origin, see *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 572 ff.; above, Vol. III, pp. 230 ff.; Sewell's List, pp. 392-93, etc., and for the Chhindakas of Madhya Pradesh who claimed only the Nāga origin, see *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 214 ff. The Chhindas of Gayā claimed the Sindhu origin and descent from the lunar race. The Madhya Pradesh and Gayā branches of the family may have left Karṇāṭaka when the fabrication of the mythical genealogy was still in the formative stage. This suggestion is probably supported by the history of another Chhinda family of North India known from the Dewal (Pilibhit District, U. P.) inscription of Lalla, son of Malhaṇa from the latter's wife Aṇahilā of the Chulukīśvara (i.e. Chālukya) family, probably a ruling house of Kannaḍa origin. See Bhandarkar's List, No. 92; cf. in addition to the reference cited therein, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 345 and note 15. The Dewal inscription, which also mentions Malhaṇa's elder brother Bhūshaṇa and father Vairavarman, is dated in Vikrama 1049 (992 A.D.). It is interesting to note that the Chhindas of Pilibhit claim descent from the sage Chyavana and do not refer to their Nāga or Sindhu origin probably because they left their original home at a still earlier date.

[2] II, verse 8; cf. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 338. The Sārnāth inscription calls Mathana 'the venerable maternal uncle of kings' because his sister's son Rāmapāla was a king and the latter's two brothers, viz. Mahīpāla II and Śūrapāla II, also were his predecessors on the Pāla throne, although Mahīpāla II may have been his step-brother.

[3] II, verse 6.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 143.

[5] Cf. *JASB*, N.S., Vol. XXIX, p. 24.

[6] Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 46 ff.

their royal masters in the recent past.[1] A Bodhgayā inscription[2] dated in the Buddhanirvāṇa year 1813 (1270 A.D) mentions a contemporary Chhinda ruler of the Gayā region and points to the fact that the house continued to flourish considerably after the time of Buddhasena since the Jānībighā inscription of the latter's son Jayasena bears the date 1261 A.D. The fragmentary Bodhgayā inscription referred to above, which appears to mention Jayasena as the *āchārya* of the Chhinda ruler Pūrṇabhadra, mentions the following predecessors of the latter : Vallabharāja, born in the Chhinda family in the Sindhu country ; his son Deśarāja ; his son Āyichcha (Āditya) ; his son... ; his son Saṅgha ; ......his son Dharma ; his son Sāmanta ; and his son Pūrṇabhadra. The identification of this Vallabharāja with the nomonymous father of Devarakshita as suggested by J. C. Ghosh[3] is not improbable since the former flourished about two centuries before 1270 A.D. while the son of the latter was a contemporary of Rāmapāla (c. 1082-1125 A.D.).

That, like Devarakshita and Bhīmayaśas, Buddhasena and Jayasena were also regarded as the kings of Magadha and not as mere pontiffs of the Bodhgayā monastery is suggested by Tibetan evidence which further indicates that the *Pīṭhīpati Āchāryas* of the Sena family had their capital at Bodhgayā. A Tibetan monk named Chos-rje-dpal or Dharmasvāmin is known to have met Buddhasena, described as the king of Magadha and as residing at (i.e. having his capital at) Vajrāsana (i.e. Bodhgayā), in the rainy season of 1234 A.D. According to this monk, Buddhasena, who was a Buddhist, fled from his capital at the advent of the Muslim soldiers but returned from his forest retreat soon after the danger was over. When the king was coming in a procession of five hundred soldiers on an elephant and saw Dharmasvāmin amongst the spectators, he got down to greet the latter with the words, " Salutations to the son of the Buddha."[4]

Thus we see that Buddhasena was ruling in 1234 A.D. while his son Jayasena, as seen above, flourished in 1261 A.D., apparently over considerable areas of South Bihar, when the Turkish Musalmans were already in occupation probably of the central regions of Bihar along the banks of the Ganges and were trying to subjugate the local rulers of the area. If our inscription is assigned to 1249 A.D. which falls between the dates of Buddhasena and Jayasena, king Pūrṇavikrama mentioned in it cannot be regarded as a scion of the family of the *Pīṭhīpati* Senas of Bodhgayā. He may, however, be the same as Pūrṇabhadra of the Chhinda family who is known to have been a contemporary of Jayasena, the latter probably being his own *āchārya*, as seen above. But, in that case, the doubtful name of his father has to be regarded as wrongly written. *Bhadanta* Jayasena of our inscription, who was a Buddhist monk, cannot possibly be identified with Buddhasena's son Jayasena who was the lord of Pīṭhī.

If the rulers of the Chhinda family and the *Pīṭhīpati Āchāryas* of the Sena dynasty were flourishing side by side in parts of Bihar at the same time, as suggested above, we have to think of the relations that existed between them. It is, however, difficult to determine the exact position in the present state of insufficient information. But it may be that the Chhindas, who may have originally had their capital at Bodhgayā, repaired to Siṁhanāgā when their Sena *Āchāryas* became *Pīṭhīpatis* with their headquarters at Bodhgayā, and began to rule over a small territory around their new capital probably far away from Bodhgayā.

[1] N. G. Majumdar regarded Buddhasena as a member of the Chhinda family which, in his opinion, ousted the Chhikkora dynasty represented by Devarakshita (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 46). But the suggestion seem to be wrong.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 343, verse 11 ; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1459.

[3] *JASB*, N.S., Vol XXIX, p. 25. Ghosh also suggested that *Deśarāja* may be a mistake for *Devarāja*, i. e., *Devarakshita*. Can it be conjectured that Bhīmayaśas was his grandson whose name is lost ?

[4] *J. N. Banerjea Volume*, pp. 111-12 ; G. Roerich, *Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, pp. 64-65, cf. also p. 90.

The only **geographical name** mentioned in the inscription under study is Siṁhanāgā where the Buddhist monk Jayasena installed the Jambhala image during the rule of Pūrṇavikrama. It appears to be the early name of Ghoshīkuṇḍī where the image bearing the epigraph was found. It is interesting in this connection to note that an inscription,[1] recently discovered at Arma near Kajra, about 10 miles from Ghoshīkuṇḍī, and dated in the fourteenth regnal year of Madanapāla, (i.e. c. 1157 A.D.), refers to the rule of *Piṭhī-paty-Āchārya* Devasena, apparently a predecessor of Buddhasena.

TEXT[2]

1 **[A]** Siddham[3] [|*] Bhagavā āvuso paṭichchasamu[pp]ā- **[B]** [da]-dhammaṁ de- **[C]** śita[4] [|*] paṭi-

2 **[A]** chchasamu[ppa]nnānāṁ cha dhammānāṁ cha[5] yo nirodho || **[B]** ye dhammā **[C]** hetu-prabhavā te-

3 [6]**[C]** sāṁ hetuṁ

4 **[C]** Tathāgato a-

5 **[C]** vacha [|*] te-

6 **[A]** sāṁ cha yo nirodho evaṁ-vādī Mahāśśamaṇo || **[B]** śrī-Saṁyya-**[C]** satu(suta)-mahā-[r]ā-

7 **[A]** ja-śrī-**Pūrṇṇadi(vi)krama**-kshā(kshmā)dhipati[ḥ*] || śrī-**[B]** **Siṁhanāgā**-**[C]** **sāṁ(yāṁ)** bhadanta-

8 **[A]** Jayasenasya deya-dharmmo=yaṁ || **Kārttika**- **[B]** **māsaṁ Ga**-**[C]** **ūḍa-rāja-a-**

9 **[A]** [pū*]rviṇaṁ **samatna(tta) 70[7]-maṁ** thāitaṁ ||

Postscript

Recently Mr. A. N. Lahiri copied a fragmentary Bhaikshukī inscription on the lower part of a sculptured stone slab under a pipal tree near the Kajra railway station. It is *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61, No. B 130. It is written in two lines reading as follows :

1 ....ti [|*] pa[ṭichcha]-samuppannānaṁ cha [dhaṁ]mā[ṇaṁ] yo nirodho [||]

2 ....yo niro[dho e]va[ṁ]vādī Mahaśśamaṇo—|| o ||

[1] See *A.R.Ep.*, 1960-61, No. B 118.

[2] From impressions.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

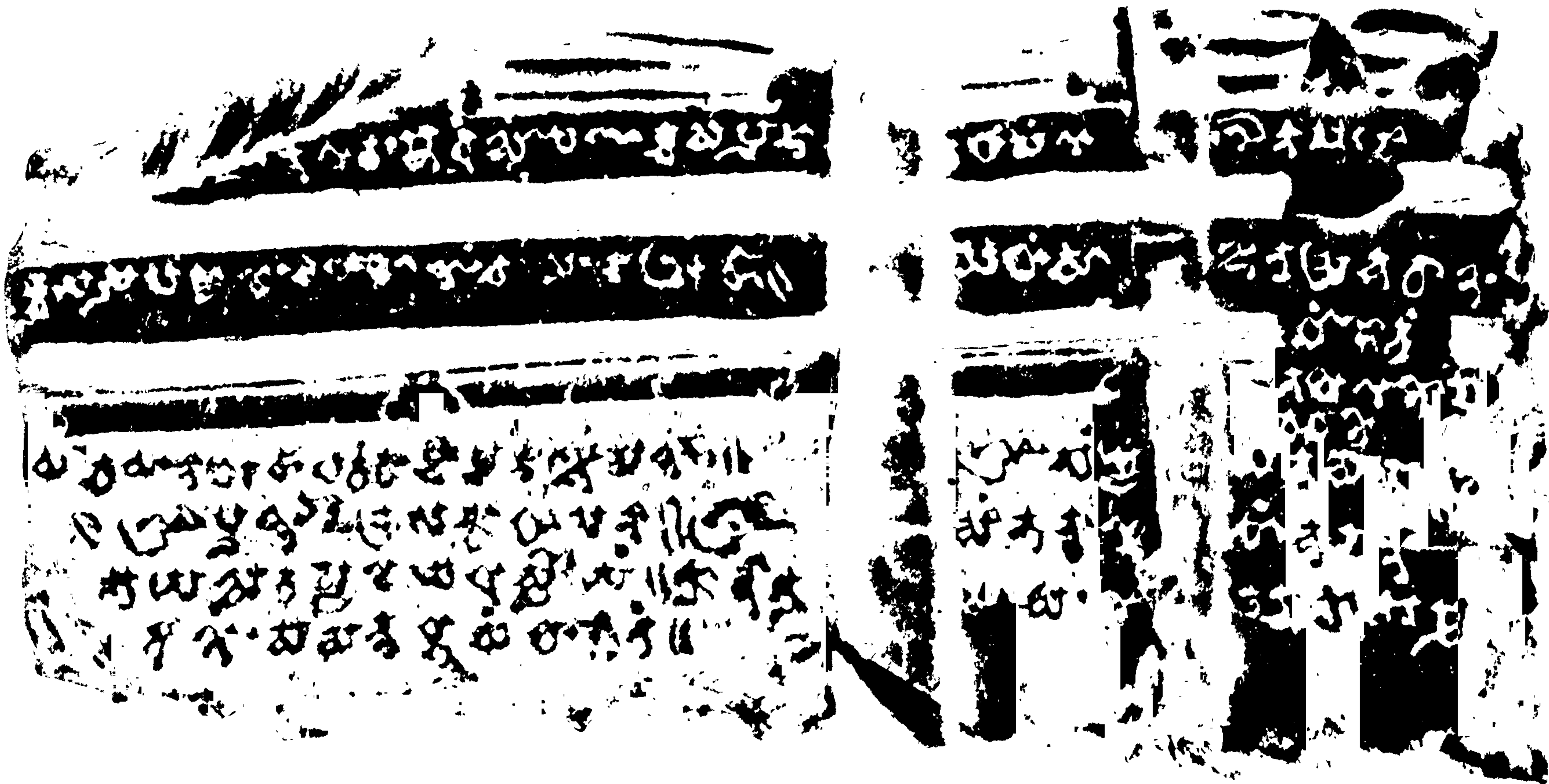
[4] Read *deseti* as in the Uren inscriptions.

This letter is redundant.

[6] Lines 3-5, engraved in the third section, are very small.

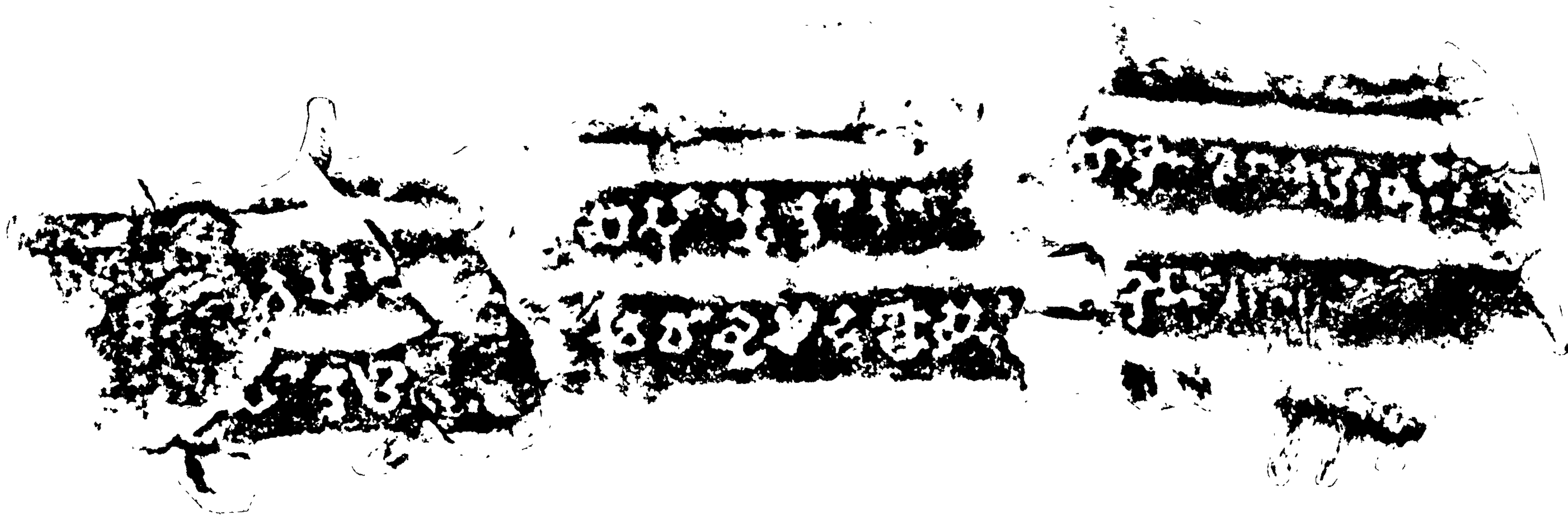
[7] The symbol looks somewhat like that of 70; but the value assigned to it is not certain.

BHAIKSHUKĪ INSCRIPTION IN INDIAN MUSEUM



Size : Actual

BHAIKSHUKI INSCRIPTION FROM KAJRA



Size : Actual

No. 10—SHIGGAON INSCRIPTION OF AMOGHAVARSHA I

(*1 Plate*)

G. S. Gai, Ootacamund

(*Received on 26 2.60*)

The inscription which is published here was copied by me during the year 1943-44 at **Shiggaon,** the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name in the Dharwar District of Mysore State.[1] When I visited the place the inscribed slab was kept in the compound of the Mamlatdar's Office. It has since been removed to the Museum of the Kannaḍa Research Institute, Dharwar. The inscription has been published by Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi in the *Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 14, without illustration.

The writing covers an area of about 26″ by 20″ and, except a few letters here and there, it is well-preserved. The **characters** are early Kannaḍa of the **9th century A.D.** Initial *i* is found in lines 9, 11 and 15 while final *n* is met with in line 9 and final *r* in line 3. No distinction has been made between *e* and *ē* or *o* and *ō*. Except the imprecatory verse in lines 12-13 which is in Sanskrit, the **language** of the record is Kannaḍa and the text is composed in prose. In respect of **orthography,** it may be observed that the consonant following *r* is generally re-duplicated. The change of *v* to *b* is met with in *ballabha* (lines 1-2) and *Bāraṇāsi* (lines 9 and 11). Intervocal *t* is changed to *d* in *kaḷḷavaḷḷa-dere* (line 8) and *kiṟu-deṟe* (line 14). An epenthetic vowel is found in *Amōgha-varisha* (line 1) and *varisha* (line 13). Metathesis is met with in *sāsika-ravile* for *sāsira-kavile* (line 9).

The inscription, which is **not dated,** refers itself to the reign of **Amōghavarsha** and mentions the king's chiefs **Kuppeyarasa** as governing **Purigeṟe-300,** Maṇalera Gāḍiga as the *Nāḷ-gāmuṇḍa*, Kallaman of (i.e. the son or a member of the family of) Kargāmuṇḍar as the *Ūrgāmuṇḍa*, and Pendaman as in charge of the Kaḷḷavaḷḷa taxes of the 300-division. The last mentioned officer, viz. Pendaman, is stated to have remitted, after obtaining the permission of Kuppeyarasa, the Kaḷḷavaḷḷa taxes of Siggāme to Kalneṟeti-bhaṭāri, probably the goddess of that place. The inscription also registers the remission of all the minor taxes (*kiṟu-deṟe*), apparently in favour of the same goddess at the same place, made by Kuppeyarasa. The recipient of the gifts was a certain Lōkākshara-bhaṭāra.

Now who was Amōghavarsha mentioned in the record as the ruling king? Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao thinks that he may be Amōghavarsha IV Kakka (972-73 A.D.), the last ruler of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty, since, according to him, the characters of the inscription are definitely assignable to the 10th century A.D.[2] But, in our opinion, the characters belong to the 9th century A.D. and consequently the record has to be ascribed to the reign of **Amōghavarsha I** who ruled in 814-78 A.D. The characters of our record generally resemble those of the Mantravāḍi[3] and Mēvuṇḍi[4] inscriptions of Amōghavarsha I. Particularly the letters *k*, *t*, *bh*, *m*, *v*, etc., are quite similar. On the other hand, these and other letters are certainly earlier than those of the Hulgur inscription of

[1] See *A. R. Ep*.. 1943-44, No. F 42.

[2] *SII*, Vol. XI. Part ii. p. v.

[3] Above, Vol. VII, pp. 198 ff. and Plate: *Karn. Ins.*, Vol. I, No. 13.

[4] *SII*, Vol. XI, Part i, No. 11 and Plates.

Khoṭṭiga dated 972 A.D.[1] and the Guṇḍūr inscription of Amōghavarsha IV Kakka dated 973 A.D.[2] This would show that Mr. Rao's view is not correct. Not only the considerations of palaeography but also the internal evidence of the inscription go against the identification suggested by him. We have seen above that Kuppeyarasa was governing Purigeṟe-300 under Amōghavarsha. He is evidently identical with Kuppeyan or Kuppeyarasar mentioned as governing the same division in the Mantravāḍi inscription referred to above as well as in two records from Soraṭūr,[3] all of them dated and belonging to the reign of Amōghavarsha I. The same chief is also mentioned in a damaged inscription of Amōghavarsha I from Mēvuṇḍi, dated 865 A.D., apparently as a subordinate of the king.[4] Therefore there can be little doubt that the present inscription belongs to the reign of Amōghavarsha I.[5] And from the mention of the feudatory chief Kuppeyarasa who is also mentioned in other records of the king as shown above, we shall not be wrong in referring the present record to **c. 865 A.D.** We learn from the said records that this Kuppeyarasa belonged to the Yādava family.

Our inscription refers to Maṇalera Gāḍiga as *Nāḻ-gāmuṇḍa*, evidently of the Purigeṟe division. For the reasons given above, the date 972 A.D. for this Maṇalera Gāḍiga given by Mr. Rao[6] cannot be accepted. He should be placed about a century earlier, in c. 865 A.D., to which date the present inscription has been assigned by us. In Maṇalera Gāḍiga, the latter word stands for the proper name of the person while Maṇalera seems to indicate the name of the family to which he belonged, though the family name itself might have been derived from a person called Maṇale or Maṇalera. The family is also known as Sagara-kula in some of the later records of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. It may be worthwhile to review some of these records here and try to reconstruct the genealogy of the members of this family as far as possible. They are described as *Sagara-mārtaṇḍa* and *Maṇaler-āditya* and had the *Siṁha-lāñchhana* and *Kēsari-kētu.* They were governing, as feudatory chiefs, the district of Purigeṟe-300 first as *Nāḻ-gāmuṇḍas* and later as *Mahāsāmantas* and *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras.*

The earliest member of this family known so far is Maṇalera Gāḍiga mentioned in the inscription under study. The next reference is found in the Atakur inscription of Kṛishṇa III, dated 949 A.D.[7] Therein a certain Maṇalera is mentioned as an officer under Būtuga, the Gaṅga feudatory of the king. This Maṇalera is stated to have belonged to the Sagara lineage and borne the epithet *Valabhī-puravar-ādhīśvara.* In the Hulgur inscription of Khoṭṭiga[8] dated 972 A.D., one Maṇalera Mārasiṁha is mentioned as the *Nāḻ-gāmuṇḍa* of Purigeṟe-300. This Mārasiṁha may be the successor of Maṇalera of the Atakur record and may be identified with Mārasiṁhadēva mentioned as a predecessor of a certain Jayakēśin of the same family in an inscription of the Western Chālukya king Jayasiṁha II, dated 1038 A.D.[9] The Prince of Wales Museum inscription of Sōmēśvara I, dated 1060 A.D., mentions Jayakēśin I, his son Indrakēśin and the latter's son Jayakēśin II.[10] Jayakēśin I is apparently identical with Jayakēśin referred to above. An undated record from

[1] Above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 59 ff. and Plate.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 270-72. Fleet did not publish the facsimile of this record. But I have consulted the impression secured by me in 1944-45. Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1945-46, No. B 286.

[3] Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 176 ff.; *SII*, Vol. XI, Part i, No. 12.

[4] *SII*, op. cit., No. 11.

[5] Mr. Panchamukhi has also ascribed the inscription to the reign of Amōghavarsha I. Cf. *Karn. Ins.*, Vol. I, No. 14.

[6] *SII*, Vol. XI, Part ii, p. v.

[7] Above, Vol. VI, p. 54.

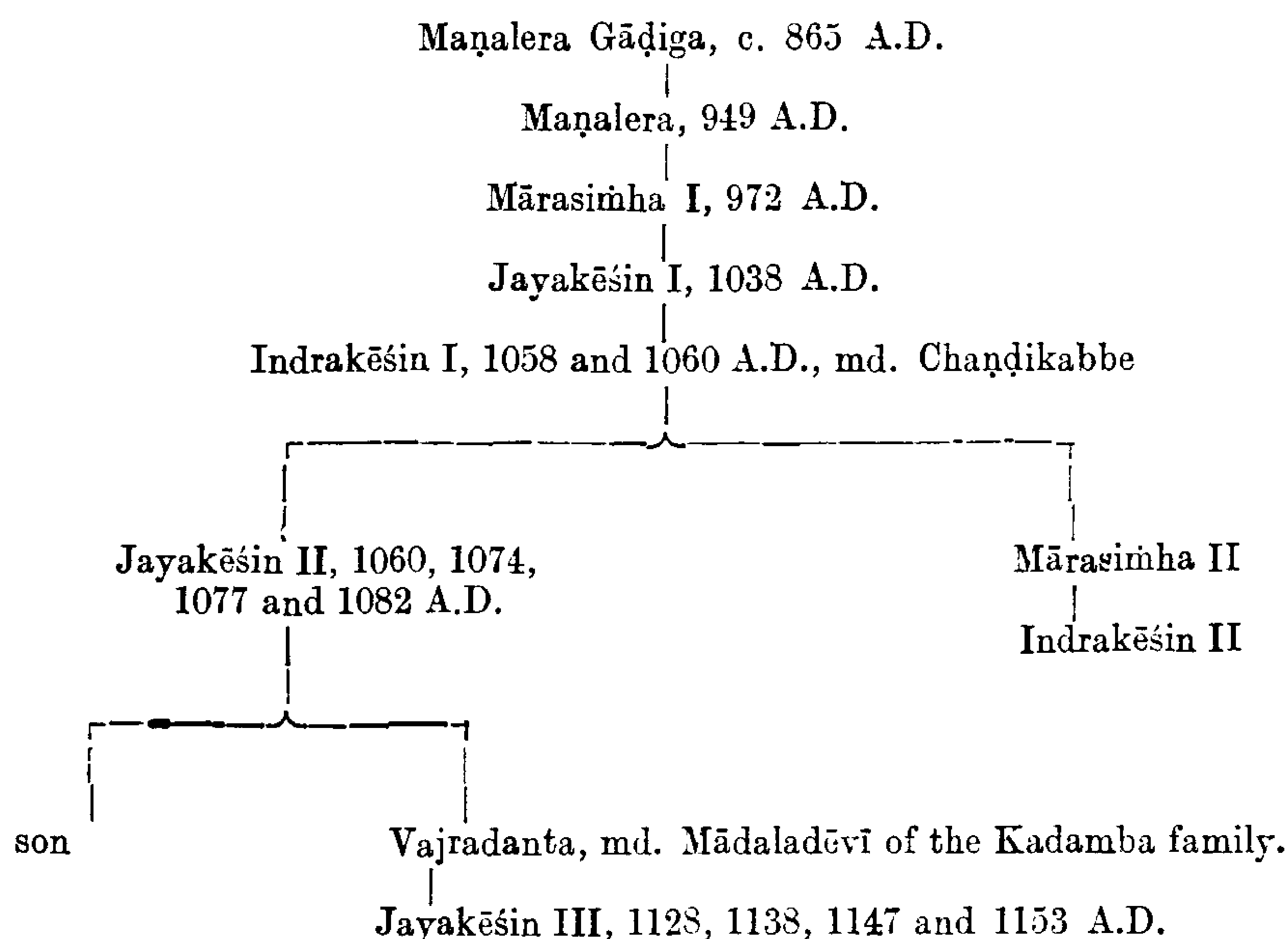
[8] Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 59 ff.

[9] Ibid., Vol. XVI, p. 333.

[10] *ARASI*, 1936-37, p. 98; cf. also *Karn. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 30.

Gadag belonging to the time of Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.D.) gives the name of his subordinate of this family as Indrakēśin II, son of Mārasiṁha and grandson of Indrakēśin I.[1] This Indrakēśin I is identical with Indrakēśin of the Prince of Wales Museum record.[2] From this, it was previously surmised that Indrakēśin I had two sons, Jayakēśin II and Mārasiṁha, or these two persons were one and the same.[3] But an epigraph of the time of Sōmēśvara II, dated 1074 A.D., mentions his feudatory *Mahāsāmanta* Jayakēśin as the eldest son of Indrakēśin and the latter's wife Chaṇḍikabbe.[4] This Indrakēśin is evidently Indrakēśin I so that Jayakēśin would be the second of that name. From this, it would appear that Jayakēśin II was the eldest son of Indrakēśin I and that Mārasiṁha of the Gadag record was his younger brother and had a son named Indrakēśin II. The latest date for Jayakēśin II is furnished by a record of the time of Vikramāditya VI, dated 1082 A.D.[5]

Now a record of the reign of Bhūlōkamalla, dated 1138 A.D., mentions a Jayakēśin of the Sagara family as the son of Vajradanta and his wife Mādaladēvī of the Kadamba family and the grandson of Jayakēśin.[6] Vajradanta had an elder brother whose name is lost in the damaged portion of the record. His father Jayakēśin may be identified with Jayakēśin II mentioned above so that his son would be Jayakēśin III. An earlier date for this Jayakēśin III is supplied by an inscription of 1128 A.D.[7] while the latest date by another record of 1153 A.D.[8] In the light of the above discussion, the genealogy of these chiefs of the Sagara or Maṇalera lineage may be shown in a tabular form as follows :[9]



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[1] *SII*, Vol. XI, Part ii, No. 201.

[2] He may also be identified with *Mahāsāmanta* Indrakēśiyarasa mentioned in another record of Sōmēśvara I, dated in 1058 A.D. Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1938-39, No. E 91.

[3] *SII*, Vol. XI, Part ii, p. iv.

[4] *A. R. Ep.* 1935-36, No. E 29.

[5] Ibid., No. 12. He is also mentioned in a record of the same king, dated in 1077 A.D. Cf. above, Vol. XVI, p. 329.

[6] *A. R. Ep.* 1935-36, No. E 1.

[7] Ibid., No. 3.

[8] Ibid., No. 46. A Lakshmēśvar inscription of the time of Jagadēkamalla II gives him a date in 1147 A.D. Cf. above, Vol. XVI, pp. 44 ff.

[9] Cf. the genealogical table given in *SII*, Vol. XI, Part ii, p. v.

The inscription under study mentions a certain Kallaman of Kargāmuṇḍar as *ūrgāmuṇḍa* or village-headman. Kallaman may have been either a son or a servant or belonged to the family of Kargāmuṇḍar. A certain Kargāmuṇḍar is known from a record belonging to the reign of Dhruva, the grandfather of Amōghavarsha I.[1] But it is not certain whether he is identical with Kargāmuṇḍar of the present inscription. The name of the tax which was remitted in favour of Kalneṟetibhaṭāri is given as Kaḷḷavaḷḷa, the meaning of which cannot be made out.

As to the two **geographical names,** Purigeṟe-300 and Siggāme, Purigeṟe has been identified with modern Lakshmēśvar in the Shirhatti Taluk of the Dharwar District. Siggāme is evidently the modern Shiggaon where the inscription was found and the record furnishes the earliest epigraphical reference to this place.

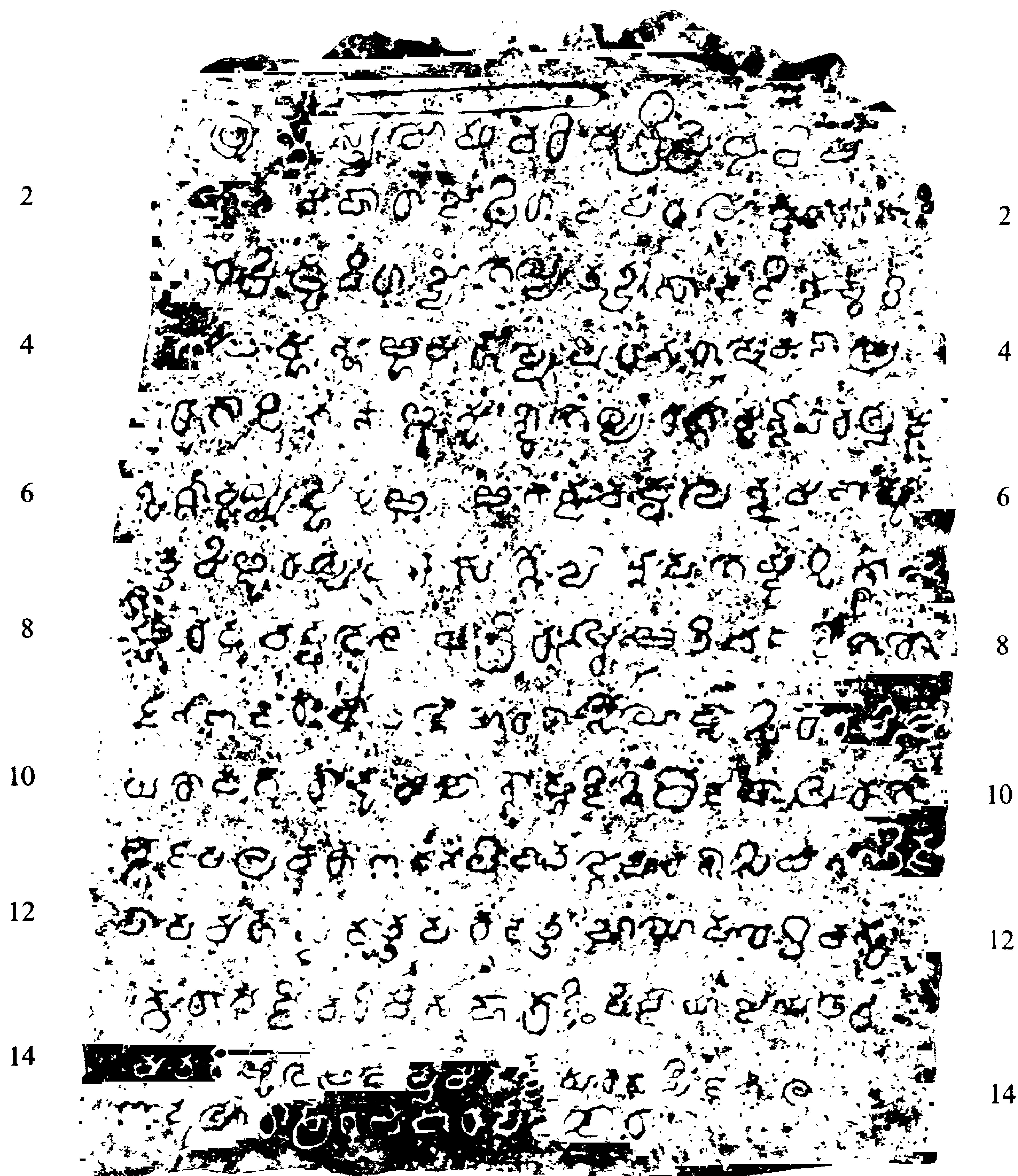
TEXT[2]

[3]Svasty=**Amōghavarisha** śrī-prithuvī[4]-ba-
llabha-mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara bhaṭā-
rar prithuvī[4]-rājyaṁ geyye tat-prasādadindaṁ **Puri-**
geṟe mūnūṟū(ṟu)maṁ Kuppeyarasar=āḷe Maṇale-
ra Gāḍiga nāḷga(ḷgā)muṇḍu geyye Karggāmuṇḍara Kallama-
n=ūrggāmu[ṇḍu ge*]yye [jūsū]ṟaṟa[5] kaḷḷavaḷḷa Pendaman=āḷu-
ttam=iḷdu Kuppeyarasargge binna[haṁ] geydu **Siggāme-**
[ya] kaḷḷavaḷḷa-deṟeē śrī-Kalneṟeti-bhaṭārige ko-
ṭṭan [|*] Idaṁ kādātaṅge Bāraṇāsiyoḷ=sāsikaravile-[6]
ya koḷaguṁ kōḍumaṁ ponnoḷ=kaṭṭisi vēda-pālarargge[7]
[ko]ṭṭa phalam=akku idam=aḷidātaṅge Bāraṇāsiënelide[8]
pāpam=akku [|*] Sva-datta[ṁ](ttāṁ) para-datta[ṁ](ttāṁ) bā[vā] yō harēti (ta)vasu-
ndharā[m|*] shashṭi-varisha-sahāsrāṇi[9] vishṭā(ṭhā)yāṁ jāyatē krimi[ḥ ||*]
mata[10] kiṟu-deṟe de(e)llamaṁ Kuppeyarasar=biṭṭar[11]
idam[12] Lōkākshara-bhaṭārar=paḍedōr [|*]

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[1] Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 257-58.
[2] From impressions.
[3] There is an ornamental design at the beginning.
[4] Read *prithvī*.
[5] The intended reading appears to be *mūnūṟaṟa* apparently standing for *Purigeṟe-mūnūṟaṟa.*
[6] Read *sāsira-kavile.*
[7] Read *vēda-pāragargge.*
[8] Read *Bāraṇāsiyam-aḷida.*
[9] Read *varsha sahasrāṇi.*
[10] Read *mattaṁ.*
[11] There is a spiral design at this place.
[12] Final *m* is written below the line. Read *idaṁ.*

SHIGGAON INSCRIPTION OF AMOGHAVRSHA I



Size : One-fourth

No. 11—FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM DHOLKA

D C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND, AND M. R. MAJMUDAR, BARODA

(*Received on 30.3.1960*)

The inscription under study was discovered by Dr. M. R. Majmudar in 1953 on the back side of a slab of black granite stone, the front side of which contains an image of the god Vishṇu in high relief. The deity is now worshipped under the name of Raṇchhōḍjī in a temple at **Dhōlkā** (known from medieval records as Dhavalaka, Dhavalakka, Dhavalakkaka, Dhavallakka and Dhavalāṅka)[1] in the Ahmedabad District of Gujarat. Some notes on the inscription were published in five articles by Pandit Lalachandra Gandhi of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, in the Gujarātī monthly journal entitled *Śrī-Jainasatyaprakāśa*, Vol. XIX, 1954, Nos. 6-10, on the basis of an impression supplied to him by Dr. Majmudar.

The inscribed space is about two feet in length and 14¾ inches in height. But the inscription is a fragment of a bigger one of which a little more than half from the left side is now preserved. Each line of writing originally contained more than eighty *aksharas*, of which more than thirty are broken away from the right. It is clear that the inscribed slab was cut into two parts at a later date for utilising the left portion for making the Vishṇu image, referred to above, on the uninscribed back side of it. There is an inscription on the pedestal of the image in question, which gives the date of its installation as *Saṁvat 1266 varshē Chaitra-[badi 4]*, i.e. the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Chaitra in **Vikrama 1266 (1209 A.D.)**. Our inscription was therefore incised at an earlier date. The internal evidence shows that the record was engraved after the death of Śilāhāra Mallikārjuna (c. 1156-60 A.D.) and before that of Chaulukya Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.). The date of the inscription on the Vishṇu image falls in the reign of Chaulukya Bhīma II (c. 1178-1241 A.D.), son of Mūlarāja II (c. 1176-78 A.D.) and grandson of Kumārapāla's successor Ajayapāla (c. 1173-76 A.D.). The utilisation of a Jain slab for making a Vishṇu image points to the genuineness of the tradition regarding the anti-Jain policy followed by the successors of Kumārapāla who is himself said to have been a devout Jain.[2]

We have seen how the slab bearing the inscription represents the left half of the original stone. But even this original slab contained only one-third of the whole inscription apparently engraved on three such slabs or one much bigger slab. This is indicated by the fact that the stanzas of the record under study are consecutively numbered and these numbers show that verses 70-104 constituting the last 35 stanzas of a big *praśasti* were engraved on the slab in question, only about half of which is now available. The 69 stanzas forming the earlier part of the eulogy were apparently incised on two other stone slabs of about the same size or on the upper part of the same slab now broken away and lost. The preservation of the writing in the extant part of the inscription is fairly satisfactory, though two holes bored in the slab for the strings of Vishṇu's robes to pass through have caused the loss of some letters and a letter is sometimes damaged at the beginning or the end of the lines.

The **characters** of the inscription are Dēvanāgarī of about the twelfth century A.D. The record, as indicated above, is written entirely in verse. Its **orthography** does not call for any special remarks. **No date** is traceable in the inscription as it is now available to us. But, as indicated

[1] Cf. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1020 and note.

[2] Ibid., pp. 1002-03.

above, the epigraph seems to have been **engraved sometime between c.1160 and c.1173 A.D.** The concluding stanza of the inscription states that it was a *praśasti* composed by the *muni* **Rāmachandra** who is described as *prabandha-śata-nirmiti-prathita-kīrti-kāmy-ōdaya* showing that he was the author of a hundred works. This description shows beyond doubt that he is identical with the Jain scholar Rāmachandra who was a pupil of the celebrated Jain polymath Hēmachandra-sūri and is known, from Mērutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, to have been famous as 'the author of a hundred works'.[1] Rāmachandra's poem in 104 stanzas, about one-third of which is engraved on the slab under review, is no doubt one of the many that were composed by him. Most of his works were composed during the reigns of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja and Kumārapāla since, according to Mērutuṅga, Kumārapāla's successor Ajayapāla (c. 1173-76 A.D.) caused the poet's death by seating him on a heated plate of copper in Vikrama 1230 (1174 A.D.). Jain tradition informs us that Rāmachandra was involved in a plot of the Jain clergy to debar Ajayapāla, who was antagonistic towards Jainism, to succeed to the throne of the heirless Kumārapāla. But Ajayapāla was successful in getting the throne in spite of this opposition and took revenge on the Jains on becoming king.[2]

Since, out of the thirtyfive stanzas of the record, the preservation of only four short verses in the *Anushṭubh* metre (verses 70, 81, 92, 94) is complete and the remaining 32 stanzas are preserved only in parts, the contents of the inscription are unintelligible in many places. It is also often difficult to connect one part of it with another.

Verses 70-71, of which the second is preserved in fragments, may be regarded as speaking of a person named **Mallikārjuna**. In that case, Mallikārjuna is represented in verse 70 as devoted to his master. Since, however, the name Mallikārjuna is used in verse 71 in the accusative along with the expression *nṛipatēḥ pratāpaḥ* (the king's valour) in the nominative, indicating that a king's (probably Kumārapāla's) valour did something to Mallikārjuna, it appears that this Mallikārjuna was none other than the Śilāhāra ruler of the same name (known dates 1156 and 1160 A. D.) who was the king of the Northern Konkan and is stated in Jain works to have been killed in a battle by Chaulukya Kumārapāla's forces.[3] Indeed, no other Mallikārjuna is known to be associated with the history of Gujarat during the period in question. It is interesting to note in this connection that verse 76 below speaks of the defeat and death[4] of the lord of **Kuṅkaṇa** (Konkan) at the hands of a hero whose name is not traceable anywhere in verses 70-76 probably describing the activities of a servant of king Kumārapāla. If such was the case, we have to think that verse 70 speaks of this hero while the next stanza (verse 71) mentioning Mallikārjuna speaks of the hero's activities against the Śilāhāra king. There are several traditions in regard to Śilāhāra Mallikārjuna's death. While Mērutuṅga states that Āmbaḍa or Āmrabhaṭa, the son of Udayana of the Śrīmāla community of Baniās, who was the chief minister of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, struck off Mallikārjuna's head, according to Hēmachandra, some Gurjara soldiers did this work and the *Pṛithvīrājavijaya* states that Sōmēśvara, the Chāhamāna protégé at Kumārapāla's court, did it. An inscription again states that, when Paramāra Dhārāvarsha of Abu 'held his ground on the battle field, the wives of

[1] See Tawney's trans., pp. 152-53 ; L. B. Gandhi's introduction to the *Nalavilāsa* (G.O.S., No. XXIX, 1929), pp. 22-23. Among the known works of Rāmachandra, mention may be made of the dramas *Nalavilāsa* and *Kaumudīmitrānandana* and the treatise on dramatic art called *Nāṭyadarpana* composed in collaboration with Guṇachandra-sūri. another pupil of Hēmachandra-sūri. Rāmachandra is said to have received the title *Kavikaṭāramalla* from Jayasimha Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144 A.D.), the predecessor of Kumārapāla.

[2] Cf. Ray, op. cit., p. 1002 ; Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 129.

[3] Cf. Ray, op. cit., pp. 991-92 ; Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 113 ff. *Mahāmandalēśvara* Mallikārjuna was a feudatory of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, though it is less likely that his overlord is referred to in verse 70 of our record as will be seen below.

[4] It is stated that the head of the king of Kuṅkaṇa was cut off with arrows and that the inmates of his harem entered fire. The word *kshurapra* used here means an arrow with a sharp horse-shoe-shaped head.

the lord of Kuṅkaṇa (Konkan) shed drops of tears'.[1] Indeed Āmbaḍa (Āmrabhaṭa), Sōmēśvara and Dhārāvarsha may have all taken parts in the campaign against Mallikārjuna, though none of the claimants for the achievement of beheading the latter may have actually killed him. Since, however, the main purpose of our inscription, as will be seen below, was to record the pious activity of another son of the above-mentioned Udayana, it is possible to conjecture that it was the valorous deeds of Āmbaḍa or Āmrabhaṭa which were the subject-matter of the description in the stanzas referred to above. This Āmbaḍa or Āmrabhaṭa is said to have risen in revolt against king Ajayapāla and, as a result, lost his life.[2]

Verse 77 states that the valour of the hero described in the previous stanzas was sung by the girls of **Lāṭa**, i.e. South Gujarāt lying immediately to the north of Kuṅkaṇa or the Northern Konkan. The description of the same person's activities continues and verse 79 states that he built a Chaitya for the Tīrthaṅkara Suvrata at **Bhṛigukachchha**, i.e. modern Broach. Verse 81 says that the same person made a silver image of the god Nābhijanman (i.e. Ādinātha) at the Chaitya called Kumāra-vihāra which was situated at **Śrīpattana.** Since Śrīpattana seems to be no other than Aṇahila-pattana (i.e. modern Pāṭan or Anhilwāḍā Pāṭan), the Kumāra-vihāra appears to be the monastery named after Kumārapāla, which the Chaulukya king frequently visited according to the *Kumārapālapratibōdha* by Sōmaprabha.[3]

Verses 82-89 describe certain heroic activities probably ascribable to the same hero. But verse 90 states that a person built a city after his own name in the **Lāṭa** country and the next stanza (verse 91) probably speaks of the construction of the Dhana-vihāra by him in the **Avanti** country (i.e. West Malwa), while verse 92 states that **Dhavala's** son was **Vairisiṁha** who built the Chaitya of the Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha at **Stambhatīrtha,** i.e. modern Cambay. The language may of course suggest that the whole description in verse 70-91 has to be assigned to Dhavala. The name of this person again reminds us of Dhavala, after whom Dhavalakkaka or Dholkā, where the inscription under study has been found, was apparently named.[4] It is well known that Dhavala of Bhīmapallī was the husband of the sister of Kumārapāla's mother and was the father of Arṇōrāja (of Vyāghrapallī from which the family derived the name Vāghēlā), the grandfather of Lāvaṇyaprasāda (of Dhavalakkaka), the great-grandfather of Vīradhavala and the great-great-grandfather of Viśvamalla or Vīsala (c. 1244-62 A.D.), the Chaulukya-Vāghēlā king of Gujarāt.[5] But it is doubtful whether the naming of Dholkā after Dhavala is alluded to in verse 90 referring to a person building a city after his name in the Lāṭa country since Dholkā in Northern Gujarāt seems to be situated outside ancient Lāṭa indicating the Nausāri-Broach region of Southern Gujarāt. Dhavala is also not associated with the story of Śilāhāra Mallikārjuna's defeat and death in the hands of Kumārapāla's forces. Moreover, although the introduction of Dhavala as the ruler of the area in which the inscription was set up is intelligible, it is difficult to understand how the description of the pious deeds of this Dhavala and his son Vairisiṁha (as yet unknown from any source) came in between that of the activities of the killer of Mallikārjuna in the earlier part of the inscription and of those of the latter's relation in its concluding part. Under the circumstances, it is possibly better to suggest that Dhavala mentioned in verse 92 of our inscription was a brother of the killer of Mallikārjuna. Thus the author seems to have introduced Dhavala after completing the description of his brother who killed Mallikārjuna.

[1] See Ray, op. cit., p. 991 ; Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 114-15.

[2] Cf. Ray, op. cit., p. 1002 ; Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 128-29.

[3] Ray, op. cit., p. 994. Another Kumāra-vihāra containing an image of Pārśvanātha was built by *Paramārhata* Kumārapāla in the fort of Kāñchana-giri at Jābālipura (modern Jalor in the Jodhpur Division of Rajasthan) at the request of *Prabhu* Hēma-sūri in Vikrama 1221 (1164 A.D.). See ibid., pp. 982-83 ; above, Vol. XI, pp. 54-55.

[4] Cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 156 and note 7.

[5] Ray, op. cit., pp. 1047-48.

Verse 96 speaks of a pious deed done with the permission of the learned **Hēmachandra-sūri**, no doubt the well-known Jain polymath of that name (1089-1172 A.D.). But whether it was performed by Vairisiṁha mentioned earlier in verse 92 or by the person mentioned later in the epigraph cannot be determined owing to the fragmentary nature of the record. Considering, however, the fact that the main purpose of the inscription was to record a pious deed of the latter, the second alternative seems to be more probable. This deed is mentioned in verse 101 which states that the **Udayana-vihāra was built by the minister Vāgbhaṭa.** The word *ētam* (this) qualifying *Udayana-vihāram* in this stanza shows that the inscription under study was originally set up in the Udayana-vihāra at Dhōlkā. Under what circumstances it was removed from its original place for being utilised for the construction of an image of Vishṇu cannot of course be determined without further light on the subject.

The *Vihāra* was apparently named after Udayana, the chief minister of Chaulukya Jayasiṁha Siddharāja and it was built by Udayana's son Vāgbhaṭa (Bāhaḍa) who is known to have been a minister of the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla.[1] It may have been built by the son after the death of his father. The date of Udayana's death is difficult to determine. According to Mērutuṅga, he became mortally wounded in a battle with a king of Saurāshṭra against whom he led an expedition under orders from his master Kumārapāla, while, according to Jayasiṁha-sūri and Jinamaṇḍana, he killed the Saurāshṭra king and set up the latter's son on the throne, though Prabhāchandra states that Udayana died while fighting against a Saurāshṭra king during the reign of Kumārapāla's predecessor Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144 A.D.).[2] According to tradition, Udayana, whose son Bāhaḍa or Vāgbhaṭa is said to have been adopted as son by Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, gave shelter to Kumārapāla at Cambay against the wrath of Jayasiṁha.[3]

It will be seen that the **main purpose** of the inscription was to record the construction of the Udayana-vihāra by Udayana's son Vāgbhaṭa. It appears, however, that the original inscription on three slabs or a very big slab described the activities of Udayana and his sons Āmrabhaṭa (Āmbaḍa) and Vāgbhaṭa (Bāhaḍa) and also referred to those of Dhavala and Vairisiṁha who appear to have been respectively Udayana's son and grandson. Verse 103 contains the prayer for the long life of the Vihāra and verse 104, with which the *praśasti* concludes, the name of Rāmachandra-muni, the author of the eulogy, as already indicated above.

The **geographical names** contained in the inscription, such as Kuṅkaṇa, Bhṛigukachchha, Avanti, Lāṭa and Stambhatīrtha are well known. We have identified Śrīpattana with the well-known Aṇahilapattana.

TEXT[4]

[Metres : verses 70, 78, 80-81, 90, 92, 94-96 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 71-72, 74, 77, 79, 84-86, 97-98 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 73 *Mandākrāntā* ; verse 75 *Drutavilambita* ; verses 76, 82, 89 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 83, 88, 91, 104 *Pṛithvī* ; verse 87 *Mālinī* ; verse 99 *Pushpitāgrā* ; verses 93 (?), 100-102 *Āryā* ; verse 103 *Sragdharā*.]

1 [Ri]pau śaktiḥ prabhau bhaktis=tyāgē rāgō nayē layaḥ | idaṁ chatushṭayaṁ yasminn=āśaiśavam=akhaṁḍitaṁ(tam) || 70 Taṁ **Mallikā**[r]**junam**=anarghya-parākram-ā[ṁ]ka

— — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — — [|*] — — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ · — ⏑ ⏑

[1] Majumdar, op. cit., p. 96.

[2] Cf. ibid., p. 115.

[3] Ray, op. cit., pp. 975-76.

[4] From an impression received from Dr. Majmudar.

2 ⏑ dhā[1] nṛipatēḥ pratāpaḥ || 71 Yad-vikrama-smaraṇa-sambhṛita-sādhvas-ōttha-vyākampa-tāṁḍava-chal-āchala-pāṇayas=tē | ady=āpi bhaṁgi-vimukhāṁ dayitā-stanē[2] — — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [|| 72*] — — — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — —[3]

3 sh-ōnmēsh-ōrjita-hutabhujō Jāmadagnyasya tasya | sthānaṁ yēn=ādbhuta-śata-kṛitā kshuṁdatā kaṁda-vaṁ(baṁ)dhād=rājanyānāṁ paribhava-bhṛitaṁ kaḥ kṛitō n=ōpakāraḥ [|| 73*] — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [|*] — — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑

4 hī[4]-vijay-ōdyatasya yasy=ānv-ahaṁ vihṛitam=unmada-vallabhēna || 74 Samara-raṁga-bhuvāṁ śara-pāṇibhiḥ kim=api tāṁḍavam=ādadhataṁ muhuḥ | yam=abhivīksh[y]au ⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — [|| 75*] — — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑

5 bha-śrī-**Kuṁkaṇ-ēśō**=kshipad=bāṇ-ālīm=iha tēna tasya niśitair=lūnaṁ kshurapraiḥ śiraḥ | rāj-āntaḥpuram=atra vahim[5]=aviśat=paṭṭa-dvipō=tr=āpatad=ya — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [|| 76*] — — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑— — —

6 [v]=ānujarjara-giraḥ pulak-āvalīḍhāḥ | ady=āpi **Lāṭa**–sudṛiśaḥ pura-chatvarēshu gāyaṁti śaurya-naya-vainayikāni yasya || 77 Yas=tuṁga-śṛiṁgam=uddā[ma]................ ....[|*]................................... [|| 78*] — — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — ⏑

7 v[i]tasya tasya śrī-Suvratasya **Bhṛigukachchha**–viśēshakasya | uttuṁga-śṛiṁga-śata-vismita-dēva-daityaṁ chaityaṁ chakāra Hara-hāsa-sahōdaraṁ yaḥ || 79 Jayaṁ .... [|*] .... [|| 80*]

8 Yaḥ Kumāravihār-ākhyē chaityē **Śrīpattana**–sthitē | pratimāṁ kārayāmāsa rājatīṁ Nābhijanmanaḥ || 81 Yasy=ā-janma-par-āṁganā-parihṛiti-[stha]—⏑ — — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [|*]— — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑

y-aika-pa[ramaṁ] satya-vratē saushṭhavaṁ kiṁ ch=ānyat=kathayāmi yasya paramā vīrēshu rēkh=ābhavat || 82 Bhṛitē nibhṛitam=amva(mba)rō samara-tūra-nād-ākulair=ya — ⏑⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [|*] ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑

10 [m=u]payā ⏑ — ny=abhihitāni n=ākarṇṇayan || 83 Ēk-āṁga-vīra-tilakēna kṛipāṇa-khē[la]-saṁparka-pāvita-bhuja-dvitayēna yēna | yuddhēshu bhūmi ⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — — [|| 84*] — — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑

11 — samavēkshya yasya śau[ṁ*]ḍīra-kuṁjara-mahēbha-turaṁga-bhīshmaṁ(shmam) | utthāya pūtkṛita-ravēṇa palāyamānāḥ śuddhāṁtam=ādadhati bhūmibhujaḥ sa-lajjaṁ(jjam) [|| 85*] — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [|*] —

12 paspṛiha[6] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — prasabha-pramṛishṭa-dushṭ-āvarōdha-ghusṛiṇāya chirāya yasmai || 86 Dvipapati-radan-āgra-kshōda-jāta-vraṇ-ālī-maya-lipir=anuvapraṁ bhā ⏑ — — ⏑ — — [|*] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —

13 [vaḥ] || 87 [Mataṁ] nṛipati-maṁḍalī-mukuṭa-kāṁtika-[pra]kramān=virōdhē(dhi)-vasudhā-bhujō yudhi vidhāya nirvikramān | gajair=yad-upadā-kṛitaiḥ ka ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [|| 88*] — — — ⏑ ⏑ —

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[1] The intended word may be *bahudhā*.

[2] The intended reading may be *stanēshu*.

[3] This last *akshara* was probably *rō*.

[4] The intended word may be *mahī*.

[5] Read *vahnim°*.

[6] The intended word may be *s-ōpaspṛiha*.

14 [n]ya-vik[r]ama-nidhēḥ kiṁ tasya lōk-ōttaraṁ śaśvad-vīra-matallikā-stuta-bhuja-staṁbhasya vīra-v[r]ataṁ(tam) | dēśō yēna sa jaṁgalaḥ prati muhuḥ kshuṇṇa-kshitīśa ⏑ — — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [|| 89*]..................................

15 ...... | sva-nām-āṁkaṁ puraṁ yēna Lāṭa-dēśē nivēśitaṁ(tam) || 90 Avaṁtishu kṛit-āspada[ṁ] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ kuṁjar-āgrēsara[s=tu]raṁgama-chamū-vṛitō Dhana-vihā⏑[1] — — ⏑ — [|*] ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑

16 — ⏑ — — ⏑ — || 91 Dhavalasya Vairisiṁhaṁḥ(haḥ) sutō=bhūn=naya-bhūshaṇaḥ | chaityaṁ yaḥ Pārśvanā[thasya Staṁ]bha-tīrthē vyadhāpayat || 92 Vinaya-kauśala.... .... [|*] ......

17 .... [||] 93 Tīrtha-prabhāvan-ōdbhūta-puṇya-śrī-puṇya-janmanāṁ(nām) | sapt-ārṇṇavī-kūla-mūla-prēṁkhōlat-kīrtti-saṁpadāṁ(dam) 94 Amāri ḍiṁḍimō=[n]ē .... [|*] .... [|| 95*] ....

18 [dhanyānāṁ] vidyā-tritaya-vēdhasāṁ(sām) | śrī-Hēmachandra-sūrīṇām=ādāy=ādēśa-vaibhavaṁ(vam) || 96 Sauvarṇṇa-kuṁbha-ruchi-piṁjarit-āṁtarikshaṁ saṁkalpa-saṁghaṭana-ta ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [|*] — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —

19 — [||] 97 Bhērī-sahasra-kuhar-ōtthita-tāra-tāra-bhāṁkāra-pūra-paripūrita-viśva-ramyaṁ-(myam) | abhraṁlih-āgra-śikhara-sthita-siṁha-pōta-śrēṇī-visūtrita-pataṁ[ga] ⏑ — ⏑ — — [|| 98*] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — [|*] ⏑ ⏑

20 [ka][2]-[n]ibha-śilā-sahasra-rōchiḥ-prachaya-valakshita-harmya-chaṁdra-śālaṁ(lam) || 99 Upahasita-sura-vimānaṁ vimāna-muni-vṛiṁda-janita-va(ba)hum̐ānaṁ(nam) | nikhi-[la] .... [|| 100*] ....

21 yā lakshmyā | Udayana-vihāram=ētaṁ vyadhāpayad=Vāgbhaṭō maṁtrī || 101 Jina-saṁkhyāny=ābharaṇāny=ēkāgraṁ(grān) triṁśataṁ dhvajān hēmnaḥ | yaḥ pūrṇṇā .... [|| 102*] — — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ —

22 — cha ramyē chaṁdr-āditv-āvachūla-dhavalatara-lasat-tārakā-tāram=abhraṁ(bhram) | śōbhāṁ chaṁdr-ōdayasya śrayati vikasit-ēṁdīvara-snigdha-bhāsō yāvat=tāvat=prabhā-va ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — [|| 103*] ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑

23 r-ātmanāṁ kṛita-dhruvam śiraḥ-śēkharaḥ | pravaṁ(baṁ)dha-śata-nirmiti-prathita-kīrtti-kāmy-ōdayaḥ praśastim=atulām=imām=akṛita Rāmachaṁdrō muniḥ || [104*]

[1] The intended word is apparently *vihāra*.

[2] The intended word seems to be *sphaṭika*.

No. 12—EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

(*1 Plate*)

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12. *Śarabhaṅga=Sarabhaṅga=Sarōbhaṅga*

Some Magi priests of ancient Iran are known to have migrated to and settled in India and became known as Maga Brāhmaṇas also called Śākadvīpīya, i.e. 'hailing from Śākadvīpa'.[1] This Śākadvīpa can be roughly identified with modern Seistān in Eastern Irān, which was known respectively as Sakastān and Sijistān in the ancient and medieval periods.[2] The said people and those who accompanied them to India introduced a few words in the Indian vocabulary, one of them being the well-known Sanskrit word *mihira* (i.e. the sun or the Sun-god) which is the same as Persian *mihr* derived from Avestic *mithr*=Vedic *mitra*.[3] On some coins of the Kushāṇa kings Kanishka and Huvishka, the Sun-god is represented on the reverse and the name of the deity is spelt in Greek characters as *miiro* (also as *mioro* and *miioro*), i.e. *mihira*,[4] the Greek alphabet having no *h*. The alternative spellings suggest that the word was also pronounced as *mihura* and *mihara*.

Similarly, the Scytho-Parthian rulers of the north-western regions of Bhāratavarsha and their Kushāṇa successors, who came to our country from the west, introduced certain official designations in the Indian administrative system, some of which became popular with the indigenous Indian kings of various parts of Northern India. A few such designations are (1) *Gañjavara* (cf. *Gañjapati*), (2) *Dibira* or *Divira* (cf. *Divirapati*), and (3) *Pīlupati* (cf. *Mahāpīlupati*).

The designation *Gañjavara*, occurring in a Mathura inscription[5] of the Śaka chief Śōḍāsa (c. 15-25 A.D.) and in Kalhaṇa's Kashmirian Chronicle[6] written about the middle of the twelfth century A.D., is the same as Persian *Ganjwar* meaning 'a treasurer', derived from *ganj*, 'treasure'. The same designation occurs as *Gañjapati* in the Taleswar (Almora District, U.P.) plate[7] of Dyutivarman who flourished about the sixth century A.D. About the middle of the tenth century A.D., Utpala, in his commentary on Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (LII, 13), explains *gañjaḥ* as *kōśabhavanam* (i.e. treasury).[8] The designation *Dibira* or *Divira*, which is found in such an early record as the Khoh plates[9] of king Jayanātha of Uchchakalpa, dated 496 A.D., was explained by Bühler as 'a clerk, writer or accountant' on the authority of the *Lōkaprakāśa* ascribed to Kshēmēndra.[10] It is the same as Persian *Dabīr* meaning 'a writer, a secretary'.[11] *Divirapati* also occurs in the Taleswar plate referred to above and often in the records of the Maitrakas of Valabhī from the latter part of the sixth century A.D.[12] In the designation *Pīlupati* or *Mahāpīlupati*, which

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[1] R. G. Bhandarkar's Collected Works, Vol. IV, pp. 218 ff.

[2] *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 564.

[3] Cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, loc. cit.

[4] See *Select Inscriptions*, p. 142 ; note 6 ; p. 155, note 5.

[5] Above, Vol. IX, p. 247.

[6] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V, 177.

[7] Above, Vol. XIII, p. 115.

[8] *Bhaṭṭa* Utpala wrote his commentary on Varāhamihira's *Brihajjātaka* in 966 A.D.

[9] *CII*, Vol. III, p. 122.

[10] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 10.

[11] Wilson's Glossary, s.v. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (VIII, 131) makes a distinction between *Divira* and *Kāyastha* probably because the Kashmirian *Kāyastha* was primarily a tax-collector.

[12] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1326, dated 588 A.D.; etc.

occurs in such early records as the Abhona plates[1] of the Kalachuri king Śaṅkaragaṇa, dated 595-96 A.D., and the Taleswar plate referred to above, as well as in a large number of copper-plate grants issued by North Indian kings of the early medieval period,[2] the word *pīlu* is the same as Arabic-Persian *fīl* meaning 'an elephant'.[3] An inscription of Kalachuri Śaṅkaragaṇa's time spells the designation as *Mahāpalupati*.[4]

The official designation *Śarabhaṅga=Sarabhaṅga=Sarōbhaṅga* often occurs in the list of subordinates and officers addressed by some of the kings of Northern India in respect of the grants of land recorded in their copper-plate charters. The difference in the spelling of the word is sometimes noticed even in the records of the same king. Thus, while the Nālandā plate[5] of king Dēvapāla (c. 810-54 A.D.) of Bengal and Bihar has *Śarabhaṅga*, the Monghyr plate[6] of the same king has *Sarabhaṅga*. A tenth century copper-plate inscription[7] of king Vidagdha of Chamba in the Himalayas, on the other hand, spells the word as *Sarōbhaṅga*. This confusion about the spelling seems to indicate that the word is of foreign origin.

The meaning of *Śarabhaṅga=Sarabhaṅga=Sarōbhaṅga* has not been satisfactorily determined, though unsuccessful attempts have been made to explain it on the basis of Sanskrit *śara* meaning 'an arrow' probably regarding the spellings *sara* as a mere mistake for *śara* and ignoring *saras* altogether. Thus it has sometimes been suggested that *Śarabhaṅga* means a superior military officer equipped with bows and arrows, although the word *bhaṅga* remains unexplained in this interpretation.[8] While editing the Pandukesvar (Garhwal District, U.P.) plates of about the tenth century A.D., we ourselves observed, "*Śarabhaṅga* literally means 'wound and fracture'. He was probably the royal surgeon".[9] It has also been conjectured that *Śarabhaṅga* may have something to do with *śarayantra* or *Śarayantrin*, the latter being a title conferred in Mithilā upon a very learned man who successfully faced an ordeal (called *śarayantra*) of answering satisfactorily all questions on any *śāstra* put to him by learned *āchāryas* and common people.[10] But, as indicated above, the spelling of the first part of the designation variously as *śara*, *sara* and *saras* seems to suggest that the writers of the epigraphic records were struggling to find out a suitable Sanskrit word for a foreign expression. Indeed it has also to be noticed that no word like *Śarabhaṅga*, *Sarabhaṅga* and *Sarōbhaṅga* occurs in any of the Sanskrit lexicons in the sense of an official designation and that it is also not known from any epigraphic record of a South Indian monarch.

It now appears to us that *Śarabhaṅga=Sarabhaṅga=Sarōbhaṅga* was introduced into India by the foreign rulers of North-Western Bhāratavarsha just as *Gañjavara*, *Divira* and *Pīlupati* and that it is really an Indian modification of Perisan *Sarhang* meaning 'a commander of forces'. *Sarhang* is derived from *sar* (Sanskrit *śiras*), 'the head', and old Persian *hanga* (Sanskrit *saṅgha*), 'a company', in the sense of 'the head of a contingent of troops'. The same expression is used as *Sarāṁgha* in the official designation *Giligittā-sarāṁgha*, 'the chief of the army at Gilgit', occurring in the Hatun (Gilgit) inscription[11] of the Shāhī king Paṭōladēva who flourished about the seventh century A.D. The *Sarāṁgha* of the Hatun inscription may also have been a military

[1] Above, Vol. IX, p. 298.
[2] Cf. N. G. Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, p. 186.
[3] Wilson's Glossary, s.v.
[4] See above, Vol. II, p. 22.
[5] Above, Vol. XVII, p. 321, text line 29.
[6] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 306, text line 32.
[7] Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I, p. 166, text line 7.
[8] Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, p. 309.
[9] Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 282, note 6.
[10] Kane, *Hist. Dharm.*, Vol. III, p. 1005.
[11] Above, Vol. XXX, p. 228.

governor. The same designation is still found in some of the Indian dialects in the form *Serāṅg*.[1] Wilson's Glossary recognises Persian *Sarhang*=Indian *Serang* and explains the designation as follows : 'a commander ; but generally applied in India to the headman of a native crew whether on board a ship or boat ; also to the headman of a gang of natives attached to artillery, dragging guns, or to the army in general, as tent-pitchers and the like, or to the head of gangs of a superior order of labourers employed in public or private works, in docks, buildings, etc.'[2]

13. *Dēvadāsīs in Buddhist Temples*

The Ratnagiri copper-plate inscription of the Sōmavaṁśī king Karṇa, who flourished in Orissa about the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., has been edited by Mrs. D. Mitra in the pages of this journal[3] and we also have published a note on the same epigraph abov.[4] The inscription records the grant of a village made by the Sōmavaṁśī king in favour of *Rāṇī* Karpūraśrī, described in our opinion, as the daughter of *Mahārī* Māhūṇadēvī and the *pautrī* (i.e. daughter of the *putrī* or daughter) of Udayamati. We have regarded Karpūraśrī as a *rāṇī* (literally, 'queen', but probably 'a concubine') of king Karṇa. Her description as the daughter and granddaughter of females instead of the mention of her father and grandfather was taken by us to suggest that she was born of a harlot. This suggestion was supported by us by taking her mother's epithet *mahārī* as the same as Prakrit *mahari*=Oriya *māhārī* meaning a *Dēvadāsī* (i.e. a dancing girl attached to temples, a harlot).

But a difficulty we felt then was that Karpūraśrī is described in the inscription as *Salōṇapura-mahāvihāra-vinirgatā*, which would normally mean 'hailing from the great Buddhist monastery at Salōṇapura'. Since, however, *Dēvadāsīs* are generally known to have been attached to Brahmanical temples and not to Buddhist monasteries, we were inclined to interpret the expression *Salōṇapura-mahāvihāra* as a stereotyped geographical name of the area around the Buddhist monastery at Salōṇapura just as that of the town of Bihār (Vihāra, Biharsharif of the Muslims) in the Patna District of Bihar. We therefore suggested that Karpūraśrī, a concubine of the Sōmavaṁśī king Karṇa, hailed from the neighbourhood of the Salōṇapura monastery but was not attached to it. Recently, however, we have found some proof to show that Dēvadāsīs were maintained in the early medieval period not only in the Brahmanical temples but also in the Buddhist shrines at least in Eastern India. There was thus no difference in this respect between the Brahmanical and Buddhist temples in the area and age to which the Ratnagiri plates belong. We therefore think now that Karpūraśrī and probably also her mother, if not her maternal grandmother as well, had really been *Dēvadāsīs* attached to the Buddhist temple in the *mahāvihāra* at Salōṇapura before she went to king Karṇa's harem. She may have been purchased by the king from the authorities of the monastery.

Bhagavanlal Indraji published an inscription embedded in the wall of a temple of the Sun-god on the western side of the tank called Dakshiṇa-mānasa near the Vishṇupāda at Gayā in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, 1881, pp. 341 ff. Dated in the Buddhaparinirvāṇa year 1883 (probably 1270 A.D.), this inscription records the construction of a *Gandhakuṭī* by Purushōttamasiṁha, the son of Kāmadēvasiṁha and grandson of king Jayatuṅgasiṁha of the Kāma country (probably Kumaun in the Himalayas or Kāmān in the Bharatpur District, Rajasthan). The expression *gandhakuṭī* originally meant the Buddha's private chamber in a Buddhist establishment and later a shrine where the Buddha's image was worshipped in a Buddhist monastery. The Buddhist temple in

[1] The Bengali spelling of the word is *Sārēṅg*.

[2] See also *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Serang*.

[3] Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 263 ff.

[4] Ibid., pp. 269 ff.

question is said to have been built for the merit of Māṇikyasiṁha, the deceased son of Purushōttamasiṁha's daughter Ratnaśrī, with the help of the local Chhinda king and of king Aśōkachalla of the Sapādalaksha country (the Siwalik hills or the land around Śākambharī or Sāmbhar in the Jaipur District, Rajasthan), both Purushōttamasiṁha and Aśōkachalla probably being pilgrims to Gayā or leading retired lives at the holy place.

Verse 12 of the said inscription has been read and translated as follows :

Pūjāḥ pūjyatamasya pañchama-gatair=vādyais=trisandhyaṁ sadā

Rambhā-sannibha-bhāvinībhir=abhitō(taś)=chēṭībhir=atyadbhutaṁ(tam |)

nṛityantībhir=anaṅga-laṅgima-gatair=ggīt-ādi-raṅgair=imā

yasmāt=santi hi śāsanē bhagavataḥ satkāra-visphāritāḥ ||

" Since, in the religion of the *Bhagavat*, worship is here [offered] to the most worshipful, always three times a day, by means of instrumental music in the highest key (*pañchama-gata*) together with Rambhā-like *Bhāvinīs* and *Chēṭīs* dancing round wonderfully with mirth in singing and so on, in a way appertaining to the unions of Anaṅga (Kāma)—[worship] increased by hospitable entertainments. "

On the words *bhāvinī* and *chēṭī*, Indraji observes as follows : "*Bhāvinīs* are the dancing girls attached to temples. *Chēṭīs* are maid-servants belonging to temples, who perform certain menial services as well as join with the *Bhāvinīs* in singing............ "

The word *bhāvinī* in the sense of ' a wanton woman ' is interesting since this meaning may have developed from its use in expressions like *Hari-bhāvinī*, ' devoted to Hari ', probably often applied to dancing girls attached to Vaishṇava temples.

14. *Dvārahaṭāka*

While commenting above[1] on some of Mr. R. K. Ghosal's views on the Rākshaskhāli (Sundarban) plate of Śaka 1118, we pointed out that Dvārahaṭāka, where king Ḍōmmanapāla was staying at the time of making the grant recorded in the charter, was a locality near the Gaṅgāsāgarasaṅgama (i.e. the holy junction of the Ganges or Bhāgīrathī and the Bay of Bengal), that the king went there to meet his end in the waters of the Ganges according to a popular practice of those days and that the grant was made on the said occasion in accordance with the injunction of the Hindu scriptures. It was also pointed out that *haṭāka*, the second part of the name, is the same as Sanskrit *haṭṭaka* and Bengali *hāṭā*, and means ' a market place '. But we were not sure then whether *dvāra*, the first part of the name, means ' a mouth ' of the Ganges, so that the name *Dvārahaṭāka* would literally mean ' a market place on the mouth [of the Ganges]'. This was because the word *dvāra* in the sense of the mouth of a river is not generally found in the Sanskrit lexicons and the name *Gaṅgā-dvāra*, literally ' the door of the Ganges ', is applied to modern Hardwar which is a locality where the Ganges enters into the plains from the Himalayas. But we have recently noticed that the word *dvāra* in the sense of the mouth of a river is not unknown.

The Lunsadī copper-plate inscription,[2] issued by the Maitraka king Śīlāditya II in the Gupta-Valabhī year 350 (668-69 A.D), records the gift of some land in a village situated at the *Madhumatī-dvāra* which has been interpreted as ' the mouth of the river Madhumatī (i.e. the modern Nikol creek)'. The localities mentioned in the enumeration of the boundary of the gift land support

[1] Vol. XXX, pp. 42 ff.

[2] Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 74 ff.

the said interpretation of the word *dvāra*. Thus Dvārahaṭāka of the Rākshaskhāli (Sundarban) plate may have been actually situated on the mouth of the Bhāgīrathī in the vicinity of Gaṅgāsā garasaṅgama. It may be pointed out that, in Tamil, the expression *mukha-dvāra* means the mouth of a river especially where it falls into the sea.

15. *Aṁbā-kipilikā=Aṁbā-kapilika=Aṁbā-kapīlikā*

Aṁbā-kipilikā, aṁbā-kapilika or *aṁbā-kapīlikā* is mentioned in the list of creatures occurring in Pillar Edict V of Aśōka, whose salughter was prohibited by the Maurya emperor.[1] Of the two words joined in the compound expression, *aṁbā* means 'mother' in Sanskrit and the Prakrits (including Pāli) while *kapillika* is a well-known Pāli word meaning 'an ant'. Bühler, therefore, interpreted *aṁbā-kipilikā=aṁbā-kapilika=aṁbā-kapīlikā* as 'the queen ant'[2] and most later writers have accepted Bühler's interpretation.

B. M. Barua, however, pointed out that, according to the commentary on the *Aṅguttaranikāya*,[3] the expression *ambaka-maddarī* or *ambaka-pachcharī* means *khuddaka-kukkuṭikā* (Sanskrit *kshudraka-kukkuṭikā*), 'a small hen', and therefore *ambaka* is a synonym of *khuddaka*, 'small'.[4] He took *ambā* in Pillar Edict V as the same as *ambaka=khuddaka* and, since he believed that the list in Pillar Edict V contains only the names of birds or bird-like creatures so that there is no possibility of 'the ant' being mentioned in it, he further suggested that *aṁbā-kipilikā=aṁbā-kapilika=aṁbā-kapīlikā* means a small bird.[5]

P. C. Sen[6] has recently pointed out that the list of creatures in Pillar Edict V really contains names other than those of birds. We agree with him on this point. But he accepts Barua's interpretation of *ambā* as 'small' and suggests that *aṁbā-kipilikā=aṁbā-kapilika=aṁbā-kapīlikā* really means 'a small ant'. In support of this interpretation, Sen has offered two arguments.

In the first place, our attention has been drawn to the following stanza occurring in some recensions of the *Mahābhārata*[7]:

Anaḍvān=mṛittikā ch=aiva tathā kshudra-pipīlikāḥ |

ślēshmātakas=tathā viprair=abhakshyaṁ visham=ēva cha ||

The verse mentions *kshudra-pipīlikā* or 'the small ant' in the list of food which a Brāhmaṇa should not take and Sen suggests that this injunction proves the prevalence of the custom of eating ants amongst certain sections of the people.

Secondly, Sen refers to the practice of eating winged white-ants and also bigger red-ants which make big nests generally with leaves at the end of small branches of the mango trees, especially the eggs and the young of the latter both raw and cooked, as still prevalent among the aboriginal population of South Bihar.[8] He therefore suggests that these are the creatures called *aṁbā-kipilikā=aṁbā-kapilika=aṁbā-kapīlikā* in Pillar Edict V of Aśōka.

It is, however, difficult to agree with these views. Firstly, the Pāli lexicons do not recognise 'small' as a meaning of the word *ambā* and even if *ambaka-maddarī* or *ambaka-pachcharī* means

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[1] *CII*, Vol. I, 1925, p. 224.
[2] See above, Vol. II, p. 259.
[3] Vol. I, p. 188.
[4] *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Part II, p. 358.
[5] Loc. cit.
[6] *Itihāsa* (Bengali), Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff.
[7] See Baṅgabāsī edition, Śānti-parvan, Chapter XXXVI, verse 21.
[8] In the western areas of North India, I am told, there is a bzlief that one's eye-sight becomes sharp if red or grey ants are eaten.

Khuddaka-Kukkuṭikā, it is not certain that *ambā* means ' small '. Secondly, the winged white-ants and the red-ants living generally in mango trees are both very much bigger than the ordinary small ants and can therefore hardly be called *kshudra* or ' small '. The consumption of 'big' ants is not prohibited by the *Mahābhārata*.

The word *aṁbā* occurs in the expression *aṁbā-vaḍikyā* in Pillar Edict VII[1] and in *aṁbā-vaḍikā* in the so-called Queen's Edict on the Allahabad-Kosam pillar,[2] both the expressions standing for Sanskrit *āmra-vāṭikā*, ' a grove of mango trees '. Thus *aṁbā* stands for Sanskrit *āmra* in Aśokan vocabulary.[3] It is thus very probable that *aṁbā-kipilikā=aṁbā-kapīlika=aṁbā-kapīlika* really stands for Sanskrit *āmra-pipīlikā* and means ' the mango-tree ant ', i.e. the big red ant that generally lives on mango trees.

16. *Date of the Ḍabōk Inscription*

While editing the Mathurā fragmentary inscription (assigned on palaeographical grounds to the latter half of the seventh century A.D.) of the Maurya king Karka Ḍiṇḍirāja in the pages of this journal,[4] we had occasion to refer to the Ḍabōk (eight miles to the east of Udaipur, Rajasthan) inscription mentioning the Guhila chief Dhanika of Dhavagartā (Dhōḍ in the Jahazpur District of the Udaipur Division, Rajasthan) and the latter's overlord *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Dhavalappa. The Ḍabōk inscription was noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar[5] and a tentative transcript of it, based on an unsatisfactory impression, was published by R. R. Halder.[6] In our discussion, reference was also made to Bhandarkar's identification of this Dhavalappa with the Maurya king Dhavalātman of the Kanaswa inscription[7] of 738 A.D. (V. S. 795) and it was pointed out that *Dhavalātman* may be a Sanskritised form of the South Indian (Kannaḍa) name *Dhavalappa* and that these Mauryas of the Rajasthan region may have been related to the Maurya house of the Southern Konkan. We further suggested that the Mauryas succeeded in extending their suzerainty over Rajasthan which had formerly been a part of the dominions of king Harsha (606-47 A.D.) of Kanauj.[8] It was also suggested by us in some other connection that Śilāditya of the Sāmōli (Bhomat District, Udaipur Division) inscription[9] of V.S. 703 (646 A.D.) was either identical with Harsha of Kanauj or with a Guhila ruler who was named after the Kanauj king because the latter was his father's overlord as in some other cases known to the students of Indian history.[10]

The date of the Ḍabōk inscription has been differently read. Bhandarkar had at first read it as the year 807 of the Vikrama Saṁvat corresponding to 750 A.D., which he later corrected to 407 of the Gupta era corresponding to 726 A.D. But Halder reads the date as the year 207 of the Harsha era corresponding to 813 A.D. Recently I had an occasion to study some good impressions of the inscription and found that the date in question is very clearly the year 701 which must be referred to the Vikrama Saṁvat so as to yield 644 A.D.

The date is written in three signs, the first of which is a *sra* (indicating *100*) joined at the right with the sign of 7, so that the entire symbol can only be read as *700*. The difference between this symbol for 700 and that illustrated by Ojha in his *Bhāratīya Prāchīn Lipimālā*, Plate LXXIV-b,

[1] *CII*, Vol. I, p. 130, text line 23.

[2] Ibid., p. 158, text line 3.

[3] See my note in *Itihāsa*, Vol. X, pp. 31ff. Cf. R. G. Basak, *Aśokan Inscriptions*, p. 104.

[4] Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 207 ff.

[5] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1371, *PRAS*, W. C. 1905-06, p. 61 ; above, Vol. XII, p. 12, note 1.

[6] Above, Vol. XX, pp. 122 ff. Dhanika is identified with his namesake of the Chatsu and Nagar inscriptions (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1537 ; *Bhārata Kaumudī*, Vol. I, pp. 267 ff.). But it is doubtful.

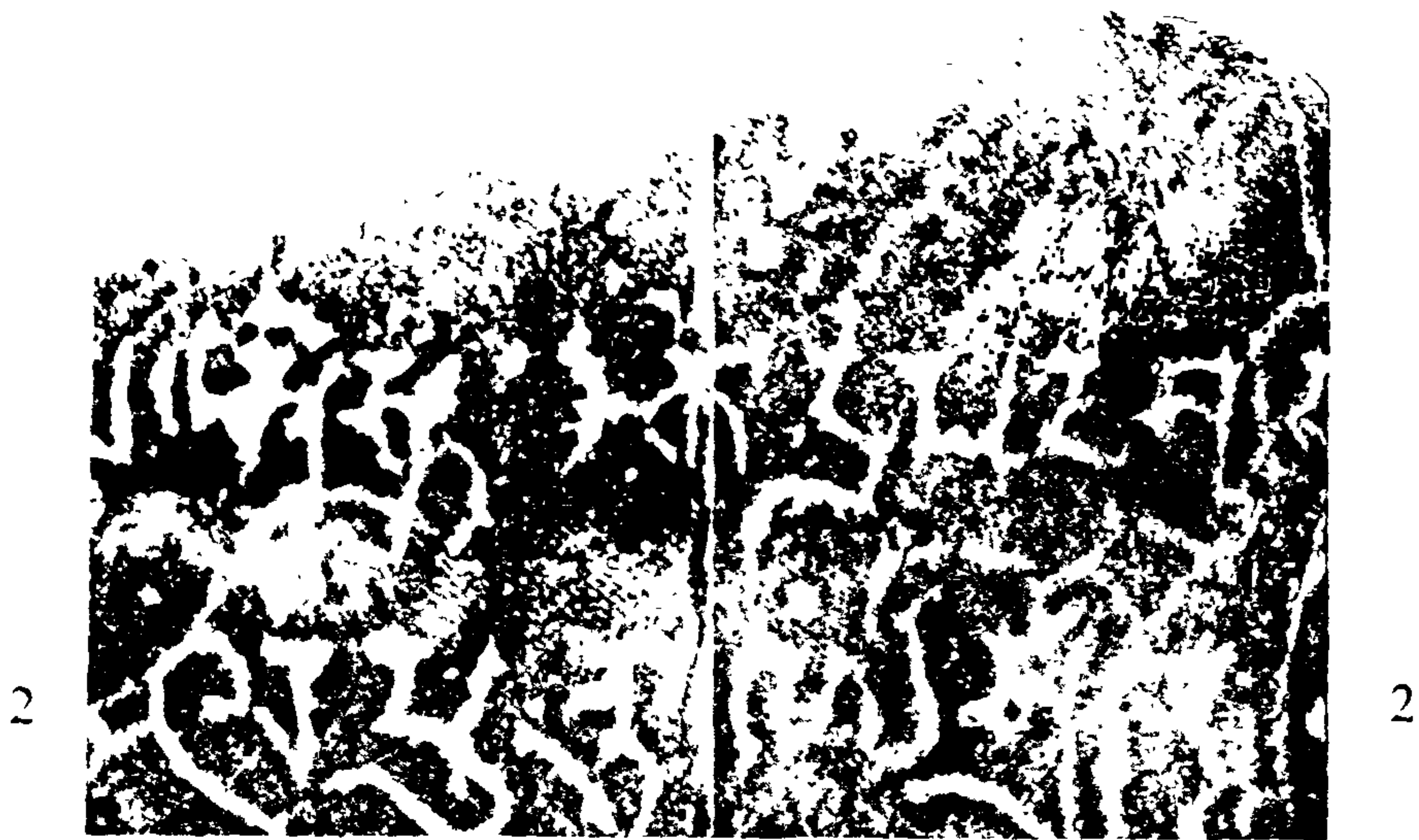
[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 57.

[8] Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 7; Vol. XXXIV, p. 168.

[9] Ibid., Vol. XX, pp. 97 ff.

[10] Cf. ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 7, note 6 ; Vol. XXXIV, p. 169.

DATE OF THE DABOK INSCRIPTION



is that 7 is not joined with 100 in the latter case, though 700 written by a joint symbol of 100 and 7 is also illustrated by him elsewhere.[1] The second of the three signs, with which the date of the Ḍabōk inscription is written, is a dot which is known to have been sometimes used to indicate the absence of the ten symbol between the signs of the unit and the hundred or that of both the ten and unit symbols.[2] The third sign is certainly 1 and not 7 since its top is not sufficiently curved towards the left. Bhandarkar and Halder, who read 7 after the hundred symbol, apparently conjectured the second sign (i.e. the dot) to be joined with the top of the third (i.e. 1) probably because the rare use of the dot in numbers expressed in symbols, due to the growing influence of the decimal system, was not known to them. Their reading is justified neither by the facsimile published by Halder nor by the impressions examined by me. The palaeography of the Ḍabōk inscription does not go against its ascription to V.S. 701 (644 A.D.).

This date of the Ḍabōk inscription necessitates certain modifications in our views on the history of Rajasthan as indicated above. In the first place, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Dhavalappa of this epigraph of 644 A.D. cannot be identified with the Maurya king Dhavalātman of the Kanaswa inscription of 738 A. D., although the former may have been a predecessor (probably the grandfather) of the latter. Secondly, although the plaeography of our epigraph closely resembles that of the Mathurā fragmentary inscription of the Maurya king Karka Ḍiṇḍirāja, son of Āryarāja and grandson of Chandragupta, that ruler has to be assigned to a date about half a century later than Dhavalappa if the two kings belonged to the same house. This is because both the Ḍabōk and Mathurā inscriptions use the bipartite form of the letter *y* and it is difficult to assign the latter epigraph to a date much earlier than the middle of the seventh century A.D. Thirdly, if Dhavalappa, who assumed the imperial style *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* by 644 A.D., was really a scion of the Maurya dynasty as he seems to have been, king Harsha of Kanauj must have lost his hold over many parts of Rajasthan before his death in 647 A.D., though the Mauryas of the Rajasthan region must have originally owed allegiance to him. In this connection, reference may be made to the assumption of imperial style by Maitraka Dharasēna IV of Valabhī, whose father was a subordinate ally of Harsha, by the Gupta-Vallabhī year 326 (644-45 A. D.).[3]

Among other points that may be noticed in this connection, we think it likely that the Rāshṭrakūṭa chief Naṇṇappa, son of Bhāmāna, who is known from the Indragaḍh (near Bhānpurā in the Mandsaur District, Madhya Pradesh) inscription[4] of Vikrama 767 (710 A.D.) was a feudatory of these Mauryas probably of Kannaḍa origin, as indicated above, like the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Without further light on the history of these Mauryas, however, it can not be said that king Lōka of the Nargarī (Tonk District, Rajasthan) inscription[5] of Vikrama 1043 (987 A.D.) also owed allegiance to them since Rajasthan and Malwa appear to have been occupied by the Gurjara-Pratīhāras before 783 A.D.

These Mauryas are mentioned in inscriptions found at Mathurā and at certain places in Rajasthan and Karka Ḍiṇḍirāja (about the close of the seventh century A.D.) of this family claimed to have burnt the city of Kanauj. But the inscriptions do not throw any light on the location of their capital. According to the bardic traditions of Mewar, Bappa, son of Guhila or Guhadatta who was the founder of the Guhila house, was in the service of his uncle, the Mōri (Maurya) ruler of Chitōr and, after repulsing a barbarian invasion from Gajnī, seized the crown of the latter.[6] But it is difficult to determine whether Chitōr was the Maurya capital or the headquarters of one of the

[1] See Plate LXXIV-a. In this case the 100 symbol resembles *sē* instead of *sra*.

[2] Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 212 and p. 216, text line 22.

[3] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1348-49.

[4] Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 112 ff.

[5] Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, p. 79, note 2.

[6] Ray *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1154.

Maurya viceroys. The Jain tradition representing king Yaśōvarman (c. 728-53 A.D.) of Kanauj as a descendant of Chandragupta Maurya[1] may refer to Yaśōvarman's relations with Karka Ḍiṇḍirāja who was the grandson of a Maurya king named Chandragupta.[2] But we cannot say that the Mauryas transferred their capital to Kanauj sometime before the accession of Yaśōvarman since the Maurya king Dhavalātman (738 A.D.) was a contemporary of Yaśōvarman. It is, however, not impossible that the Mauryas conquered Kanauj and stationed there a scion of their family as a viceroy and that Yaśōvarman was a member of this viceregal family which had thrown off the yoke of the main branch of the dynasty.

Several branches of the Guhila family, all apparently owing allegiance originally to king Harsha of Kanauj and later to the Mauryas, were ruling in different parts of the Udaipur Division during the seventh century A.D. Guhila Dhanika of the Ḍabōk inscription had his headquarters at Dhavagartā while another branch of the family represented by Paḍḍa (c. 625 A.D.), Dēvagaṇa (c. 640 A.D.), Bhāvihita (654 A.D.), Bhētti (679 A.D.), Bābhaṭa (689 A.D.) and Kadachhi (c. 700 A.D.) had its capital at Kishkindhā or Kishkindhipura near Kalyāṇpur in the Bhomat District.[3] At the same time, a third branch of the family, to which Aparājita of an inscription[4] of Vikrama 718 (661 A.D.) in the Kuṇḍēśvar temple at Nāgdā near Udaipur belonged, was probably ruling from Nāgahrada (Nāgdā). Śīlāditya of the Sāmōli inscription of 644 A.D., if he was really a Guhila, also belonged to the Nāgdā branch and was the predecessor of Aparājita. Later records of this house begin the genealogy with the following names : (1) Bhōja (born in the family of Guhadatta belonging to a Brāhmaṇa family hailing from Ānandapura, i.e. modern Vaḍnagar in Northern Gujarat), (2) his successor Mahēndra, (3) his successor Nāga, (4) his successor Śīla (i.e. Śīlāditya, 644 A.D.), and (5) his successor Aparājita (661 A.D.).[5] Another branch of the family seems to be represented by the chatsu and Nagar inscriptions referred to above.

[1] Cf. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 194.

[2] Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 208-09.

[3] See above, pp. 57ff. ; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 166 ff.

[4] Bhandarkar's List, No. 13 ; above, Vol. IV, p. 31.

[5] Bhandarkar's List, No. 85 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.

MGIPC—S1—5 DGA/60—21-5-63—750.

The material for this Part was sent to the Press by Dr. Sircar before his retirement in June 1962.

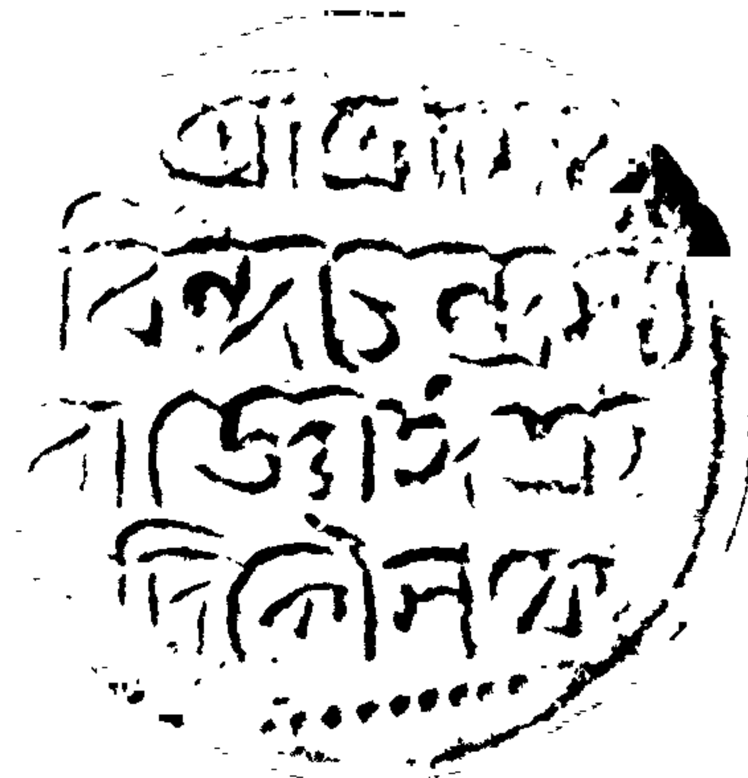
G. S. Gai,
Government Epigraphist for India.

SILVER COIN OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KACHAR

Enlarged

Obverse | *Reverse*





Actual





(from Photographs)

No. 13—SILVER COIN OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KACHAR, SAKA 1736

(*1 Plate*)

A. N. LAHIRI, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 11.11.1960*)

While discussing the Koch and Jaintiā coins in *JASB*. April 1910 (cf. p. 161, note 1 ; p. 166) H. E. Stapleton published a rupee of king **Gōvindachandra** of Kāchār. The coin was then in the possession of a descendant of Gōvindachandra's Prime Minister. It is stated to have been ·93 inch in diameter and 175·75 grains in weight. The reproduction shows that it was struck from a good die. Stapleton pointed out how the coin settled the question 'whether Kāchārī coins were ever struck'. Since then, however, more Kāchār coins issued by earlier rulers have come to light.[1]

The coin has four lines of writing on each side. The legend is in **Bengali characters.** Stapleton read it with the help of R.D. Banerji as follows :

Obverse	*Reverse*
1 Śrī-śrī-Gō-	1 Hiḍimbapu-
2 vindachandrasya	2 radhāma-śrī-Raṇa
3 rājñō	3 chaṇḍī-padā-
4	4 [bja]-jusha[ḥ]

Unfortunately the above reading of the legend is both inaccurate and incomplete. Moreover, what has been taken as the reverse by Stapleton is really the obverse of the coin. The portion of the legend on that side is actually an epithet of the king and the writing is continued on the other side.

On the obverse, the first expression reads *Haiḍimbapūr-adhīsa(śa)* and not *Hiḍimbapura-dhāma*. Thus the complete legend on the obverse is : *Haiḍimbapūr-adhīsa(śa)-śrī-Raṇachaṇḍī-pad-ājusha[ḥ*]*. The last six *aksharas* on the reverse, which Stapleton and Banerji could not read at all, are clearly : *'ṅga-try-adri-kau Sa(Śa)kē*. They actually give the date of the coin in a chronogram. Since this fact was not realised, the coin was regarded as undated.[2]

The legend on both sides of the coin is a stanza in *Anushṭubh*, the obverse and reverse containing respectively the first and second halves of the verse.

TEXT

Obverse[3]	*Reverse*[4]
1 **Haiḍimbapū-**	1 śrī-śrī-**Gō-**
2 **r-adhīsa(śa)**-śrī-Raṇa-	2 **vindachandrasya**
3 chaṇḍī-pad-ā-	3 rājñō='**ṅga-try-a-**
4 jusha[ḥ |*]	4 **d[r]i-kau Sa(Śa)kē** [||*]

[1] For some coins of Yaśōnārāyana and Pratāpanārāyaṇa, see Botham. *Num. Suppl*. XX. Art 120. pp. 556-57, and Plate XXVIII, Nos. 1-5, and for a coin of Tāmradhvaja, see *JASB*, 1910, p. 160, Plate XXIII, No. 10, with *Num. Suppl.*, op. cit., p. 557. Dr. A. D. H. Bivar informs me that there are 60 coins of the three kings in the British Museum.

[2] Cf. Edward Gait. *A History of Assam*, 1926. p. 258, note.

[3] On this side, there are some floral designs to the left of the first line of writing and on both sides of the last.

[4] There is a dotted line below the legend.

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TRANSLATION

(*This is the coin*) of king śrī-śrī-**Gōvindachandra**, the lord of **Haiḍimbapūr** and devoted to the feet of śrī-Raṇachaṇḍī, (*struck*) in the Śaka (*year counted by*) *aṅga* (i.e. 6), *tri* (i.e. 3), *adri* (i.e. 7) and *ku* (i.e. 1), (i.e. in **Śaka 1736**).

The **importance** of the coin lies in the fact that it gives the date in **chronogram** which is not generally noticed in the legends on the coins of the medieval Hindu rulers. It is again one of the very few coins issued by the Hindu kings of medieval India to bear a **versified legend**.[1] Now, Hiḍimbā is the old name of Kāchār, and Haiḍimbapūr, 'the city (i.e. the capital) of Hiḍimbā', is probably to be identified, as proposed by Stapleton, with Silberband, near Khāspūr, in the Kāchār Plains, where, according to Gait, the ruins of the palaces of the last three Kāchārī kings are still to be found.[2]

Raṇachaṇḍī must have been the tutelary deity of the kings of Kāchār. She is apparently 'the Thakoorain of Kachar', who, according to Captain Fisher,' is adored under the symbol of a sword religiously preserved in the Rajbarri, and to the possession of which the most inexplicable importance is attached '.[3]

Gōvindachandra succeeded his brother Kṛishṇachandra to the throne of Kāchār in 1813 A.D. Śaka 1736 (1814-15 A.D.), when the coin was struck, thus seems to be the date of his coronation. He was an unhappy ruler, beset with innumerable troubles. Soon after his assumption of power, a stable servant of his predecessor, by name Kohi Dās, led a rebellion which was continued, after the rebel's assassination by his son Tulārām. Not only this, Chaurajit Siṁha, the exiled Maṇipurī king then a refugee in Kāchār, and his brother Gambhīr Siṁha, who was the Commander-in-Chief of the Kāchār Army, conspired against Gōvindachandra and ousted him (about 1819)[4] from his kingdom which was then divided amongst themselves and their brother Mārajit Siṁha who had been driven away from the Maṇipur throne by the Burmese.[5] Gōvindachandra took shelter in Sylhet and sought the help of the British without success. He was eventually removed to Dacca.[6] After a long time, however, Gōvindachandra's case was taken up by the British. He was restored to the Kāchār throne about 1826 under British protection and agreed to pay an annual tribute of 10 000 sicca rupees. The authorities of the East India Company, on their part, arranged to provide for the maintenance of the Maṇipurī princes who were persuaded to leave Kāchār and reside within British territory.[7]

But Gōvindachandra's enemies never allowed him to rest in peace. According to a conspiracy planned by Gambhīr Siṁha, a band of Maṇipurīs entered the royal palace with the help of the king's Maṇipurī bodyguard and hacked him to pieces on the night of the 24th April 1830.[8] After his death, his kingdom was annexed to the British territories.[9]

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[1] For the Indore Rupee of king Yaśōvanta Rāo, dated Śaka 1728, bearing a versified legend, see C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, Plate XII, No. 7.

[2] *JASB*, 1910, p. 166.

[3] "Memoir of Sylhet, Kachar and the Adjacent Districts" in *JASB*, 1840, pp. 832-33.

[4] See Gait, op. cit., p. 257.

[5] See R. M. Lahiry, *The Annexation of Assam*, pp. 45-46.

[6] Ibid., p. 46.

[7] See ibid., p. 49.

[8] Ibid., p. 136.

[9] Ibid., p. 142.

No. 14—FRAGMENTARY RASHTRAKUTA INSCRIPTION FROM KANDHAR

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. Sircar and G. Bhattacharya, Ootacamund

(*Received on 20.7.1960*)

Kandhār (also spelt as Qandhār and Kandahār), the headquarters of the Taluk of that name, is 32 miles southwest of Nāndēḍ in the Nander District, formerly in Hyderabad State but now in Maharashtra. In February 1959, while Mr. Bhattacharya was camping at Nāndēḍ, Shri V. R. Mahiskar, Headmaster of the Kandhār Government High School, gave him information about the existence of the stone inscription under study and was kind enough to accompany him to Kandhār and to take him to the findspot of the epigraph. The inscribed stone slab lies near an old well called 'the Khās Bāg well' in the locality called **Bahādurpur** nearly a mile from the present town of Kandhār. The place abounds in ruined structures and images and plinths of old buildings are still to be noticed around the well. The well also is old, its sides and steps being built of stone. Shri Mahiskar told Mr. Bhattacharya that, when the well dried up in the summer of 1957, the stone slab bearing the inscription was found in its bed and that it was taken out and kept at the spot where it is lying now.

The most notable existing structure at Kandhār is the Fort just outside the town. There is no doubt that the Fort was built before the advent of Muhammadans there. The present Dargah and the mosque inside the Fort have pillars of old Hindu temples. But there is no record of the Hindu rulers anywhere inside the Fort. The town of Kandhār also abounds in many ruined structures as well as Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina images. Still old images and Śivaliṅgas come out here and there while people dig for the foundation of a house. That the Muslim occupation of Kandhār led to the destruction of the temples is demonstrated by the mosque in the town, which is an old Hindu shrine turned into a Muslim religious establishment by means of superficial changes in the construction.

The lower part of the inscribed **stone slab**, which was originally a pillar, is broken. It is written on three sides of the stone ; but the lower part of the writing is lost in all of them. The record is thus **fragmentary** and contains three fragments of what was originally a big pillar inscription. Of the inscription on the three sides, the writing on the third is better preserved while that on the second is badly damaged. There is the figure of Śivaliṅga on the Yōni-paṭṭa flanked by a devotee pouring water on the Yōni-paṭṭa on the left and a bull on the right above the writing on the first side. The slab, as it now is, measures about 27 inches in height while the width of the broad faces, one of them bearing the first part of the inscription, is about 15 inches, the breadth of the two side faces being 10·2 inches each. The lines of writing on the first face are thus slightly longer than those on the other two inscribed faces. Individual letters without vowel-marks, excluding conjuncts, are each a little above half an inch in height. The letters on the third side are slightly smaller in size than those on the other two sides. There are seventeen lines of writing on the first side together with traces of another line, while the second and third sides contain twenty-six lines each. The three inscribed faces of the pillar will be hereinafter called as *A*, *B* and *C*.

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The characters belong to the North Indian alphabet of the tenth century A.D. and closely resemble those of the Dēolī[1] (Śaka 862), Kolhāpur[2] and Karhāḍ[3] (Śaka 882) plates of the **Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.) and the undated Chinchani plate[4] belonging to the same** king's reign. But some of the conjuncts show a slightly **more developed form than found in the** other records (cf. *kshmī* in *A*, line 2, *tth* in *A*, line 4 and *shṇa* in *A*, line 16, etc.). **The formation** of the letter *kṛi* (*A*, line 16) is also later. From this fact it may be conjectured that the record under study is slightly later than those mentioned above. The initial vowels *a* (*A*, lines 8, 10 ; *B*, line 8), *i* (*A*, lines 9, 13 ; *C*, lines 8, 14), *u* (*A*, line 11 ; *C*, line 13) and *ē* (*A*, lines 14, 15) occur in the inscription. The *upadhmānīya* appears in *A*, line 12 and final *t* in *A*, line 11 : *B*, lines 6, 16 : and *C*, line 20. The sign for *v* has been employed in indicating *b* excepting *labdha* in *A*, line 3. Like the Chinchani plate, the record begins with the *Praṇava* symbolically represented.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the document is written in prose and verse. All the seven stanzas found in the extant introductory part of the inscription on the first face of the pillar are also found in the corresponding part of the Dēolī, Kolhāpur and Karhāḍ plates of Kṛishṇa III with negligible variations. In this part, the Dēolī and Kolhāpur plates add two other stanzas while the Karhāḍ plates add a third new verse along with those two. As regards **orthography** also, the present record resembles the same epigraphs. In one case *Sandhi* has not been observed in a verse (*A*, line 6). Final *m* has been changed to *anusvāra* wrongly in some cases. Some consonants have been reduplicated in conjunction with *r*.

The extant parts of the inscription bear **no date**. But, on grounds of palaeography and the fact that the introductory stanzas are also found in the Dēolī, Kolhāpur and Karhāḍ plates, the inscription may be referred to the reign of the **Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.)**, probably to its latter part.

There are seven stanzas in *A* (lines 1-17) after the symbolical representation of the *Praṇava*, the last of the verses being incomplete. The rest of the writing on the said face of the stone is lost. Verse 1 is in praise of the god Murāri (i.e. Vishṇu) while verse 2 praises the god Tripuravijayin (i.e. Śiva). The next stanza (verse 3) introduces the Moon-god as one whose part is held on his head by the god Śambhu (Śiva). It is then stated in verse 4 how the **Yadu family** sprang from the Moon-god. Verse 5 refers to the birth of the Primeval Male (i.e. Vishṇu in the form of Kṛishṇa) in that family with the purpose of destroying the demons and to the kings of the said family, who, owing to their pre-eminent fame and valour, became known in the world as the **Tuṅgas**. Verse 6 informs us that, in that lineage which was known as the *Rāshṭrakūṭa-kula*, was born **Dantidurga** while the following stanza (verse 7), the concluding part of which is lost, tells us how, after Dantidurga, his paternal uncle, king **Kṛishṇarāja**, became the ruler of the earth and constructed numerous temples of the god Īśvara (Śiva). The present epigraph does not refer to the eponymous Raṭṭa mentioned in the Karhāḍ and Dēolī plates as the progenitor of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty. But, like them, it refers to Tuṅga as another name of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, though the Dēolī plates have *Sātyaki-vaṁśa-bhājaḥ* (i.e. members of the lineage of Sātyaki) instead of the expression *tuṅga-yaśaḥ-prabhāvāḥ* found in the Karhāḍ plates and the present record and refer to the Rāshṭrakūṭas' descent from the Sātyaki branch of the Yadu family.

As indicated above, the latter part of the genealogy including the mention of Kṛishṇa III, to whom the epigraph apparently belongs, is lost. But, from the other records of the said Rāshṭra-

[1] Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff. and Plates.

[2] *JBBRAS*, N. S., Vol. X, pp. 21 ff. and Plates.

[3] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 278 ff. and Plates.

[4] Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 55 ff. and Plate.

kūṭa king, we can restore the genealogy as follows : (1) Dantidurga (742-56 A.D.) : (2) his paternal uncle Krishṇa I (756-75 A.D.) ; (3) his son Gōvinda II (775-80 A.D.) ; (4) his younger brother Nirupama Kalivallabha (Dhruva, 780-94 A.D.) ; (5) his son Jagattuṅga (Gōvinda III, 794-814 A.D.) ; (6) his son Nṛipatuṅga (Amōghavarsha I, 814-78 A.D.) ; (7) his son Akālavarsha Krishṇa II (878-915 A.D.) ; (8) his grandson Indra III (915-28 A.D.) ; (9) his son Amōghavarsha II (928-29 A.D.) ; (10) his younger brother Suvarṇavarsha Gōvinda IV (929-34 A.D.) ; (11) his paternal uncle Amōghavarsha III (934-39 A.D.) ; and (12) his son Krishṇa III (939-67 A.D.).

The text of the record in *B* starts with the meritorious and munificent activities probably of Krishṇa III. In the first part (lines 1-8), it records what was apparently the first group of provisions made to various people by the ruler. The first reference is to the bards (*vamdi-jana*) who used to praise the noble qualities of one and received [each] two hundred *Drammas* together with a pair of clothes probably per year. Next, provision of a hundred *Drammas* and a pair of clothes is made for each of a group of persons whose duty was to recite sacred texts four times a day. The third provision of fifty *Drammas* and a pair of clothes was made in favour [of each] of another group of reciters. These look like payments to be made to palace servants. But their inclusion is difficult to understand even if they were especially liberal and were introduced in a new palace or capital. It is, however, well known that the deities worshipped in temples are treated as kings and it may be that the reference is to certain categories of servants in a temple. It should, however, be admitted that the first sentence in this section seems to refer to a king and not to a deity.

The reference to the second group of pious deeds in the next section (lines 8 ff.) begins with a description of **Kālamēgha** which was probably a secondary name of the donor. This section mentions the provision made for offering meals to the [Brāhmaṇas] numbering thirty, who were engaged in reciting the Vēdas, in the *sattra-śālā* (free feeding house) close to [the temple of] the god Kālapriya. Next is mentioned the provision of two *prasthas*[1] of oil and one *prastha* of salt daily in order to meet the requirements of the college (*vidyāsthāna*), situated on the bank of the Nāndī in the Gōdāvarī valley (*Gōdāvarī-taṭ-ādhyāsini Nāndī-taṭē*) and belonging to the Brāhmaṇas engaged in studies. For this purpose, arrangements had to be made for the storing of nine *khaṇḍikās*[2] of oil and four and a half *khaṇḍikās* of salt by purchasing the articles from the *grāma-kaṭaka* (i.e. the villages and valleys around the town where the inscription was set up). For the bulk purchase of the articles, arrangements were made for the daily payment in a lump sum, of the price of oil and salt required per day.

The pious work described in *C* is of a nature different from that mentioned in *B*. The first deed referred to in this part is the construction of a *maṇḍapa* (pavilion) named Sarvalōkāśraya near [the temple of] the well-known god Kshētrapāla (probably a local deity or Śiva). Then follows the description of the setting up of five centres for the distribution of water (*prapā*), for the amelioration of the suffering of the people during summer, at five places, viz. (1) the *makara-tōraṇa* (the gate-way with the *makara*-motif) in the royal palace (*rāja-griha*), (2) the *Yaksha-dvāra* (another gate-way endowed with Yaksha figures) adorned with [the image of the god] Maṇḍalasiddhi Vināyaka,[3] (3) the front of the temple of Kāmadēva close to the area where the chief courtesans of the king lived (*pradhāna-rāja-vilāsinī-pāṭaka*), (4) the courtyard of [the temple of] the god Kālapriya, and (5) the above-mentioned pavilion named Sarvalōkāśraya. Similarly, fire-places (*agnisthitikā*) were constructed at five places for saving the poor people from suffering from cold during

[1] A *prastha* is variously regarded as 6, 16 or 32 *palas*, 1 *pala* being equal to 4 *tōlas*.

[2] *Khaṇḍikā* is the same as modern *Candy* often regarded as equal to 500 pounds.

[3] Cf. a goddess installed in the gate-way (probably in a pavilion) or a temple as mentioned in the Chilichani plate of the time of Krishṇa III (above, Vol. XXXII, p. 56).

winter. These five places were : (1) the pavilion called Sarvalōkāśraya in the courtyard of Maṇḍalasiddhi (probably the same as Maṇḍalasiddhi-Vināyaka worshipped at the Yaksha-dvāra), (2-3) two places (*pradēśa-dvaya*) near [the temple of] Kālapriya, (4) the front of [the temple of the god] Sagarvēśvara situated (*pratishṭhita*) on the embankment (*pāli*) of [the tank called] Jagattuṅga-samudra ; and (5) the vicinity of [the temple of the god] Baṅkēśvara situated in the north (i.e. to the north of the Sagarvēśvara temple). The arrangements were made for the provision of two tankfuls of water (*jala-drōṇyau*) and troughfuls of fodder for the cattle (*gō-grāsāḥ*) at five places, viz. (1) the market of the Gūrjaras (*Gūrjar-āpaṇa*), (2-4) the temples of the deities Vīranārāyaṇa, Śrīkṛishṇēśvara and Kshētrapāla, and (5) the much-frequented market place (*kshuṇṇa-haṭṭikā*). To meet the expenses of the above, the amount of fifty *Drammas* was allotted per day. Then, for the *pañchāmṛita*[1] ablution with *pañchōpachāra*,[2] curds and milk and flower offerings for the temples of the gods Baṅkēśvara, Chhallēśvara, Gōjjigasōmanātha, Tumbēśvara and Tuḍigēśvara were provided for at the expense of 500 *Drammas* per month. [The provision of] 1 *āḍhaka*[3] and 55 *palas* of candied sugar (*khaṇḍa*) and 1104 *palas* of sandal (*śrīkhaṇḍa*) is next mentioned. The rest of the text is lost.

The importance of the epigraph lies in the fact that it helps us in locating the city of Kandhārapura sometimes mentioned in connection with Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III. This king is described as Kṛishṇa-Kandhāra with the title *Kandhāra-puravar-ādhīśvara* in the Haṇṇikeri (Belgaum District, Mysore) stone inscription[4] of the Raṭṭa chief Lakshmīdēva I (also called Lakshmaṇa or Lakshmīdhara) of Saundatti, probably dated in 1209 A.D. As the existence of modern Kandhār was unkown to Fleet, he observed, "Later records of the Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti of the thirteenth century A.D. speak of him (i.e. Kṛishṇa III) as Kṛishṇa-Kandhara and Kṛishṇa-Kandhāra, with the title of *Kandhāra-puravar-ādhīśvara* or 'supreme lord of Kandhārapura, the best of towns'—a place, however, which is otherwise unknown."[5] He further says, "I do not know of any other mention of such a town in genuine documents. But at Hirē-Kummi and Sattigeri in the Parasgaḍ tāluka, Belgaum District, and at Surkōḍ or Surkōr in the Rāmdurg State, there are spurious copper-plate charters, without dates, which purport to have been issued by the same king, who is called in them the *Chakravartin* Kanhara and Kṛishṇa-Kanhara, and is styled *Kandhāra-pur-ādhīśvara* ; the Surkōḍ or Surkōr record also says that he was reigning at Kanharapura."[6] He then concludes that 'the name (i.e. Kandhārapura) may possibly have been invented from an imaginary Kṛishṇapura derived from some passage similar to that in which the Eastern Chālukya king Guṇaka Vijayāditya III is said to have effected the burning of the city of Kṛishṇa II'.[7] There is, however, really no such 'passage' referring to 'the burning of the city of Kṛishṇa II'.[8]

[1] This is the five kinds of divine food, viz. milk, curd, clarified butter, honey and sugar.

[2] These five are articles of worship sometimes also regarded as 10, 16, 18 or 64 in number.

[3] The *āḍhaka* is often regarded as equal to 16, 32 or 64 *palas*.

[4] Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 550. Another record of the same Raṭṭa family, dated in 1218 A.D., describes the Raṭṭas of Saundatti as belonging to the lineage of Kṛishṇa III who is mentioned as Kṛishṇa-Kandhāra (*JBBRAS*, O.S., Vol. X, p. 231).

[5] *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 419.

[6] Cf. ibid., p. 550, note 6.

[7] Ibid., p. 384, note 4.

[8] Hultzsch (*SII*, Vol. I, p. 38, note 3) and Fleet (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 102, note 26) believed that Kiraṇapura, the city burnt by the Eastern Chālukya king Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III, was a mistake for *Kṛishṇapura*, which Fleet indentified with the city of Mālkhēḍ, the capital of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. But Kiraṇapura occurs in several records like the Pithāpuram (cf. above, Vol. IV, p. 239) and Maliyapūṇḍi (ibid., Vol. IX, p. 51) plates. Altekar identifies Kiraṇapura with Kiranpur in the Balaghat District of Madhya Pradesh (*The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 95). The Pithāpuram plates mention Sankila (Kalachuri Śankaragaṇa) as stationed at Kiraṇapura in the company of Kṛishṇa (line 40 : *yō=dhākshīch=Chakrakūṭaṁ Kiraṇapura-gataṁ Saṁkilaṁ Kṛishṇa-yuktam*) while the Maliyapūṇḍi plates refer to Kṛishṇarāja as stationed at Kiraṇapura (line 43 : *Kiraṇapuram=adhākshīt=Krishnarāj-āsthitam*).

The Sanskrit name Kṛishṇa appears in the Kannaḍa records as Kannara, Kannāra, Kanhara, Kanhāra, Kandara, Kandāra, Kandhara and Kandhāra.[1] The mention of Kṛishṇa III as the lord of Kandhārapura in the epigraphs of the Raṭṭas no doubt proves the existence of a city called Kandhārapura named after a Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler called Kṛishṇa (i.e. Kandhāra). The present Kandhār, where the Rāshṭrakūṭa inscription under study has been discovered, is apparently the same as Kandhārapura which was very probably a secondary capital of Kṛishṇa III.[2] Our record mentions a centre for the distribution of water (*prapā*) in the gate-way inside the *rāja-gṛiha* or royal palace pointing to the existence of a residence of Kṛishṇa III at Kandhāra. That the ruler stayed there is further indicated, if not by the presence of the bards, at least by the existence of the quarters of the king's chief courtesans. It is therefore certain that Kṛishṇa III ruled from Kandhār, at least for sometime, probably in the latter part of his reign, and that his description as the lord of Kandhārapura in the epigraphs of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti is justified, even though in the earlier part of his rule he was reigning from Mānyakhēṭa or Maḷkhēḍ whence his Dēolī plates were issued in Śaka 862 (940 A.D.). A copper-plate grant[3] from Sirūr in the Bagalkot Taluk of the Bijapur District was issued from Kandhārapura by Kṛishṇa-Kannaradēva-chakravartin, who is called the son of Gōvindarāja and is described as *Kandhāra-puravar-ādhīśvara.* The characters of the record are Nāgarī of the 11th century and it is written in Marāṭhī and Kannaḍa. The genuineness of the charter is of course not beyond doubt. But it is not impossible that its donor was a member of a later branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭa house ruling from Kandhār.

The question now is: who was Kandhāra (Kṛishṇa) by whom Kandhārapura (Kandhār) was built and after whom it was named? Amīr Hamza, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Qandhār-i-Dakkan* (Urdu) states, on the authority of the *Siyar-i-Hind* and *Tārīkh-i-Khurshīd Jāhī*, that Kanhār (i.e. Kandhār) was built by and named after king Kanhār of the Pāṇḍava dynasty.[4] Although the Pāṇḍava dynasty is mythical, this tradition at least shows that Kandhār was built by and named after a king called Kandhār. The name of the king and the absence of pre-Rāshṭrakūṭa antiquities at Kandhār suggest that this Kandhār was a Rāshṭrakūṭa king. But was he Kṛishṇa III or one of his two predecessors bearing the same name? Let us see what indication there is on these points in the inscription itself.

Some of the personal names, after which certain deities worshipped at the place and a structure and a tank existing there according to our inscription were named, are: (1) Kālapriya, (2) Sarvalōkāśraya,(3) Jagattuṅga, (4) Vīranārāyaṇa, (5) Kṛishṇa, (6) Gōjjiga and (7) Tuḍiga. Of these the god Tuḍigēśvara was apparently named after Kṛishṇa III himself, since the name Tuḷiga (i.e. Tuḍiga) is applied to him in an inscription[5] of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti. The name *Sarvalōkāśraya* also reminds us of the fact that the same Rāshṭrakūṭa king was sometimes called *Samastabhuvanāśraya*[6] which has exactly the same meaning. The names Kālapriya and Kṛishṇēśvara likewise remind us of the fact that the Karhāḍ plates were issued by Kṛishṇa III when he was camping at Mēlpāṭī (modern Mēlpāḍi in the Chittur Taluk and District), for the purpose of creating livings out of the provinces in the southern region for his dependents (*dakshiṇa-diṅ-maṇḍalāni bhṛityēbhyō*

[1] Cf. *JIH*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 407; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part i, p. 244; Part ii, pp. 334, 410 note 1, 468, 526, etc. The Prakrit name Kannara was also sometimes re-Sanskritized as Karṇa. See *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 122.

[2] Cf. *JIH*, Vol. XXXVII, 1959, pp. 407 ff.

[3] *A.R. Ep.*, 1937-38, No. A 20.

[4] We are indebted for the reference to Khwaja Moinuddin, Inspector of Registration, Aurangabad Division, Aurangabad.

[5] *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 419.

[6] Loc. cit.

jīvanaṁ kartum), of taking possession of the whole property of the lords of provinces (*maṇḍalēśvara*) and of erecting the temples of Kālapriya, Gaṇḍamārtaṇḍa, Kṛishṇēśvara, etc., in respect of the grant of a village in the Karahāṭa district to the head of a Śaiva religious establishment at Karahāṭa (modern Karhāḍ).[1] The Kolhāpur plates also speak of the same deities, but add that, while the temple of Kālapriya was built in Kāñchī maṇḍala, the Kṛishṇēśvara and Gaṇḍamārtaṇḍāditya temples were built in Sētuchakrōpānta (i.e. the Sētubandha Rāmēśvara area). These records and the present inscription thus suggest that Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III was fond of installing gods under the names Kālapriya and Kṛishṇēśvara, the second apparently after his own name.

As regards Kālapriya, it is well known that the dramas of Bhavabhūti, who was an inhabitant of Padmapura within Vidarbha in Dakshiṇāpatha (probably modern Padampur in the Bhandara District of Madhya Pradesh) and was a court poet of king Yaśōvarman (c. 725-53 A.D.) of Kanauj, were staged before the god Kālapriyanātha[2] and that, according to the Cambay plates[3] of Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda IV (929-35 A.D.), his father Indra III (915-28 A.D.), while marching against Mahōdaya (Kanauj), camped for sometime in the temple of the god Kālapriya (i.e. Kālapriyanātha or the god worshipped at a place called Kālapriya) before crossing the Yamunā. There is little doubt that this Kālapriya, situated near the Yamunā and on the road from the south to Kanauj, is identical with modern Kālpī on the Jumna in the Jalaun District of U.P.[4] It is thus possible to think that Kṛishṇa III, in the course of his northern expedition suggested by the discovery of one of his inscriptions in the present Maihar Tahsil of the Satna District of Madhya Pradesh,[5] emulated his grandfather Indra III in camping in the temple of Kālapriyanātha at Kālapriya (Kālpī) and became so much devoted to the god that he conceived the idea of installing deities of the same name in his own territory on his return. These facts and others already discussed above no doubt point to the close relations of Kṛishṇa III with Kandhārapura (Kandhār). But they do not prove that the city was built by and named after himself and did not exist before his time.

We have seen above that there is really no mention of a city named Kṛishṇapura (Kandhārapura) in relation to the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II. It is, however, interesting in this connection to note that the deity Gōjjigasōmanātha, worshipped at Kandhār when our inscription was set up, was named after *Gōjjiga* which is the Kannaḍa corruption of *Gōvinda* and is known to have been the popular name of Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda IV.[6] It may also be pointed out that Vīranārāyaṇa, after whom a deity worshipped at Kandhār was named, was the secondary name of several Rāshṭrakūṭa kings including Gōvinda IV.[7] Thus it is not improbable that the city of Kandhārapura existed before the days of Kṛishṇa III. It may have been built by and named after an earlier Kṛishṇa of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family, probably Kṛishṇa II.

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[1] Above, Vol. IV, p. 290.

[2] The deity is usually but wrongly identified with Mahākāla of Ujjain. Cf. S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 277 ff.; Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 242 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. VII, p. 38, text lines 21-23: *Yan-mādyad-dvipa-danta-ghāta-vishamaṁ Kālapriya-prāṅgaṇaṁ tīrṇṇā yat-turagair=agādha-Yamunā sindhu-pratispardhinī | yēn=ēdaṁ hi Mahōday-āri-nagaraṁ nirmmūlam=unmūlitaṁ nāmn=ādy=āpi janaiḥ Kuśasthalam=iti khyātiṁ parāṁ nīyatē* ||

[4] Cf. Sircar, op. cit., p. 244.

[5] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 287 ff. The northern expedition of Kṛishṇa III, especially against the Gurjara-Pratihāra king of Kanauj, is also hinted at in a verse in his copper-plate grants, which states how his success in the south led to the hope about Kālañjara and Chitrakūṭa vanishing from the heart of the Gurjara (i.e. the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king).

[6] *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., pp. 381, 416.

[7] Ibid., p. 199 (Amōghavarsha I), p. 416 (Gōvinda IV), p. 423 (Kakka II).

Jagattuṅga, after whom the tank called Jagattuṅga-samudra was named, may have been the younger brother of Kṛishṇa III for whose merit the Rāshṭrakūṭa king made the grant recorded in the Dēōlī plates.[1] If, however, the city existed before the days of Kṛishṇa III, Jagattuṅga may also be the homonymous son of Kṛishṇa II who died before his father.[2] If again, as indicated above, our inscription really mentions Kālamēgha as the donor, it may have been a secondary name of Kṛishṇa III. Although this name of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king is not known from any other source, it reminds us of Dantidurga's secondary name Vairamēgha.[3]

That the god Kālapriya was very famous in the locality is indicated by the passage : *Kalikālē=pi sakala-lōka-pratyaksha-divya-śaktēr=bhagavataḥ*, 'of the god Kālapriya whose divine power is manifested to the whole world even in the Kali age.' Close to the tank in which the inscribed slab was found, there are traces of the plinth of some structure. That might have been the plinth of the temple of the god Kālapriya. Two out of the five fire-places (*agni-sthitikā*), the construction of which at five different spots is an interesting fact recorded in our inscription, were built near the temple of Kālapriya. This may indicate that the place was frequented by many pilgrims.

In *B*, line 25, the king has been compared with the *Kalyāṇapādapa* (i.e. *Kalpavṛiksha*) for eradicating poverty of the people by various charitable measures. His sympathy was not confined to human beings, but was also shown towards cattle. We have seen that arrangement for the free supply of fodder and drinking water for the cattle was made at the cost of 50 *Drammas* per day at five different places probably on the occasion of festivities in the temples when large numbers of people visited the city, many of them in carts. One of these is stated to have been made near the shop of the Gūrjaras who may have been the people of that name settled in different parts of the western regions of India. Their presence at Kandhār may be compared to that of the merchants of Bhillamāla (modern Bhinmāl in the Jodhpur Division of Rajasthan) at Sañjān in the Thana District of Maharashtra as indicated by the Chiñchani plate[4] of the time of Kṛishṇa III himself.

As regards the *Dramma* currency referred to in the record, reference may be made to a Kanheri inscription[5] of the time of Amōghavarsha I, which mentions two types of *Drammas*, viz. gold and ordinary (silver). It is, however, difficult to say whether the coin mentioned in our inscription was of gold or silver. The provision for a pair of clothes in addition to the salary of the palace (or temple) servants reminds us of the *Manusmṛiti*, VII, 126, enjoining the payment of 1 *Paṇa* and 6 *Paṇas* per day respectively to a lower and higher grade servant together with a *Drōṇa* of paddy per month and a pair of clothes every six months.

A centre for the free distribution of water during summer is stated to have been made in front of the temple of Kāmadēva attached to the quarters of the chief royal courtesans. The existence of the temple of Kāma, the god of love, near the courtesans' quarters indirectly points to the popularity of the deity among the courtesan class and is interesting to note.

As regards **geographical names** mentioned in the record, a college of the Brāhmaṇas is stated to have been situated on the bank of the Nāndī dominating the Gōdāvarī valley. Kandhār stands on the Mānyad which falls in the Mañjirā, a tributary of the Gōdāvarī, and it appears that the Nāndī is identical with the modern Mānyad. The name of the Nāndī is certainly associated

[1] Ibid., p. 420.
[2] Ibid., p. 414. Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III was also known as Jagattuṅga (ibid., p. 394).
[3] Ibid., p. 389, note 5; p. 399, note 7.
[4] Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 56.
[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 133.

with that of ancient Nāndīkaṭa mentioned as Nāndīkaḍa in the Basim plates[1] of Vākāṭaka Vindhyaśakti II (middle of the fourth century A.D.). The word *kaṭa* is often found at the end of geographical names and *Nāndīkaṭa* seems to mean a locality on the bank or in the valley of the Nāndī. The name of modern Nānḍēḍ, about 32 miles from Kandhār, is no doubt derived from that of Nāndīkaṭa through the intermediate Prakrit form Nāndīaḍa. Nānḍēḍ, however, stands on the Gōdāvarī at a distance from the course of the modern Mānyad although, to justify the name, we have probably to think that the Nāndī originally joined the Gōdāvarī, near it. If such was the case, the course of the Nāndī has changed considerably since Nāndīkaṭa was founded at least before the middle of the fourth century A.D.

TEXT[2]

[Metres : verses 1-2 *Pushpitāgrā* ; verse 3 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 4 *Mālinī* ; verses 5-7 *Vasantatilaka*.]

First side

1 || Ōṁ[3] namaḥ Śivāya || Sa jayati jagad-utsava-pravēśa-prathana-paraḥ

2 kara-pallavō Murārēḥ [|*] lasad-amṛita-payaḥ-kaṇ-āṁka-Lakshmī-stana-kala-

3 [ś]-ānana-labdha-sannivēśaḥ || [1*] Ja[ya]ti cha Girijā-kapōla-viṁva(ba)-praṇi-

4 [hi]ta-patra-vichitrit-āṁsa-bhittiḥ [|*] Tripuravijayina[ḥ] priy-ōparō-

5 [dhā]d=dhṛita-Madan-ābhaya-dāna-śāsan=ēva || [2*] Śrīmān=asti nabhastal-aika-ti-

6 [la]kaḥ[4] [trailōkya]-nētr-ōtsavō dēvō Manmatha-vāṁ(bāṁ)dhavaḥ kumudinī-nāthaḥ Sudhā-

7 [dī]dhitiḥ | niḥśēsh-āmara-tarppaṇ-ārppita-tanu-prakshīṇat-ālaṁkṛitēr=ya-

8 sy=āṁśaḥ si(śi)rasā guṇa-priyatayā nūnaṁ dhṛitaḥ Śaṁbhunā || [3*] [Abha]vad=amala-

9 [kāṁtis=ta]sya vaṁśē maṇīnāṁ gaṇa iva **Yadu-vaṁśō** dugdhasiṁdhūyam[ā]-

10 nē | adhigata-hari-nīla-prōllasan-nāyaka-śrīr=aśithila-guṇa-saṁgō

11 bhūshaṇa[ṁ] yō bhuvō=bhū[t] || [4*] Udvṛitta-daitya-kula-ka[ṁ]dala-śāṁti-hētus=tatr=āvatāra[m=u]-

12 dabhūt[5]=Purushaḥ purāṇaḥ | tad-vaṁśajā jagati tuṁga-yaśaḥ-prabhāvāś[6]=**Tuṁ-**

13 **[g]**ā iti kshitibhujaḥ prathitā va(ba)bhūvuḥ || [5*] Tat-santatau samabhavad=bhuvana-

14 prasiddha-śrī-**Rāshṭrakūṭakula**-[n]āmani **Daṁtidurggaḥ** | [7] ēkaṁ chakāra chatur-a-

15 vdhyu(bdhy-u)pakaṇṭha-sīma-kshētraṁ ya ētad=asi-lāṁgala-bhinna-durggaḥ || [6*] Tasmād=ap[ā]-

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[1] Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 140.

[2] From impressions. For a few suggestions we are indebted to Mr. S. Sankaranarayanan.

[3] Expressed symbolically.

[4] Read °*kas=trai*°.

[5] The other texts have °*āvatāram=akarōt*.

[6] The Dēolī text has *Sātyaki-vargga-bhājas*°.

[7] This half of the stanza is found in the other grants as *Tasmād=arāti-vanitā-kucha-chāru-hāra-nihāra-bhānur=udagād=iha Dantidurggaḥ*.

FRAGMENTARY RASHTRAKUTA INSCRIPTION FROM KANDHAR

First Side

Second Side

Third Side

16 [la]yad=imāṁ vasudhāṁ pitṛivyaḥ śrī-**Kṛishṇarāja**-nṛipatiḥ śarad-abbra-śubh[r]aiḥ [|*]

17 [yat]-kārit-ēśvara-gṛihair=vvasumaty=a[nēka-Kai]—⏑ —

18 ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —[1][|| 7*] ....

Second Side

1 [ma]ti[ḥ*] puṇy-ānuvaṁ(baṁ)dhinī dāna-pravṛitti[r]=yaśō-nuvaṁ(baṁ)-

2 dhin[ī] [|*] [ēta]d-guṇa-stuti-niva(ba)ddhaṁ jāti-vṛitta-mālāṁ vi-

3 [chi]tra-maṇi-mālikām=iva kaṁ(ka)ṇṭhē kurvvatāṁ vaṁdi-ja-

4 [nā]nāṁ dramma-śata-dvayaṁ dra 200 vastra-yugam=ēkaṁ(kam) || cha-

5 . . laṁ[2] paṭhatāṁ dramma-śatam=ēkaṁ | dra 100 vastra-yu-

6 [ga]m= i . ḍa-pāṭha-praṇayināṁ drammāḥ paṁchāśat

7 dra 50 vastra-yugam=ēkaṁ(kam) || maty-anurāga(?)-kshē[m-ō]ddēśēna [dā]-

8 na-pravṛittiḥ | dvitīyaś=cha [|*] avirata-mad-āṁvu(bu)-vṛishṭir=ddō[shā]-

9 kara-tapana-maṇḍal-āvaraṇaḥ praśamita-para-va(ba)la-

10 dhūliḥ kalit-ōchita-**Kālamēgh**-ākhyaḥ | [tasy=ā]-

11 nēka-tsa(sa)mara-saṁkēta-masa(ya)-sannihita-vijaya . .[3]

12 samāgama-praśasta-bhūtasya śatru-kshaya-[parama] . .

13 [nn-ād]ya-hastinō yaśaḥ . . . dāna-siṁhasya . . . .

14 tathā hi śrī-**Kālapriyasya** bhagavataḥ samīpavartti-

15 nyāṁ [satra]-śālāyaṁ vēd-āmṛita-pavitrita-mukhānāṁ [triṁ]-

16 [śa]t-saṁkhyānām=āhāra-dānaṁ(nam) || tathā **Gōdāvarī-ta-**

17 [ṭ-ā]dhyāsini[4] **[Nāndī]-taṭē** | nira[va]dya-vidy-ārjjana-

18 [ju]shāṁ dvijanmanāṁ saṁva(ba)ndhinō vidyāsa(sthā)nasya snēha-

19 lavaṇa-samagratā-sampādanāya [|][5] dinam=prati taila-

20 [pra]stha-dvayaṁ lavaṇasya ch=aikaṁ prasthaṁ vidhāya va(ta)thā cha .[6]

21 ma-kaṭaka-krēṇikēna dēyās=tailasya kha[ṇḍi] .[7]

22 [na]va | lavaṇasya khaṇḍikās=s-ārdhāś=cha[tasra]ḥ | Ta-

23 [d-uddē]śēna cha din-ānu[dinaṁ*] ras-ārgha-piṇḍēna kk[r*]ēṇika-

24 sy=āvalambanaṁ . .[8] | tad=ēvaṁ nirākṛita-daridra-

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[1] The reading of the lost letters can be restored from the other grants as *°lāsa-śaila-nichit=ēva chiraṁ vibhāti.*

[2] The original may have read *chatush-kālaṁ.*

[3] The word lost here may have been *lakshmī.*

[4] The verb *adhyās* has been used here in the sense of 'to preside over, influence, rule,' so that *Gōdāvarī-taṭ-ādhyāsin* would mean 'dominating over the Gōdāvarī valley' or 'predominant in the Gōdāvarī valley'.

[5] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[6] The lost *akshara* at the end of the line may have been *grā.*

[7] The word is obviously *khaṇḍikā.*

[8] These two letters appear to stand for a word like *kṛitam.*

25 [ja]n-ōpadravaṁ(va)m=upapādit-ākalpa-kalyāṇa-pā[da]pa

26 .... prasara-niya[ta]ṁ(tam) | pra......

27 ....

Third Side

1 Tathā prasiddha-Kshētrapāla-samīpē suvihita-prāvaraṇ-[ā]-

2 staraṇ-ādi-parikaraḥ **Sarvvalōkāśraya**-nāmā maṁ[ḍa]-

3 paḥ || tathā rājagṛih-āṁtarvvartti-makaratōraṇē | Maṁ[ḍa]-

4 [la]siddhivināyaka-maṁḍi[ta]-yaksha-dvārē | pradhā[na]-

5 rājavilāsinī-pāṭaka-sannihita-Kāmadēv-ā[ya]-

6 tana-purōbhāgē | Kalikālē=pi sakala-lōka-pra-

7 [tya]ksha-divya-śaktēr=bhagavataḥ śrī-**Kālapriyasya** prāṁgaṇē |

8 [pra]tītē cha Sarvvalōkāśraya-maṁḍapē | iti paṁchasu sth[ā]-

9 [nē]shu grīshma-saṁtāpa-nirasana-kshamāḥ dharmma-narapati-

10 vilāsakāyamāna-mahima-spṛiśaḥ prapāḥ | ta-

11 thā Maṁḍalasiddhi-prāṁgaṇē Sarvvalōkāśraya-maṁḍapē |

12 Kālapriya-samīpa-pradēśa-dvayē | **Jagattuṅga**-samu[dra]-

13 [sya pā]lī-pratishṭhitā(ta)-Saga[r*]vēśvara-purōbhāgē | udīchya-

14 dig-vartti-Vaṁ(Baṁ)kēśvara-samīpē | iti paṁchasu sthānēshu prala-

15 ya-mahāplavāyamāna-hēmaṁva(ta)-kāla-prālēya-vilasi[tē]-

16 [shv=a]nātha-jana-parirakshaṇ-ārtham=agni-sthitikā[ḥ*] | tathā

17 **[Gū]rjjar**-āpaṇa-**Vīranārāyaṇa**-śrī-**Kṛishṇēśvara**-Kshētrap[ā]-

18 la-kshuṇṇa-haṭṭikāsu[1] paṁchasu sthānēshu gavāṁ svachchhaṁda-pā-

19 n-āhāra-nimittaṁ ja[la]-drōṇyō(ṇyau) gō-grāsāś=cha tat-pratikara-

20 ṇāya[2] pratidinaṁ drammāḥ pañchāśat dra 50 tathā Vaṁ(Baṁ)kē-

21 śvara-Chchhallēśvara-Gōjjigasōmanātha-Tumvē(mbē)śvara-Tuḍigēśvarē-

22 [shu] paṁch-āyatanēshu paṁch-ōpachāra-sahitaṁ pañch-āmṛita-sn[ān-ō]-

23 [pa]yōgi-dadhi-dugdha-kusum-ārchana-nimittaṁ mās-ā[numāsaṁ]

24 [cha] drammāṇāṁ pañcha-śatāni dra 500 khaṁḍasy=aik-ā[ḍhakaṁ]

25 palāni paṁcha-paṁchāśat pa 55 śrīkhaṁḍasya palāni [chatu]-

26 [r-adhikāni] śatāny=ēkādaśa 1104 pratidinaṁ

27 ....

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[1] The word *iti* seems to be understood here.

[2] The word *pratikarana* means 'repaying', 'compensation', etc. But here it has been used in the sense of 'meeting the expenses'.

No. 15—TWO EASTERN GANGA INSCRIPTIONS

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 29.9.60*)

1. *Khilōr Inscription of Anantavarman* (*Kāmārṇava*), *Śaka 1075*

About the beginning of 1956, I copied an inscription[1] engraved on the door-jamb of the Śiva temple at **Khilōr** (P. O. Arisal) near the Delang railway station in the Puri District of Orissa. The writing covers an area about three feet in length and ten inches and a half in height. There are six lines of writing, individual *aksharas*, excluding consonants with vowel marks, being a little above one and a half inches high. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory since the right half of line 1 and most of the letters in the corresponding section of line 2 are lost. A few letters are also lost at the end of the other lines of writing.

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the Gauḍīya alphabet as found in the Orissan records of about the twelfth century A.D. Its **language** is Sanskrit. The **date** of the record as quoted in lines 1-2 is only partially preserved. After giving the **Śaka year in figures as 10[75]**, the corresponding regnal or *aṅka* year in the regnal reckoning of a king must have been quoted together with other details of the date. But, of this section which mentions the secondary name of the king in question as **Anantavarman**, the king's principal name and the year of his regnal reckoning are lost, the available details of the date being [*Āshā*]*ḍha-sita-tritīyāyāṁ sa-*[*mmu*]*kha-vārē*, i.e. **Āshāḍha-sudi 3, Sammukhavāra.** The use of the expression *sammu-kha-vāra* (literally, 'the week-day in the forefront') to indicate the day of the week is rather peculiar, although it seems to mean the first day of the week, i.e. Sunday. Unfortunately Āshāḍha-sudi 3 in Śaka 1075 fell on Friday, the 26th June 1153 A.D. The date may thus be regarded as irregular.

There is no doubt that the king, mentioned in connection with the date of the record referred to above, belonged to the imperial branch of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty which extended its power over the Puri-Cuttack region of Orissa under king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) about the beginning of the twelfth century. In 1153 A.D., the Gaṅga throne was occupied by king **Kāmārṇava**, the first of the four sons of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, who are known to have succeeded their father one after another. Kāmārṇava ascended the throne in Śaka 1069 (1147 A.D.) and ruled for ten years down to Śaka 1078 (1156 A.D.).[2] We also know that most of the descendants of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, if not all of them, assumed Anantavarman as a secondary name[3] and that king Kāmārṇava is actually called Anantavarman in a number of inscriptions of his reign.[4] It is, however, difficult to be sure whether the name Kāmārṇava was mentioned after °*Anantavarm*[*ma*] in line 1 of our inscription. About fifteen *aksharas* are lost in this section and the reading may have been either °*dēva-vijayarājya-saṁvatsarē*. . . . *Āshā*° or *Kāmārṇṇavadēva-rājyē saṁvat*. . . . *Āshā*°.

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[1] This is No. B 258 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1955-56, where the date has been wrongly read as Śaka 10[70] and the inscription has been assigned to Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga.

[2] Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 242.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 20, note 2.

[4] See *SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1321-22, 1325-27, 1333-34.

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The **object** of the inscription is to record the installation of an *akhaṇḍa-dīpa* or perpetual lamp in the Śiva temple at Khilōr where the inscription has been found. Lines 2-3 mention a person named Paḍālu Kāṭama who is described as a rich man of **Kaliṅga-dēśa** and as the son of Ponnamā. This Ponnamā is described as extremely religious and as attached to (*pratibaddha*, perhaps actually meaning ' hailing from ') a place, the name of which ended in the *aksharas makaṭa.* Lines 3-5 state that Paḍālu Kāṭama purchased, at the cost of five *māḍas* (probably of gold), a piece of land called **Pōkhatalā**[1] from the merchants (*sādhu-prajā*, literally, [the king's] merchant subjects) of **Khēllauḍēśvara** (i.e. modern Khilōr) and installed a perpetual lamp for the god Khēllauḍēśvara (i.e. the god Śiva worshipped in the Śiva temple at Khilōr), to last as long as the moon and sun would endure, for the *dharma* (virtue or religious merit) of his mother's mother (i.e. maternal grandmother). It appears that both the village of Khilōr and the god Śiva worshipped there are called Khēllauḍēśvara in the inscription. The expression *Khēllauḍēśvara-sādhu-prajā*, from whom the piece of land was purchased, does not appear to mean ' the honest tenants of the god Khēllauḍēśvara ' as it is unlikely that the tenants of the temple were rich enough to be in a position to sell a plot of land worth five coins probably of gold. Moreover, the expression *sādhu-prajā* occurs in a similar context in some other records associating it with a locality and not with a deity.[2] That the word *sādhu* in the expression *sādhu-prajā* means ' a merchant' seems to be suggested by the expression *sādhu-pradhāna* in the Bhubaneswar inscription of Rāghava.[3]

The coin called *māḍa* in our record is usually spelt as *māḍa* in Telugu inscriptions, as *māḍha* or *māḍhā* in Oriya records and as *māḍai* in Tamil epigraphs. The Telugu spelling in the inscription may have been due to the fact that the person responsible for it hailed from the present Telugu-speaking region. The word is derived from Sanskrit *māsha* or *māshā* through Tamil.

Lines 5-6 contain two sentences, the first of which prays for the maintenance of the gift by the *tapōdhana* or the *tapōdhanas* (apparently the Śaiva ascetic or ascetics in charge of the temple of Khēllauḍēśvara) and the *sādhus* or merchants probably meaning the *sādhu-prajās* mentioned in lines 3-4. The second sentence states that the giver of a lamp (i.e. a perpetual lamp like the one installed by Paḍālu Kāṭama) does not commit the five great sins (i.e. becomes free from the sins owing to the merit resulting from the installation of the perpetual lamp).[4] The record ends with the mention of the *sūtradhāra* or mason whose name is partially preserved, but may have been Trilōka or Trilōchana. He was probably responsible for engraving the inscription.

Of the two **geographical names** mentioned in our record, Khēllauḍēśvara is modern Khilōr as indicated above. The other name is Kaliṅga-dēśa which seems, in the present context, to have been the district around the city of Kaliṅganagara (near modern Śrīkākuḷam) which was the capital of the early rulers of the Eastern Gaṅga family including the earlier members of its imperial branch.

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[1] The expression *Pōkhatalā-bhūmi* may be compared with *Vāghamarā-bhūmī* (i.e. the piece of land called Vāghamarā) in line 23 of the Bhubaneswar inscription of Gaṅga Narasiṁha (probably, Narasiṁha IV) published above, Vol. XXXII, p. 234. Cf. also *Vāṅkilāndā-bhūmi* in lines 8-9 of the Bhubaneswar inscription of Bhīmadēva (ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 236, No. 1).

[2] Cf. line 5 of the inscription of the time of Rājarāja II, edited below.

[3] Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 160 and 161 (No. 1. text line 5).

[4] This sentence may be compared with *dīpa-dātā sarva-lōkē mahīyatē* at the end of the Bhubaneswar inscription of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (ibid., p. 32, No. 1, text line 9). For an alternative suggestion about this passage, see note on the epigraphic text below.

TEXT[1]

1 **Saka-samvatsarē[2] 10[75]** svasti [śrī*]mad-**Anantavarm[ma]**.............[3]

2 **ḍha-sita-tṛitīyāyāṁ sa[mmu]kha-vārē Kaliṅgadēsa(śa)**-dhan[ī]...............[4]

3 makaṭa-ṛrativa(ba)ddha-dharmm-aikapara-Pōnnamā-putra-Paḍālu-Kāṭama-nāmā(mnā) Khēllauḍēsva(śva)[ra][5].

4 dhu-prajā-hastāt pañcha-māḍēna Pōkhatalā-bhu(bhū)miṁ kritvā mātu[ś=cha] mātur=ddharmm-ārthē...[6]

5 sva(śva)radēvāya ā-chandr-ārkka-paryantaṁ[7] akhaṇḍa-dīpaṁ datta[ṁ](ttam) | ētad-arthaṁ tapōdhana-sādhu..[8]

6 ripālanīyaṁ(yam |) dīpa-hā(dā)tā pañchamā(ma)hāpātakī nō bhavati[9] [|*] su(sū)-tradhāra-[Trilō]..[10]

2. *Bhubaneswar Inscription of Rājarāja II, Śaka 1094, [Aṅka] Year 4*

Some of the inscriptions belonging to the time of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga and his immediate successors found in the **Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar** in the Puri District of Orissa have already been published by us in the pages of this journal[11] and elsewhere.[12] Another such record is edited in the following pages from impressions belonging to the collection made by Hirananda Sastri in 1932 and preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund.

The inscription is engraved on the east wall inside the third entrance of the Liṅgarāja temple. The record occupies the space above an inscription of the time of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga and two of the time of Rāghava.[13] There are altogether nine lines of writing covering an area about twenty-eight inches in length and 17½ inches in height. Individual *aksharas* are between one inch and one and a half inches in height. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. All

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[1] From impressions.

[2] Read *Śaka-samvatsarē.*

[3] The right half of the line is lost. The last two *aksharas* of this part must have been *Āshā°*.

[4] Of this lost part, only traces of a few *aksharas* are visible.

[5] The *akshara* lost here was apparently *śā*.

[6] The *aksharas* lost here appear to have been *Khēllauḍē*.

[7] Read *ā-chandr-ārkkam* or *chandr-ārkka-paryantam*.

[8] The two *aksharas* lost here appear to have been *bhiḥ pa*

[9] The intended reading of this sentence may also be *dīpahartāraḥ pañchamahāpātakinō bhavanti.*

[10] The name of the *sūtradhāra* or engraver seems to have been Trilōka or Trilōchana.

[11] Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 17 ff., 29 ff., 90 ff., 158 ff., 232 ff., etc.

[12] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. III, pp. 121 ff.; Vol. VI, pp. 71 ff.; *IHQ*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 81 ff.; etc.

[13] The first of these inscriptions has been published above, Vol. XXX, pp. 21 ff. (No. 1) and the other two in the same volume, pp. 158 ff.

the letters of the last line, which contains only a few *aksharas* engraved below the concluding part of the previous line, are damaged, while about fourteen letters from the beginning of line 6 appear to have been purposely rubbed off. A few *aksharas* are also lost at the end of all the lines.

The **characters** belong to the Gauḍīya alphabet, but exhibit, in some cases, the development of early Oriya characteristics ; cf. *m* in *samasta* in line 6, *s* in *suvarṇa* in line 7, the representation of *p* and *y* by the same sign, etc. The **language** of the record is an admixture of Sanskrit and Oriya. Thus, while °*pādānāṁ* (line 3), *prajānāṁ* (line 5) and *dīpam=ēkaṁ* (line 8) are in Sanskrit, *Rājarājadēvara* (line 1) and *Uttarēśvaradēvara* (line 2) have the Oriya sixth case-ending.

The **date** of the inscription is quoted in lines 1-2 as the **Śaka year 1094**, corresponding to **year 4 of king Rājarājadēva's reign, Dhanuḥ-kṛishṇa 4, Monday.** The reading of the figure indicating the number of the *tithi* is, however, not beyond doubt as it is considerably damaged. Rājarājadēva mentioned here is **Rājarāja II,** the third of the four sons of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.), who succeeded their father one after the other in the following order : (1) Kāmārṇava, 10 years—Śaka 1069-78=1147-56 A.D.; (2) Rāghava, 15 years—Śaka 1078-92=1156-70 A.D. ; (3) Rājarāja II. 25 [*aṅka*] years=21 years, Śaka 1092-1112=1170-90 A.D. ; and (4) Anaṅgabhīma II, 10 [*aṅka*] years=8 years, Śaka 1112-19=1190-97 A.D.[1] The *aṅka* reckoning is first used in the case of Rājarāja II in the enumeration of the length of the reign periods of these kings in the official Gaṅga records thus indicating that the popularity of the reckoning began from his rule. But counting of regnal dates in a modified system may have started from the reign of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga while the *aṅka* system is known to have been used in the records of the time of his immediate successors Kāmārṇava and Rāghava.[2] Since Rājarāja II began to rule in Śaka 1092, Śaka 1094 would be his third regnal year. It has been quoted in the present record as the fourth year of his reign apparently according to the *aṅka* reckoning, since the *aṅka* year 4 is the same as the actual regnal year 3. If, in 'Śaka 1094, Dhanuḥ-kṛishṇa 4', Dhanuḥ is regarded as a solar month, the date seems to be irregular, although the 4th *tithi* of *pūrṇimānta* Mārgaśirsha fell on Monday, the 6th November 1172 A.D.

The inscription begins with a *siddham* symbol followed by the date discussed above. The **object** of the epigraph, as known from lines 7-8, is to record the installation of a perpetual lamp, to last as long as the moon and sun would endure, for the god Kṛittivāsa, i.e. Śiva worshipped in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar. It is stated in lines 2-5 to have been installed by Bālā-Kāchchhōṭika, described as an ascetic (*tapōdhana*), as a *Śaivāchārya* and as the *Rājaguru*, for the salvation of *tapōdhana* Sāṇāhāri-pāda who was probably a priest of the god Uttarēśvara. Bālā-Kāchchhōṭika seems to be called a *suta* of the said Sāṇāhārin. Since both of them were ascetics, the word *suta* may have been used to indicate 'a disciple' as in some other cases known to the students of Indian epigraphy.[3] The title *Rājaguru* (i.e. the preceptor of the king), applied to Bālā-Kāchchhōṭika, seems to suggest that king Rājarāja II did not renounce the Śaiva leanings

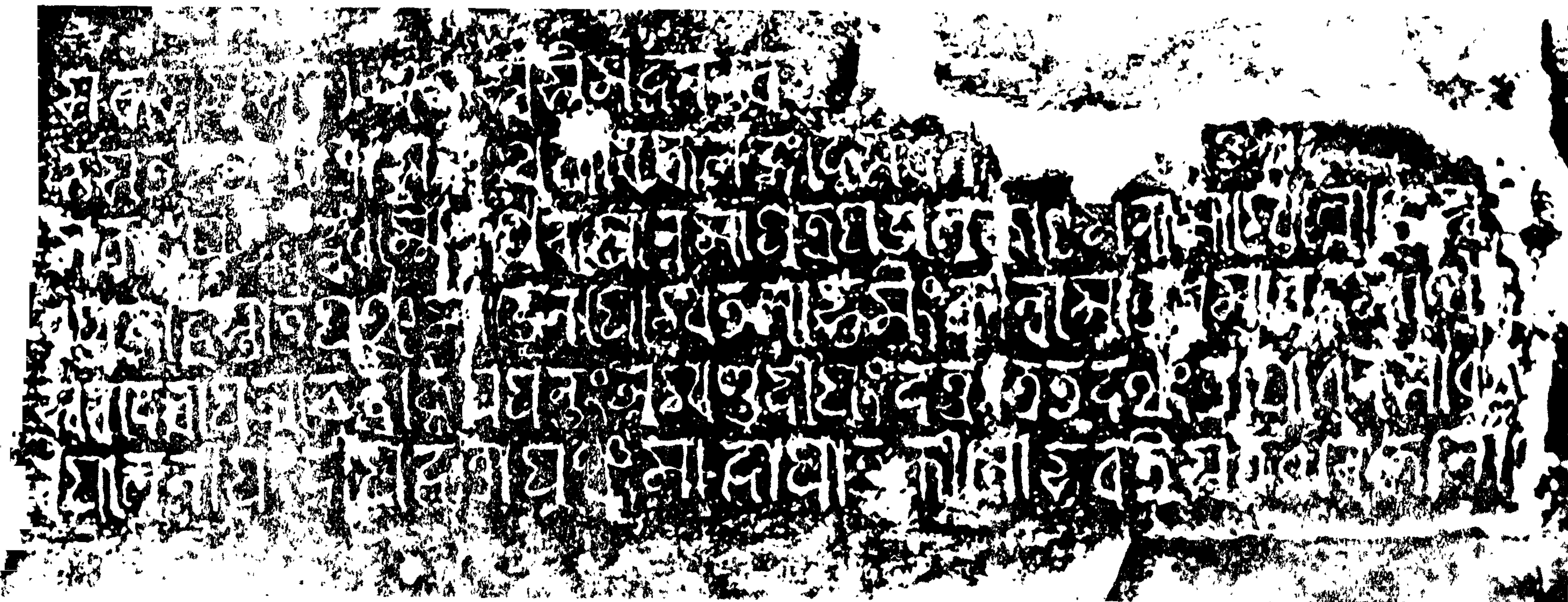
[1] Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 242-43.

[2] For the records of Rāghava's time, dated in the *anka* years, see ibid., Vol XXX, p. 159. Some of the regnal dates of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, quoted in inscriptions with corresponding Śaka dates, cannot be reconciled with the actual beginning of his reign and, although he is stated to have ruled for seventy years, a few records of his time bear later dates (cf. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 461-68 ; Subba Rao, *History of Kalinga*, offprint, pp. 145 ff.). Inscriptions bearing dates both in the regnal reckoning and the Śaka era and belonging to the reign of Kāmārṇava show that the regnal reckoning is really the *aṅka* reckoning in most cases (cf. Ray, op. cit., pp. 472-73 ; Subba Rao, op. cit., pp. 155-56). Unfortunately in some cases the dates are either wrong or incorrectly read.

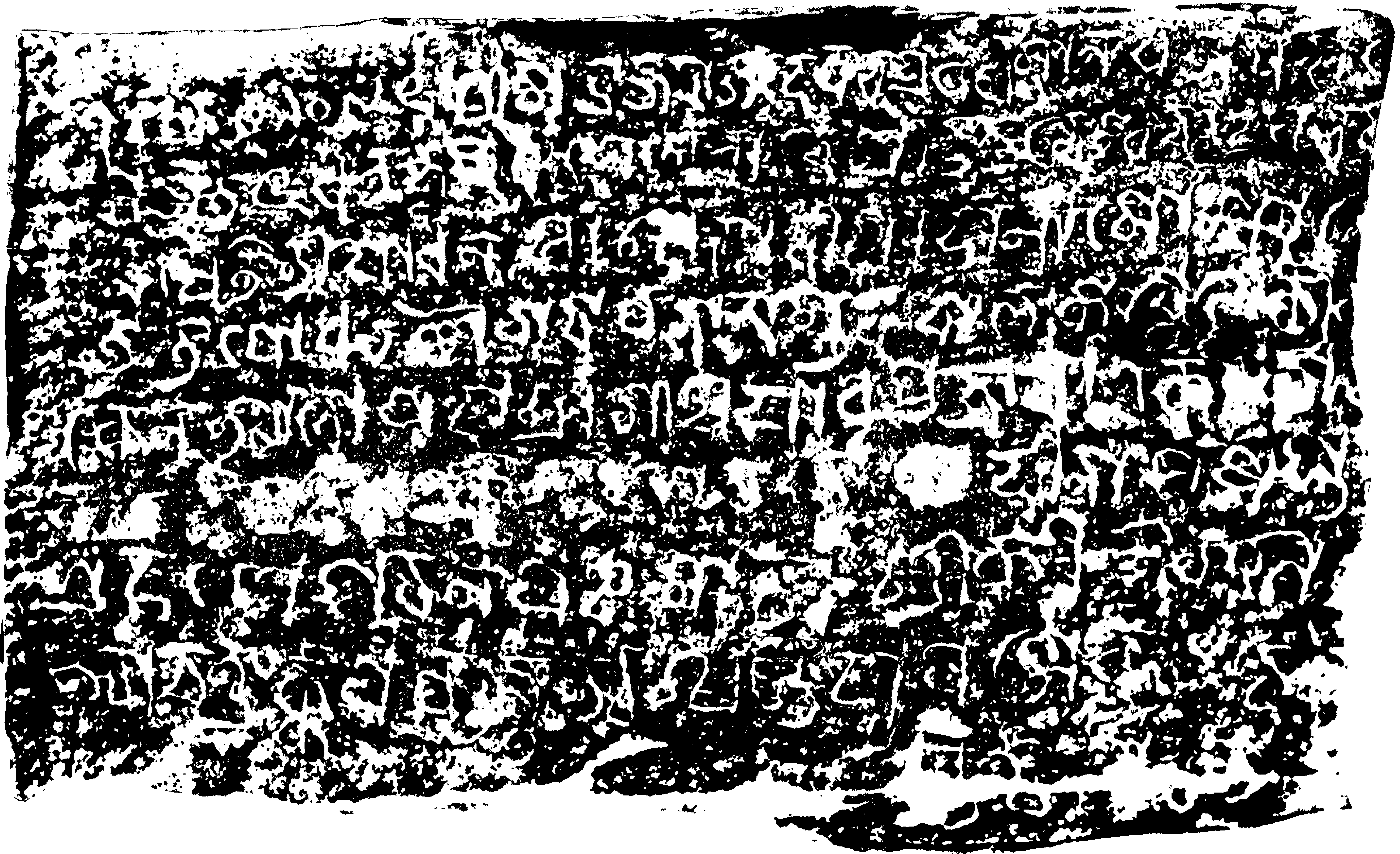
[3] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, p. 25, note 1.

TWO EASTERN GANGA INSCRIPTIONS

1. Khilōr Inscription of Anantavarman (Kāmārṇava), Śaka 1075



2. Bhubaneswar Inscription of Rājarāja II, Śaka 1094, [Aṅka] Year 4



(from Photographs)

of the family even though his father Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga became a devotee of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha (i.e. Vishṇu) of Purī after having conquered the Puri-Cuttack region.[1]

To provide for the perpetual lamp, Bālā-Kāchchhōṭika appears to have deposited five *māḍhas* of gold with a section of the merchants belonging to Āchōpadā-grāma (lines 5-7). The names of some of these people were mentioned in the inscription in line 6 ; but they are now rubbed off, although it is not possible to say who was responsible for this.

Only one **geographical name** is mentioned in the inscription. It is Āchōpadā-grāma. I am not sure about the location of the village.

TEXT[2]

1 Siddham[3] [|*] **Śaka[vda]**[4] **1094** śrīmad-**Rājarājadēvara**[5] pravar[ddha]māna-v[ijjaya-rā[jy]ē[6]

2 **samvata**[7] **4 Dhanu**[8]**-krishṇa** [4] **Sōma-vārē** śrī[9]-Uttarēśvaradē**vara**[10] [pa]-[11]

3 rāyati[12] tapōdhana-Sā[ṇāhārī(ri)]-pādānāṁ mōksh-ā[rth]ē..[13]

4 ta-tapōdhana-Śaivāchārya-rājā(ja)guru-Vā(Bā)lā-Kāchchhōtikō..[14]

5 **kēna** Āchōpadā-grāmīya-sādhu-prajānāṁ(**nām**) eka-[bhā]g[ē]..[15]

6 ....[16]dī(di)nā sa[masta]..[17]

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[1] See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 240.

[2] From impressions.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] Sanskrit *Śakābdāh.*

[5] Sanskrit *dēvasya.*

[6] The portion of the *akshara* in brackets is broken away.

[7] Sanskrit *samvat.*

[8] Sanskrit *Dhanuḥ.*

[9] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[10] Sanskrit *dēvasya.*

[11] Only a small part of the letter remains, the rest being broken away.

[12] It may be that *purāyati* was written to indicate Sanskrit *purōhita.*

[13] Only the *ē-mātrā* of *rthē* remains, the major part of the *akshara* being broken away. The *aksharas* broken away after this may have been *tat-su.*

[14] The *aksharas* broken away at the end of the line may be *nāma*. The intended reading seems to have been °*Kāchhhōṭik-ōpanāmakēna*. *Bālā* is derived from Sanskrit *bālaka* or *valaya.*

[15] The intended reading seems to be *bhājēna* with a few *aksharas* broken away after this.

[16] About 14 or 15 *aksharas* appear to have been purposely rubbed off from this part of the line. This lost section probably contained some personal names.

[17] The word lost here appears to be something like *bhāra.*

7 grahaṇē suvarṇa-pañcha-mā[ḍhā][1] śrī-Kī[trī]vāsa[2]... [3]

8 ā-chandr-ārkka-paryanta[4] akhaṇḍa-dīpam=ēkaṁ[5] da....[6]

9 ......[7]

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[1] Sanskrit: *sauvarṇāḥ pañcha māḍhāḥ* or *sauvarṇān pañcha māḍhān.*

[2] Read *Kṛitti°*.

[3] The lost *aksharas* were apparently *dēvasya* or more probably *dēvāya.*

[4] Read *ā-chandr-ārkkam* or *chandr-ārkka-paryantam.*

[5] Read *dīpasy=aikasy=ārthē.*

[6] The intended word seems to be *dadāti.*

[7] These four or five damaged *aksharas* are engraved below the concluding part of the previous line. The reference here may be to the person who was responsible for engraving the inscription.

No. 16—ALAMPUR INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 635 AND 636

(*1 Plate*)

G. S. Gai, Ootacamund

(*Received on 12.7.1960*)

The inscription was copied by me in December 1959 at **Alampur**, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name in the Mahbubnagar District of Andhra Pradesh.[1] Alampur is situated on the western bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā which flows there northwards to join the Kṛishṇā seven miles away. The place is very rich in epigraphical material and I succeeded in tracing about 90 inscriptions representing almost all the important ruling dynasties of Karṇāṭak from the 7th to the 16th century A.D. The temples of the place are also of great interest from the architectural point of view.

The inscription edited below has **two versions**, called here *A* and *B* for the sake of convenience. Both the versions are engraved on the same slab, *A* being to the left side and *B* to the right. The inscribed **slab** is fixed into the fort-wall near the steps leading to the river in the place called Dēvadrōṇī. It is rectangular in shape and measures about 5′ 10″ by 1′ 2″. A portion of the slab is broken away and lost from the right, so that only about one-third of *B* is preserved while only a few letters in the first three lines of *A* are lost. The writing of *A* covers an area about 5′ 3″ by 1′ 2″ while that of the extant portion of *B* measures 1′ 2″ by 11″. The space between *A* and *B* varies from half an inch to one inch. While *A* has 7 lines of writing, *B* consists of 8 lines.

The texts of both the versions are similar, though they are written in different scripts. The **characters** of *A* are early Telugu-Kannaḍa while those of *B* are what are called Siddhamātṛikā or early Nāgarī. This reminds us of the undated Paṭṭadakal pillar inscription[2] of Kīrtivarman II, which is also written in versions in these two scripts. Both the Telugu-Kannaḍa and the Siddhamātṛikā characters of the present inscription closely resemble their counterparts of the Paṭṭadakal inscription. While editing the latter record, Fleet has compared the characters of the Nāgarī version with those of the Bōdhgayā inscription[3] of Mahānāman and the Sāmangaḍ plates[4] of Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga. The characters of *B* and their counterpart in the Paṭṭadakal inscription may also be compared to those of the Pallava king Atiraṇachaṇḍa's epigraph[5] at Sāḷuvaṅguppam, which is referred to the 8th century A.D. Fleet referred the Paṭṭadakal inscription to c. 754 A.D. and observed that the use of the Nāgarī characters in that record furnished the earliest instance in Southern India.[6] Since the inscription under study is dated in 713 A.D., it would carry back the antiquity of the use of early Nāgarī or Siddhamātṛikā by 40 years at least.

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[1] The record has been registered as Nos. B 136-37 in *A. R. Ep.*, 1959-60. A transcript of this record has recently appeared in *Telengana Inscriptions*, Vol. II (1960), p. 8. There are some errors in this published transcript.

[2] Above, Vol. III. pp. 1 ff. and Plate.

[3] *CII*, Vol. III, p. 276 and Plate XLI.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 110 and Plate.

[5] Above, Vol. X, Plate facing p. 14.

[6] Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 377, note 3.

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In respect of **orthography**, there is nothing special to remark except that, in *B*, the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* in line 8. The **language** of both *A* and *B* is Sanskrit, except a sentence in line 7 of *A*, which is written in Kannaḍa. The composition of both the versions is prose, except the invocatory verse at the beginning.

A. *Inscription of Śaka 636*

This version begins with the symbol for *Siddham* followed by the verse in praise of the **Varāha** (Boar) incarnation of Vishṇu, which is often found in the records of the Bādāmi Chālukyas. Then, after the usual *praśasti* introducing this dynasty in lines 1-3, the record mentions in lines 3-5, six kings of the family, viz., Pulakēśin I; his son Kīrtivarman I; his son Satyāśraya (i.e. Pulakēśin II); his son Vikramāditya I; his son Vinayāditya and the latter's son **Vijayāditya** who was the ruling king. Lines 6-7 state that at the command of Vijayāditya, the teacher Īśān-āchārya constructed the enclosure (*prākāra-bandha*). It is not stated for which temple or temples this enclosure was intended. It may, however, be observed that the fort, in which the slab bearing the inscription is fixed, itself forms a sort of an enclosure to the group of temples called Navaliṅgēśvara, the most important of which is the Bālabrahmēśvara shrine. The record does not give any details about the teacher who was responsible for the construction of the enclosure.

The **date** of the record is given in line 6 as **Śaka 636** (expressed in words), **18th regnal year, Vaiśākha śu. 13.** Since Śaka 619 current was the first regnal year of the king,[1] Śaka 636 current would be the 18th regnal year as stated in the record. The date cannot be verified as the week-day is not mentioned. But in the year in question, Vaiśākha śu. 13, fell on Friday, **the 13th May, 713 A.D.**

Line 7 contains a benedictory sentence wishing welfare to the cows, Brāhmaṇas, the king and his subjects. This is followed by another sentence in the Kannaḍa language which states that Īśān-āchārya constructed the faultless enclosure (*niravadya-prākāra*). The record ends with the expressions *oḷlittūge* and *śivam-astu*, one being the translation of the other.

TEXT[2]

1 Siddham[3] [|*] Jayaty=āvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇōr=vvārāhaṁ kshōbhitārṇṇava[ṁ](vam) [|*] dakshiṇ-ōnnata-daṁshṭr-āgra-viśrānta-bhuvanaṁ vapuḥ | [|*] Śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavya-...[4]

2 mātṛi[bhi]r=abhivarddhitānāṁ Kārttikēya-parirakshaṇa-prāpta-kalyāṇa-paramparāṇāṁ bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-Varāha...................... [5]sha-ma[hī][6]bhṛitāṁ

3 **Chalukyānāṁ** kulam=alaṁkarshṇō(rishṇō)r=Aśvamēdh-āvabhṛita(tha)-snāna-pavitrīkṛita-gātrasya śrī-**Pulakēśī(śi)-vallabha**-mahārājasya priya-tanaya[ḥ]................ ....[7] mahārājaḥ tasy=ā-

[1] Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 370, note 5.

[2] From the impressions.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] The damaged letters may be restored as : *sagōtrāṇāṁ Hāritī-putrāṇāṁ sapta-lōka-mātṛibhis=sapta°.*

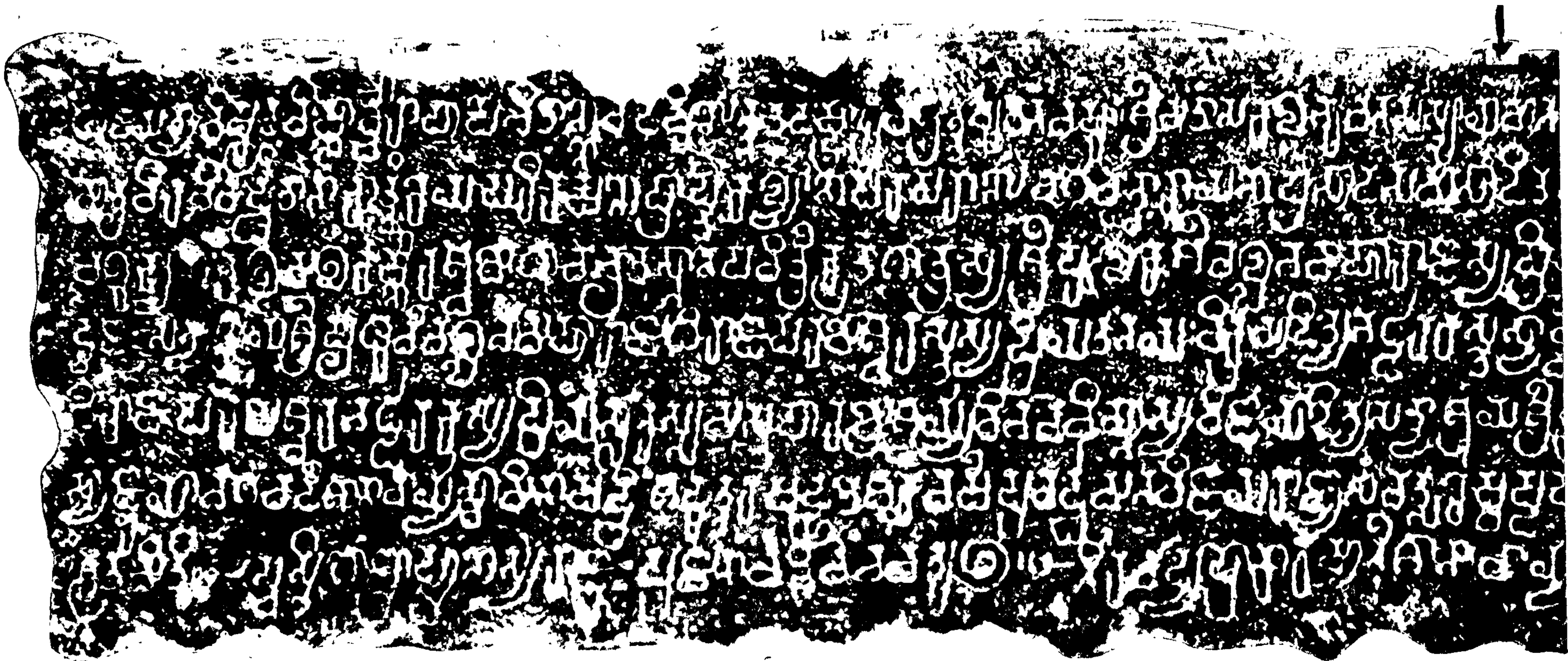
[5] The damaged letters may be restored as: *lāñchhan-ēkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśīkṛit-āśē°.*

[6] This *akshara* is damaged.

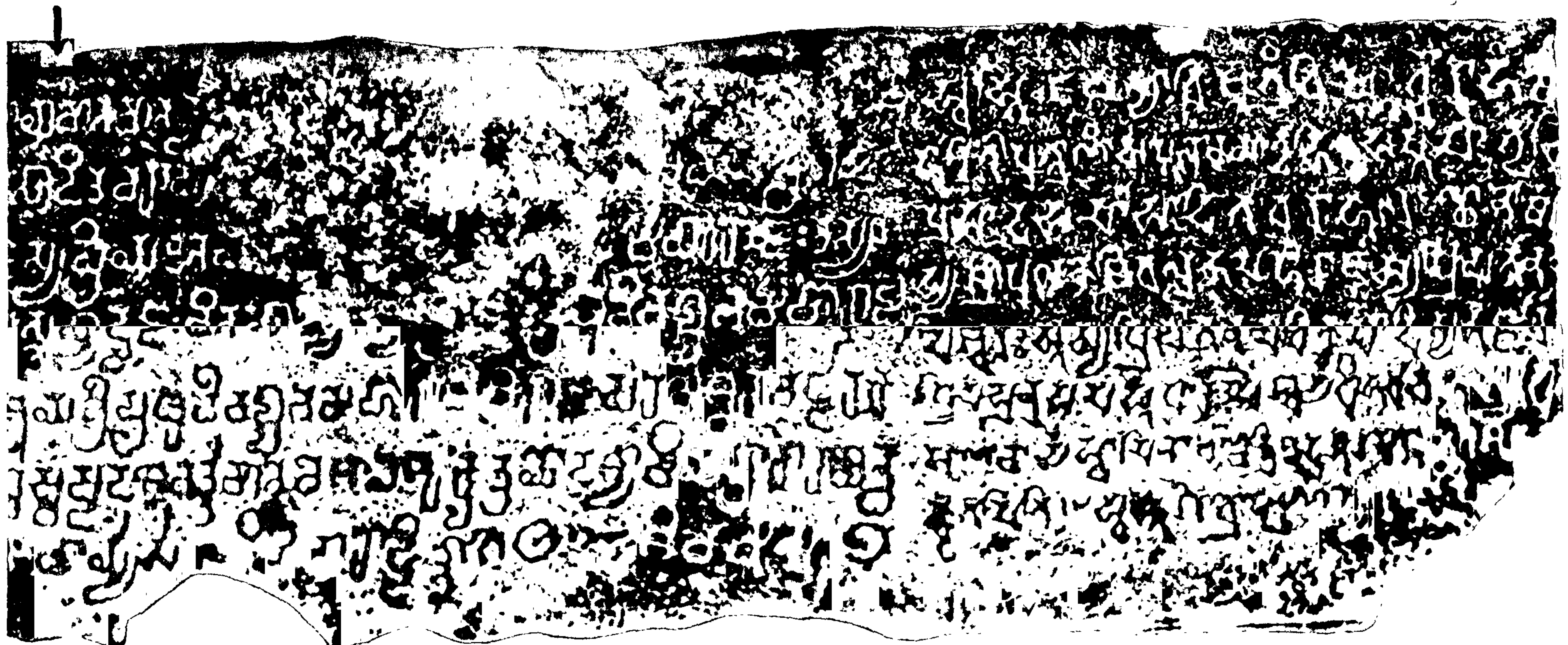
[7] The damaged letters may be restored as : *Kīrttivarmma-pṛithvīvallabha.*

ALAMPUR INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 635 AND 636

Left half



Right half



(from Photographs)

4 dma(tma)jaḥ **Satyāśraya**-Śrīpṛithu(thi)vīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvaras=tasya priya-tanayaḥ **Vikramāditya**-bhaṭṭārakas=tasy=ādma(tma)jaḥ **Vinayāditya**-[Satyāśraya-Śrīpṛi][1]thu(thi)vīvallabha-mahārājā-

5 dhirāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭārakasya priya-sūnus=samasta-pāramaiśvaryya-vibhava-chihnasya **Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya-Śrīpṛithu(thi)vīvallabha**-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka-

6 sy=ājñayā bhagavad-Īśānāchāryya-svāminā **shaṭtriṁśad-uttara-shaṭ-chhatē Śaka-varshē** pravarddhama(mā)na-vijaya-**rājya-saṁvatsarēshv=ashṭa(shṭā)daśē varttamānē**[2] **Vaiśākha-śukla-trayōdaśyām**=iya[ṁ][3] prākāra-bandha[ḥ*]

7 kṛitam=iti[4] || Svasti gō-brāhmaṇasya[5] rājñaḥ prajānāṁ cha śivaṁ bhavatu || — Niravadya-prākāramān=Īśānāchāryyar=sa[mesisi][6]dōr=oḷitt=āge || — Śivam=astu [|*]

B. *Inscription of Śaka 635*

As stated above, though only about one-third of this inscription is now preserved, a comparison of the extant portion would clearly show that it is a copy of Inscription *A* written in the Siddhamātṛikā script. The chief interest of the record lies in its palaeography which has been discussed above. The inscription is dated Śaka 635 instead of Śaka 636 as found in *A*, the details regarding the regnal year being lost. Since Śaka 636 of *A* has been shown to be a current year, Śaka 635 of this record may be considered as expired. The purpose of the inscription, as already indicated, is the same as that of *A*.

TEXT[7]

1 Siddhaṁ[8] svasti [|*] Jayaty=āvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇōr=vvārāhaṁ [kshō][9]..

2 Hāritī-puttrāṇāṁ sapta-lōka-mātṛibhiḥ sapta-mātṛi[bhi]..

3 prasāda-samāsādita-Varāha-lāñchhan-ē[ksha]..

[1] The subscripts of these damaged letters can be seen in the impression.
[2] There is an unnecessary *anusvāra* like-mark above *nē*.
[3] Read °*m=ayaṁ*. The *anusvāra* mark is engraved above the next letter *prā*.
[4] Read *kṛita iti*.
[5] Read °*brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ*.
[6] These three letters are damaged.
[7] From the impressions.
[8] Expressed by symbol.
[9] The lost portion in this and in the following lines may be restored with the help of *A* edited above.

4 sya śrī-Pulakēśi-vallabha-mahārājasya priya-tana.....................................
....
....

5 mēśvaraḥ(ra)s=tasya priya-tanaya(yō) Vikramāditya-bhaṭṭāra.........................
....
....

6 priya-sūnu[ḥ*] samasta-pāramaiśvarrya(rya)-vibhava-chihnasya **Vi(ja)**..................
....

7 śāṇāchāryya-svāminā **pañcha-ttriṁśad-uttara-shaṭchchha(t-chha)tē Śaka-va**......
....

8 kṛitam=iti[1] || Svasti gō-brāhmaṇasya[2] rājña[ḥ] pra[jā]...............................

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[1] Read *kṛita iti.*

[2] Read *°brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ.*

No. 17—COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM BIHAR

(4 *Plates*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 3.10.1960*)

1. Grant of Jīvagupta

Early in the year 1958, I was asked to give my opinion on the date of a copper-plate grant, a set of impressions of which was received by me, for examination and return, from Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division of Bihar, Patna, through the Director General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi. In the month of December of the same year, I visited Patna and Mr. Sohoni was kind enough to allow me to take impressions of the inscription. The inscription was secured by Mr. Sohoni from **Katra**, headquarters of a Police Station of that name in the Muzaffarpur District of North Bihar.

The inscription is engraved on both sides of a **single plate** measuring $10\frac{1}{8}$ inches in height and $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth. There are altogether 22 lines of writing, 19 on the obverse and 3 on the reverse of the plate. The seal originally affixed to the top margin is now lost. A strip nearly $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide was cut off from the lower end of the plate apparently for testing the metal if it was gold. Of this strip, only a small piece ($2\frac{3}{4}$ inches long) from the right-hand side is now available while the rest (a little less than 4 inches in length) is lost. This has resulted in the loss of more than half of the writing of lines 16-19, only the concluding portion of the lines being available on the small piece referred to above. In the left-hand side of the upper margin on the obverse of the plate, the *akshara ra* is found between two symbols. This letter seems to have been meant for insertion in a line from which it was omitted through oversight. But the omission cannot be satisfactorily located in the extant part of the epigraph.

The **palaeography** of the inscription is interesting. The characters belong to the Siddhamātṛikā (i.e. Northern) alphabet of the 7th or 8th century A.D. But they are carelessly and cursively formed. An interesting feature of the palaeography of the epigraph is that in some cases the same letters and signs exhibit both earlier and later forms while in some other cases the letters are either early or late. The characters may be compared with those of such East Indian records as the Bōdhgayā inscription (588 A.D.)[1] of Mahānāman, Midnapur plates (c. 619 A.D.)[2] of Śaśāṅka, Aphsaḍ inscription (c. 670 A.D.)[3] of Ādityasēna, Mangraon inscription (c. 700 A.D.)[4] of Vishṇugupta, Dēo-Baranārk inscription (c. 720 A.D.)[5] of Jīvitagupta II, Nālandā inscription (c. 730 A.D.)[6] of Yaśōvarman and Khālimpur plate (c. 800 A.D.)[7] of Dharmapāla. Such a comparison would show that the palaeography of our epigraph should have to be referred to a date later than the

[1] *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 274 ff. and Plate.
[2] *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XI, 1945, pp. 1 ff. and Plates.
[3] *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 200 ff. and Plate.
[4] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 241 ff. and Plate.
[5] *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 213 ff. and Plate XXIX, B.
[6] Above, Vol. XX, pp. 37 ff. and Plate.
[7] *JASB*, Vol. LXIII, Part I, pp. 53 ff. and Plate.

beginning of the 7th century and earlier than the end of the 8th. The letters *j* and *ś* are of the earlier type, the first of which is found in the Aphsaḍ inscription and earlier records while the latter is noticed in a modified form in the Aphsaḍ inscription and later records. But *ś* of the same early type is sometimes found in such East Indian epigraphs of the second half of the 7th century as the Tippera plate of Lōkanātha, dated 664 A.D.[1] The hooked form of *r* and the shape of *s* in the record under study remind us of the forms of the same letters in the Aphsaḍ inscription and later epigraphs. On the other hand, *bh* and *h* appear to resemble their forms in the records of the 8th century. In some cases, a curved stroke is attached to the lower left end of *h* (cf. *Hari* in line 7) and this is not usually found in records earlier than the Mangraon inscription of about the beginning of the 8th century. *Y* has a cursive form resembling *ry* of the contemporary North Indian epigraphs. The letter *l* in *kuśalī* (line 5) is more cursive than elsewhere in the record. *M* of the record under study is a cursive modification of the form of the letter as found in records like the Mangraon inscription referred to above. But, unlike the Mangraon epigraph, the upward opening of letters like *p* is in some cases closed in our record and this is a sign of lateness. The letter *v* sometimes resembles the closed type of *p* (cf. *pratī°* in line 8 and *°vati* in line 14). While the medial sign of *i* is generally short as in the earlier records, medial *ā* is written in several forms, one of which exhibits later development and differs little from the sign of medial *ī* (cf. *s-āmra* and *sīmā* in line 11). *D* has both the earlier form without the tail and the later one with the tail (cf. *s-oddraṅga s-ōddēśa* in line 12). *B* has been written with the sign for *v*. It will thus be seen that some of the palaeographical features exhibited by the inscription under study suggest a date earlier than the 8th century while others suggest one later than the 7th century. We are therefore inclined to assign it to a date about the **first half of the 8th century** since it is difficult otherwise to explain the use of the later forms of some of the letters though the earlier forms of some of them may be regarded as having persisted with some people in certain areas of the country.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written in a mixture of prose and verse. There is only one stanza in *Anushṭubh* in the king's description in the introductory part and two of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses occur at the end of the document. The **orthography** of the inscription resembles that of the contemporary epigraphs of Eastern India. The **date** of the record is given in line 19 as a day of the **bright half of Chaitra** in the king's **second regnal year.**

The charter begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the auspicious word *svasti*. Reference is first made to the issue of the grant from the donor's camp or capital situated at a locality called **Tārā.** Lines 1-5 then introduce the reigning king **Jīvaguptadēva** who was the son of king **Rāmaguptadēva** and queen **Rāmā-bhaṭṭārikā.** Both Jīvagupta and his father are described as *Paramamāhēśvara* (greatly devoted to Mahēśvara, i.e. the god Śiva) and are endowed with the imperial style *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara.* Rāmagupta, the father of the reigning monarch, is described as born of queen **Tārā-bhaṭṭārikā** although the name of his father is not mentioned. King Jīvagupta, donor of the charter, is called *laghu*, i.e. the younger. This probably suggests that his grandfather was another Jīvagupta who may have been known to the subjects as 'the elder' especially if Rāmagupta's reign was short so that the reigns of the grandfather and the grandson bearing the same name were close to each other. As indicated above, the present record was issued by 'the younger' Jīvagupta quite early in his reign. We have instances in which a king's grandfather bearing his name was mentioned as 'the elder so-and-so'.[2]

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[1] *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, p. 224 : *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. IV, 1938, p. 372, col. III.

[2] Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 231-32

Lines 5-6 contain a stanza in the *Anushṭubh* metre describing the fame of king Jīvagupta, the donor of the charter. Then comes the king's order in respect of the grant which was addressed to a number of his officers and subordinates as well as to the inhabitants of the localities called **Surabhākra**, **Yāmyā** and **Hari-grāmaka** situated in the north-eastern part of **Tīshṭihala-pāṭaka** in the **Chāmuṇḍa** *vishaya* of **Tīra-bhukti**. The royal officers and subordinates mentioned among the addressees are *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* (minister for war and peace), *Akshapaṭalika* (officer in charge of records and accounts), *Sarvādhikārika* (chief administrator or minister), *Pratīhāra* (officer in charge of the defence of the gate of the royal palace or the capital city), *Sēnāpati* (commander of forces) and *Mahāsāmanta* (subordinate ruler). The following passage in lines 10-17, parts of which are lost, apparently states that the three localities in question were granted by the king, after having taken a bath on the occasion of the Vishuvat (i.e. the Vishuva-saṅkrānti), in favour of the temple of the goddess Chāmuṇḍā-bhaṭṭārikā for the merit and fame of his parents. Since the date of the charter falls in the lunar month of Chaitra, the Vishuvat apparently refers to the vernal equinox. The localities were granted as a permanent gift together with land and water, with the mango and *madhūka* trees, with pits and barren lands, with the land upto their boundaries, with all their hamlets, with the metal and salt mines, with the *udraṅga* (probably, taxes on temporary tenants), with the space above the ground and with all the dues payable to the king (*rāja-pratyādāya*). In this section, the word *pratyādāya* has been used in the sense of *partyāya* known from many records. A damaged passage in this section seems to state that the temple of the goddess Chāmuṇḍā-bhaṭṭārikā was in a place (the name of which is uncertain). A lady of the same locality, whose name may have been Suprabhā, is mentioned in the same context.

The **main problem** raised by the inscription is the identity of king Jīvagupta, his father Rāmagupta and probably also his grandfather whose name may have been Jīvagupta, as well as of the dynasty to which the kings belonged. The facts that their dominions included Tīra-bhukti or North Bihar and that the palaeography of the record suggests a date about the first half of the 8th century A.D. point to the possibility of these rulers having belonged to the so-called Later Gupta dynasty. The Later Guptas originally ruled in East Malwa and later became rulers of Bihar. The following members of the family are so far known from epigraphic and literary sources: (1) Kṛishṇagupta, (2) his son Harshagupta, (3) his son Jīvitagupta I, (4) his son Kumāragupta I, (5) his son Dāmōdaragupta, (6) his son Mahāsēnagupta, (7) his son Kumāragupta II, (8) his younger brother Mādhavagupta, (9) his son Ādityasēna, (10) his son Dēvagupta, (11) his son Vishṇugupta and (12) his son Jīvitagupta II.[1] Of these, Kumāragupta I came into conflict with Maukharī Īśānavarman, one of whose known dates is Vikrama 611 (553-54 A. D.)[2] while Dāmōdaragupta was killed in a battle apparently with the same Maukhari king.[3] Mahāsēnagupta claims to have fought with the Kāmarūpa king Susthitavarman, father of Bhāskaravarman (c. 600-50 A.D.).[4] Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* mentions Kumāragupta II and Mādhavagupta as the two sons of the king of Mālava (*Mālava-rāja-putrau*) who are stated to have taken shelter at the court of the Thanesar king Prabhākaravardhana, the father of Harshavardhana (606-47 A.D.).[5] That Bāṇa's Mālava is East Malwa is quite clear from his *Kādambarī* which associates the river Vētravatī and the capital city of Vidiśā with Mālava and places Ujjayinī in the land of Avanti

[1] See Bhandarkar's List, pp. 390-91.

[2] Cf. above, Vol. XIV, pp. 115 ff.

[3] Cf. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 203, verse 11; *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XI, p. 70, note 4.

[4] See *CII*, op. cit., verse 14: *JRASB*, op. cit., p. 71, note 2.

[5] Parab's ed., pp. 138 ff.

(West Malwa).[1] Bāṇa also says that Kumāra (i.e. Kumāragupta II) was installed on the throne by Harsha.[2] This may suggest that Kumāragupta II was made the viceroy of Mālava after it had been conquered by Harsha. The Aphasaḍ inscription of Ādityasēna mentions Mādhavagupta as a friend (i.e. feudatory) of Harsha[3] who seems to have made the Later Gupta prince his viceroy in South Bihar after his conquest of that land. That Ādityasēna whose known date is 672 A.D., ruled over South Bihar is known from the inscriptions of his time discovered in that area and by the fact that he is actually described as *Magadh-ādhipa* or 'lord of Magadha (South Bihar)' in a Nepal inscription.[4] Since Ādityasēna ruled in the third quarter of the 7th century A.D., the rule of his great-grandson Jīvitagupta II may be assigned to about the second quarter of the 8th century. It is sometimes believed that Vākpatirāja's *Gaüḍavaha* describes the killing of this Jīvitagupta II by king Yaśōvarman (c. 728-53 A.D.) of Kanauj, who was himself defeated by the Kashmir king Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa about 733 A.D.[5] The suggestion is unwarranted in view of the fact that the king killed by Yaśōvarman was a Gauḍa while the Later Guptas, originally of Mālava or East Malwa and later of Magadha or South Bihar, were certainly not Gauḍas.[6] The *Harshacharita* represents the king of Gauḍa (Śaśāṅka, king of Karṇasuvarṇa, according to Hiuen-tsang) as an ally of the Mālava king probably mentioned as Dēvagupta in the inscriptions of Harsha.[7] That the Gauḍas succeeded in annexing South Bihar, no doubt from the Maukharis, about the close of the 6th century A.D. is indicated by the Rohtāsgarh (Shahabad District) seal-matrix of Śaśāṅka belonging to a date when he was a *Mahāsāmanta* apparently under the contemporary ruler of Gauḍa.[8] Thus it appears that the Maukharis were ousted from South Bihar by the Gauḍas who were themselves ousted from that region by Harsha who gave the viceroyalty of the area to the Later Guptas. It also appears that the Gauḍas regained the possession of South Bihar sometime after the death of Harsha and Bhāskaravarman, i.e. after the middle of the seventh century A.D. Jīvitagupta II of the Later Gupta dynasty may thus have been ousted from South Bihar by the Gauḍas. It may be that the descendants of Jīvitagupta II were ruling in North Bihar when South Bihar was lost to them.

Whatever that may be, if the rulers mentioned in our inscription were descendants of Jīvitagupta II, it may be conjectured that Jīvagupta I, supposed to have been the father of Rāmagupta and grandfather of Jīvagupta II, was identical with Jīvitagupta II of the Later Gupta dynasty. The two kings mentioned in our record, in that case, flourished in North Bihar about the middle of the 8th century. But nothing definite can be said on the subject until further evidence is forthcoming. It is quite possible that the kings mentioned in our inscription belonged to a local ruling family of North Bihar.[9]

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[1] See Siddhāntavāgīśa's ed., pp. 18-19 (*majjan-Mālava-vilāsinī-kucha-taṭ-āsphālana-jarjarit-ōrmi-mālayā.... Vētravatyā parigatā Vidiś-ābhidhānā nagarī rājadhāny=āsīt*) ; p. 183 (*vijit-āmaralōka-dyutir=Avantish=Ūjjayinī-nāma nagarī*). The circumstances compelling Kumāragupta II and Mādhavagupta to take shelter at the Thanesar court were probably the usurpation of Mahāsēnagupta's throne by Dēvagupta and Prabhākaravardhana having been a sister's son of Mahāsēnagupta. Harsha's inscriptions mention Dēvagupta as the chief enemy defeated by Rājyavardhana while the *Harshacharita* mentions Rājyavardhana's enemy as the *Mālavarāja*.

[2] Parab's ed., p. 91.

[3] *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 203-04, verse 18.

[4] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1152-53. For the inscriptions of his successors in the same region, see ibid., No. 1554 ; above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 241 ff. ; Vol. XXX, pp. 84-85. For his title 'lord of Magadha', see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 178 ff.

[5] See Tripathi. *History of Kanauj*, p. 198 ; for the date of Yaśōvarman, see ibid., pp. 194 ff., 204 f.

[6] Cf. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, p. 517, note 2.

[7] Ibid., p. 513.

[8] See above, Vol. XXX, p. 296, note 1.

[9] For a later inscription of the Guptas of North Bihar, see Bhandarkar's List, No. 1555.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, the name of Tīra-bhukti is preserved in that of the modern Tirhut Division of North Bihar. I am not sure about the location of the district of Chāmuṇḍā-vishaya, the subdivision of Tīshṭihala, the gift villages called Surabhākra, Yāmyā and Hari-grāmaka and the locality called Tārā whence the charter was issued. It is possible that the name Chāmuṇḍā-vishaya was derived from the temple of the goddess Chāmuṇḍā mentioned in the record.

TEXT[1]

Obverse

1 Siddhaṁ[2] svasti [|*] [T]ārā[3]-vāsita-śrī-jayaskandh[ā]vārāt=paramamāhēśvarasya śrīmat-Tā-[rā]-

2 bhaṭṭārikāyām=utpannasya paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-pa-

3 ramēśvara-śrī-**Rāmaguptadēvasya** puttraḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-Rāmā-bha-

4 ṭṭārikāyām=utpannaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-

5 **Jīvaguptadēvō laghuḥ** kuśalī [|] Ya[d]-yaśō vimalamvīkshya svakamvapu[4]r=d[ya][5][ṁ*]

6 śa[6]śī [|*] sampūrṇaṁ śanakair=ddhattē lajya(jja)y=ēv=ārjuna(nō) vīv[u][7] [||*][8] **Tīra-bhuktau [Ch]āmuṇḍ[ā]-**

7 **vishayē** pūrvvōttara-**Tīsh[ṭ]ihala-**pāṭakē **Surabhākrē Yām[yā]yāṁ Hari-grāmakē** [cha*]

8 mahāsāndhivigrahik-ākshapaṭali[ka]-sarvvādhikārika-pratīha(hā)ra-

9 sēnāpati-mahā[s]āmanta-prabhṛitīn=nivāsinaś=cha janapadānvō(n=bō)dhaya-

10 ti samājñāpayati [cha |*] viditam=astu=bhavatāṁ yath=ōpari-h[kh]ita-grām[ā]ḥ[*]

11 sa-jala-sthala(lāḥ) s-āmra-madhūka(kāḥ) sa-garttva(rtt-ō)shara(rāḥ) sva-sīmā-paryanta-(ntāḥ) sa-

12 sa[ssu(rva)]-pallika(kāḥ) sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākara(rāḥ) s-ōddraṅga(ṅgāḥ) s-ōddēśa(śāḥ) samasta-[rā]-

13 ja-pratyādāya-samētā [yāva*]d-ā-chandr-ārkka-kshiti-sama-kālam=asmābhi[ḥ] snā-

14 tvā **Visha(shu)vati** pittrōḥ puṇya-yaśō-vivṛiddhayē Chāmuṇḍā-bhaṭṭārikā-

15 .... [9]pratishṭhāpitakō=ttra prativā[s]inyās=Sap[r]a[bhā]

16 .... [10]pūj[ā]-sa[ṁ][11]sk[ā]r-[ārtthe]

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[1] From impressions.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

[3] The reading of the name does not appear to be *Nārā*.

[4] Read *vimalaṁ vīkshya svakaṁ vapu°*.

[5] The *akshara ya* is written below the line.

[6] There is an unnecessary mark above *śa*.

[7] The intended reading seems to be *vidhuḥ*.

[8] The metre of the stanza is *Anushṭubh*.

[9] There are traces of some *aksharas* here. But their reading is doubtful.

[10] There are traces of a few *aksharas* here at the beginning of the extant part of the plate. But their reading is doubtful, though they maybe [*kha**]*ṇḍa-sphuṭita*.

[11] The *askshara sa* is written below the line.

17 .... sanatvēna[1] pradatta(ttā) iti |

18 .... āsibhiś=cha pratyādāyā[2]

19 .... ādēśaḥ[3] [||*] **saṁ 2 Chaitra-[su]di ..**

Reverse

20 Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā [bhuktā] rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhir=ya[sya][4] yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya ta-

21 sya tadā[5] phalaṁ(lam) |[|*][6] Sva-dattā[m]=para-dattāmvā[7] yō harēta vasundharāṁ(rām |) sa vishṭhāyāṁ

22 [kri]mir=bhūtvā pitṛibhis=saha pachyatē |[|*]

2. Two Grants of Sauryāditya

The two copper-plate grants published in the following pages are lying in the possession of Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division, Bihar, and were copied by me in August 1960. They were secured by Mr. Sohoni from some locality under the Bagaha Police Station in the Champaran District of North Bihar.

Both the charters were issued by a king named **Sauryāditya** who enjoyed the imperial style *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* and the introductory stanzas, eleven in number, are common to both. The king was the son of **Haṁsarāja** and the grandson of **Hēlāvarāha** and belonged to a branch of the **solar race** (*Sūry-ānvaya*), of which the progenitor was a royal hero named **Malayakētu.** Both the grants are dated, the first in **Vikrama 1077(1020 A.D.)** and the second in **Vikrama 1033** (1026 A.D.).

King Sauryāditya and his father and grandfather are known for the first time from the inscriptions under study. But there is no doubt that these rulers were later members of the **Malayakētu family** known from the Gurmhā (Gorakhpur District) and Gorakhpur plates,[8] both issued from Vijayapura (the first of the two grants in Vikrama 927=870 A.D.) by *P.M.P.* Jayāditya II, the son of *P.M.P.* Dharmāditya and queen Chandrā and the grandson of *P.M.P.* Jayāditya I and queen Yōgā. It appears that the rulers of the Malayakētu family were ruling over the north-eastern Districts of Uttar Pradesh and the adjoining areas of North Bihar. They may have attained imperial status after the fall of Yaśōvarman (c. 728-53 A.D.) of Kanauj and appear to have been subdued by the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj about the close of the ninth century, either under king Bhōja I (c. 836-85 A.D.) or under his son Mahēndrapāla I (c. 885-908 A.D.). The present records of 1020 and 1026 A.D. appear to show that the Malayakētu kings remained subordinate to the Gurjara-Pratīhāras for more than a century and again raised their head on the decline of Gurjara-Pratīhāra power about the beginning of the eleventh century. This is an interesting example of the survival of an imperial family and its emergence after a long period of obscurity.

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[1] The intended expression is no doubt *tāmra-śāsanatvēna.*

[2] The intended expression seems to be *tan-nivāsibhiś=cha pratyādāyāḥ samupanētavyāḥ*

[3] The intended expression seems to have been *sva-mukh-ādēśaḥ.*

[4] Read °*dibhiḥ* | *yasya.*

[5] This *akshara* is written below the line.

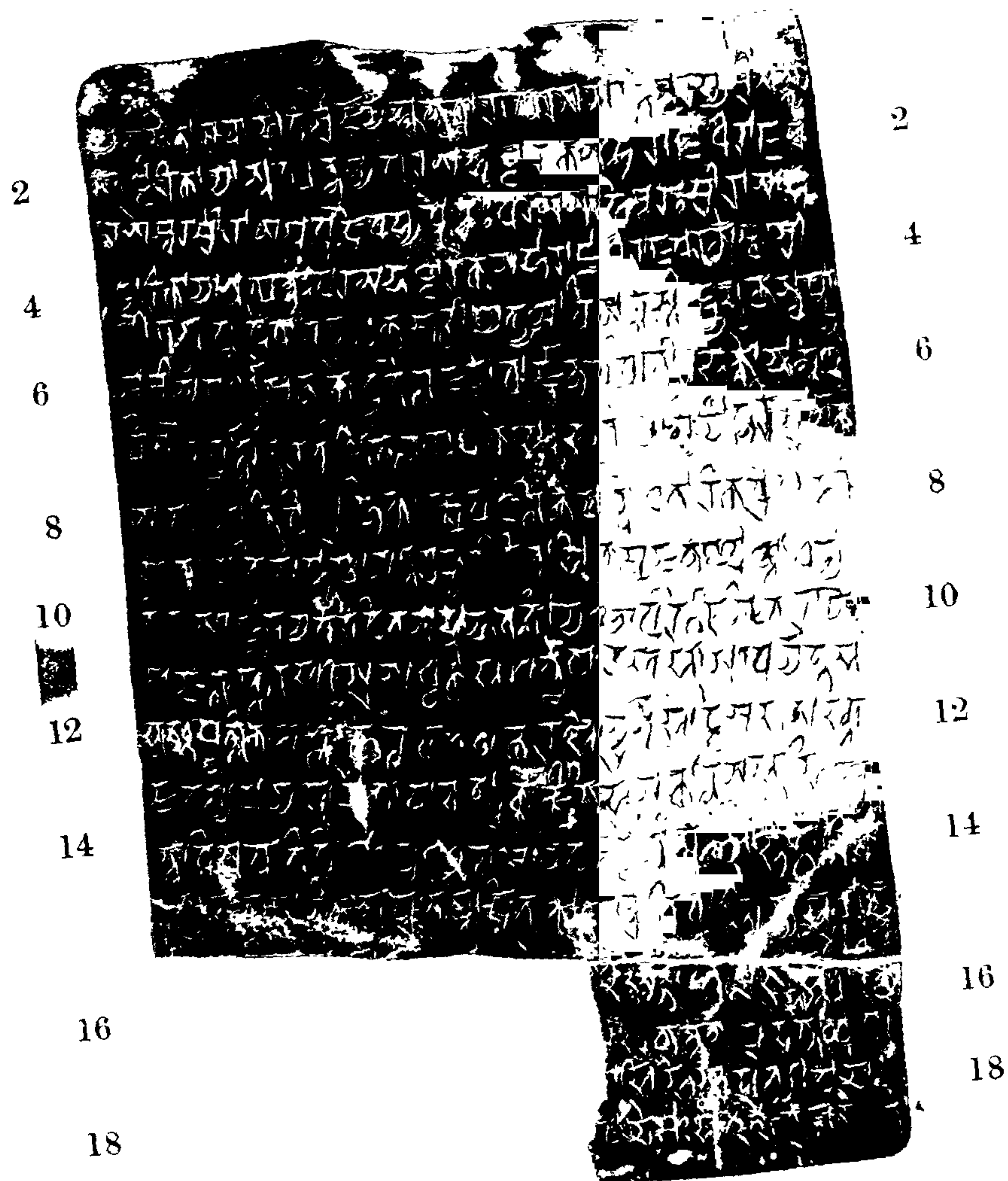
[6] The metre of this and the following stanza is *Anushṭubh.*

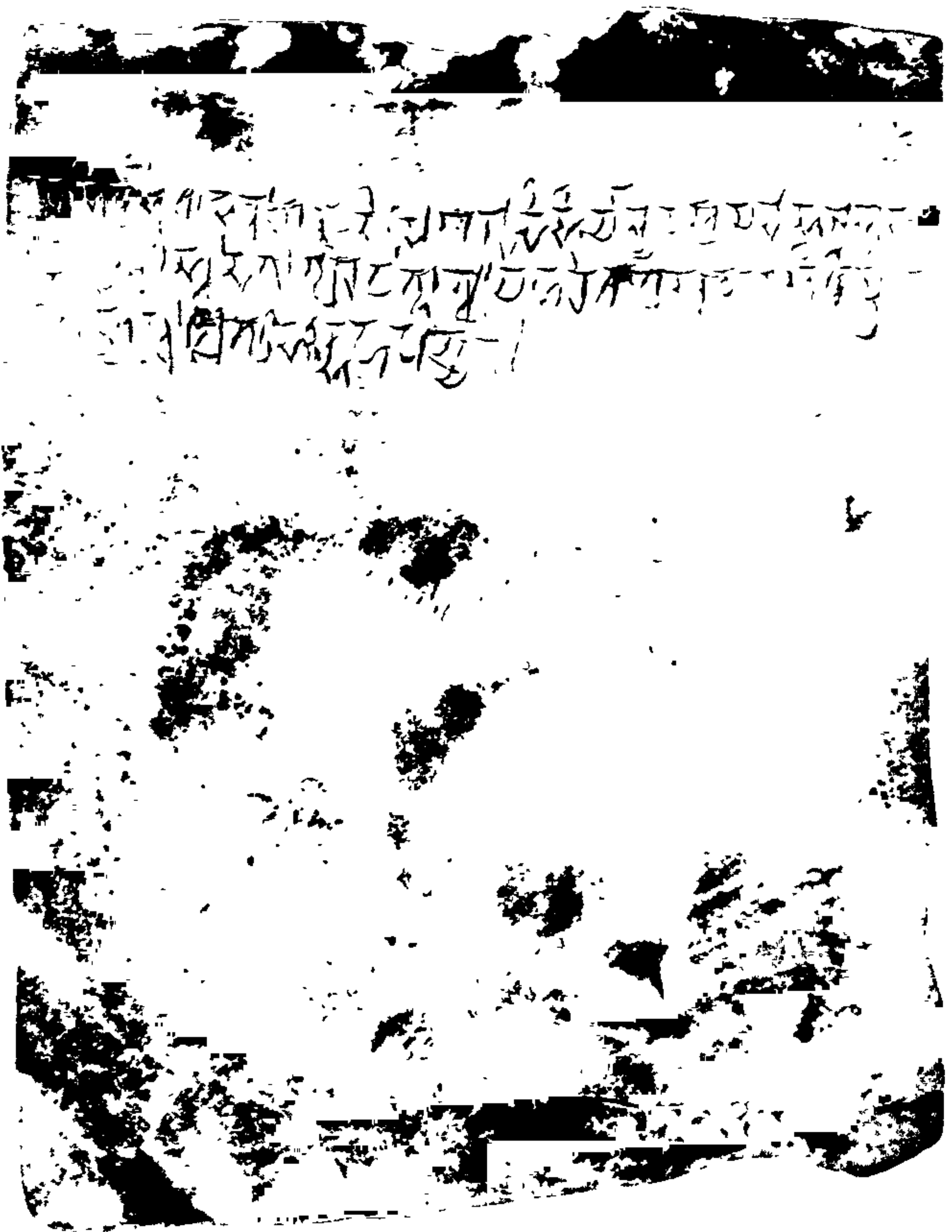
[7] Read *dattāṁ vā.*

[8] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 34, 1794.

COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM BIHAR—Plate I

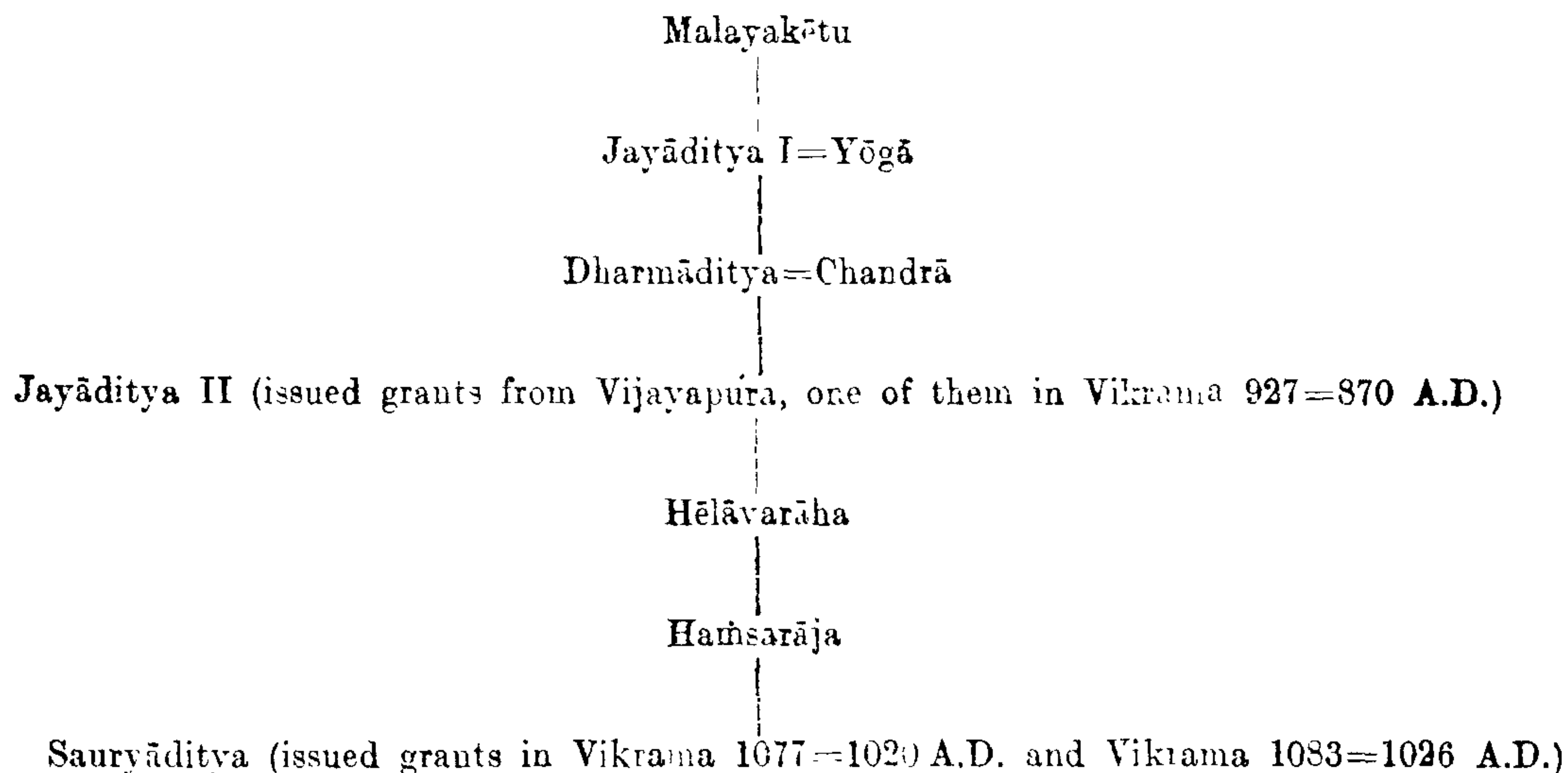
1. Grant of Jivagupta





Size : One-half

With the help of the Gurmhā and Gorakhpur plates referred to above and of the records now under study, the genealogy of the Malayakētu family of the solar race may be tabulated as follows :



A. Grant of Vikrama 1077

This is a **single plate** measuring 15⅜ inches in breadth and 15⅓ inches in height with a projection at the top (about 3½ inches broad and 4 inches high) having its top part rounded. The projection was meant for fixing the seal by means of two knobs, parts of which are still sticking in the two holes in the projection, which were made for receiving the knobs.

There are altogether 31 lines of writing engraved on the first side of the plate, the second side containing only two lines. The engraving is neat ; but the preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory in certain sections.

The **characters** are early Nāgarī of about the eleventh century. Among palaeographical peculiarities, mention may be made of the use of both the Bengali and Nāgarī types of *anusvāra* and the undistinguishable representation of *ch, y* and *v* in some cases (cf., e.g., *chandrā* in line 21 and *yāvat* in line 22). The consonant *n* has been written in two ways (cf. *n* in *chandr-ānanō* in line 11 with the same letter in °*r=jjanaiḥ* in line 8 and *dvipānāṁ* in line 15). The form of final *n* (e.g. in °*gatān* in line 17 and *purushān* in line 20) is interesting. For final *t*, see *yat*, in line 25, and for the *avagraha* sign, cf. line 24. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is written in a mixture of prose and verse. The **orthography** is characterised by wrong spellings exhibiting the influence of local pronunciation. Cf. *vansa* (line 2) for *vaṁśa* ; *hansa* (line 6) for *haṁsa* ; *jainaḥ* (line 13) for *jayinaḥ* ; *khaṇāt* (line 15) for *kshaṇāt* ; *jan=majjanti* (line 15) for *yan= majjanti* ; *śēnāpati* (line 18) for *sēnāpati* ; *śādhya* (line 18) for *sādhya* ; *śīmā* (line 20) for *sīmā* ; *khētra* (line 22) for *kshētra* ; *jadā* (line 26) for *yadā* : *jāvad°* (line 29) for *yāvad°* ; *sahaśrāṇi* (line 27) or *śahasrāṇi* (lines 29-30) for *sahasrāṇi* ; *haraṁ* for *haran* (line 29) ; *satāni* (line 30) for *śatāni* ; etc. It will be seen that some of these characteristics are now more marked in the East Indian pronunciation. Reduplication of consonants after *r* is noticed in some cases ; but we have generally *rt* and *ry* without reduplication.

The **date** of the grant is quoted in line 25 as **Saṁvat 1077, Chaitra-śudi 14, Friday,** while line 22 states that it was made on the **Mahāchaitrī** *tithi* in the month of Chaitra, i.e., Chaitra pūrṇimā. It would appear therefore that the record was kept ready on Chaitra-śudi 14 ; but the

ceremony of donation took place on Chaitra-śudi 15. In Vikrama 1077 (Kārttikādi current), the end and beginning of Chaitra-śudi 14 and 15 fell on Friday the **11th March 1020 A.D.**

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by *ō svasti*. Verse 1 introduces the hero **Malayakētu** as a great king of the **solar race**, while verse 2 mentions king **Hēlāvarāha** born in Malayakētu's family. The following two stanzas (verses 3-4) describe the achievements of Hēlāvarāha in vague terms and verses 5-8 likewise describe the good qualities of Hēlāvarāha's son **Haṁsarāja.** The donor of the charter, king **Sauryāditya,** who was the son of Haṁsarāja and grandson of Hēlāvarāha, is then described in verses 9-11 being mentioned as Kuñjaravarsha. The said introductory part in verse is followed in lines 16 ff. by a section in prose beginning with the mention of *P. M. P.* Sauryādityadēva as the donor of the grant in continuation of his description in verses 9-11. The king's order was addressed to the subordinates assembled at **Vañapallī-grāma** situated in **Vyālisi-vishaya** within **Daradgaṇḍakī-maṇḍala.** While Daradgaṇḍakī is apparently associated with the name of the river Gaṇḍakī or Gaṇḍak, the name Vyālisi is derived from Sanskrit *dvichatvāriṁśat* (i.e. fortytwo) and essentially means 'an administrative unit consisting of fortytwo villages'. It is interesting to note that Sauryāditya's other grant of Vikrama 1083 also mentions a *vishaya* called Dvichatvāriṁśatikā which was, however, situated in Dardachaṇḍikā-maṇḍala. It may be noted that a *vishaya* in these cases has been represented as the subdivision of a *maṇḍala*. Is *Dardachaṇḍikā* a mistake for *Daradgaṇḍakī* ?

The list of subordinates includes *mahārājñī, rāṇaka,ṭhakura* (i.e., *ṭhakkura*), *amātya, purōhita, mahāmahattaka, mahāsāndhivigrahika, mahāpratīhāra, mahākshapaṭalika, mahāsādhanika, mahāpīlupati, mahāsēnāpati, mahākaṭakādhyaksha, dushṭasādhyasādhanika, daṇḍika, daṇḍapāśika, śaulkika, gaulmika, gamāgamika, dūtasampreshaṇika, talavargika, aṅgarakshaka, chāṭṭa* (i.e. *chāṭa*), *bhaṭṭa* (i.e. *bhaṭa*), etc. With the exception of a few, these are often met with in copper-plate grants. The separation of the official designations from one another by a *daṇḍa* in the text seems to suggest that *Dūtasampreshaṇika* (officer in charge of the despatch of messengers) should better not be understood as *Dūta* and *Preshaṇika* as is often done. *Talavargika* is an official designation of rare occurrence and its meaning is uncertain. It may be the same as *Talavāṭaka* which is taken by some as the same as Gujarātī *Talāṭī* (a petty revenue officer) but may really be the officer looking after temple properties called *tala-vāṭaka* or *tala-vritti*.[1] Among the privileges of the donee, *phalaratika, ramya, sagarta-avaskara, jana-dhana-sahita, sa-pallika* and *sukṛishṭa* are not among those which are commonly met with in inscriptions.

The donor made the grant after taking a ceremonial bath and having worshipped the gods Bhāskara (Sun-god) and Īśāna (i.e. Śiva). The donee was a Brāhmaṇa of **Usīya-grāma,** whose family hailed from **Chhēla.** He is *Bhaṭṭa* Yaśāditya, who was the son of Vāṭṭhō and grandson of Aḍavi and belonged to the Sāvarṇya *gōtra* and the Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavāna, Aurva and Jāmadagnya *pravaras*.

The grant proper is followed by the quotation of ten benedictory and imprecatory stanzas.

The following **geographical names** are mentioned in the inscription : (1) Vañapallī-grāma, (2) Vyālisi-vishaya, (3) Daradgaṇḍakī-maṇḍala, (4) Chhēla, and (5) Usīya-grāma. I am not sure about their location. But as indicated above, the district of Daradgaṇḍakī was apparently situated on the banks of the Gaṇḍak. This name is, however, applied now to no less than three rivers, viz. (1) Great Gaṇḍak running through the Gorakhpur, Champaran, Muzaffarpur, Saran and Patna Districts and joining the Ganges at Patna in lat. 25° 49′ 53″ and long. 85° 13′ 45″ ; (2) Lesser Gaṇḍak running through the Gorakhpur and Saran Districts and falling into the Gogra in lat. 25° 41′ and long. 85° 11′ 30″; and (3) Little Gaṇḍak running through the Saran District and Tirhut and

[1] Cf. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 217 and note ; Kane, *Hist. Dharm.*, Vol. III, p. 985.

joining the Bāghmatī in lat. 25° 45' and long. 86° 2'. The district of Daradgaṇḍakī is also mentioned in an inscription (Vikrama 1167) of king Kīrtipāla of Saumyasindhu or Uttarasamudra.[1]

TEXT[2]

[Metres : Verses 1-2, 8 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 3-7, 9-11 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 12-19, 21 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 20 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

Obverse

1 Siddham[3] ō svasti | **Sūry-ānvayē** prakaṭa-vikrama-bhūmir=āśīt(sīd) bhūpāla-maulī(li)r=iha bhūpatir=ādibhūtaḥ | līl-ālayō **Malaya[kē]tur**=atulya-dhāmā |[4] sarvv-ādbhut-aika-vasati-[r=jja]-

2 gati prasiddhaḥ || [1*] Tad-vansa(vaṁśa)jaḥ krama-paramparayā pratāpī bhūpō va(ba)bhūva bh[uvi dāna-jala]-pravāhaḥ [|*] **Hēlāvarāha** iha sāhasa-vāsa-bhūmir=yat-kīrttayas=tri-bhū(bhu)vanāni

3 pavitrayanti || [2*] Dhairyaṁ kārya-vidhāsu yasya vilasata(sat)-saundaryam=ē[nīdṛiśāṁ gāmbhīryaṁ][5] naya-vartma[6]-guptishu girām=audāryam=āry-ōchitaṁ(tam) | tyāgō yasya cha mārggaṇēshu vi-

4 nayō vidvatsu kīrttirddṛi(r=ddi)śāṁ |[4] yasy=āyaṁ charitārthatām=upagataḥ sarvvō guṇānāṁ=gaṇaḥ || [3*] Hēlā-nirjjita-vairi-kuñjara-ghaṭaḥ sau(śau)tīrya-va(ba)ddh-ādaraḥ shāḍguṇy-ōdadhi-

5 vu(bu)ddhi-maṁthana-bhava-śrī-ratna-lavdhō(bdh-ō)dayaḥ [|*] krīḍā-nirbhara-bhavya-vāraramaṇī-līlā-vilās-ālayō bhūpāḥ kiñ=cha vichintya yasya charitaṁ rājyē=pi[7] lajjanty=amī || [4*] Bhūtō bhū-

6 mibhu[jāṁ] vibhūshaṇa-maṇiḥ putrō dharitrīpatiḥ |[8] tasy=ōddaṇḍa-bhuja-pratāpa-taraṇiḥ śrī-**Hansa(Haṁsa)rājaḥ** kshitau || (|) dhāmnā jē(yē)na dhṛitaṁ sad=ōditam=iha sphāraṁ punar=mma-

7 ṇḍalaṁ |[4] yasy=ālōka-vidhiś=chakāra sujan-āmbhōjē vikāsa-śriyaṁ(yam) | (||) [5*] Ni[t]y-ānanda-kṛit-ōtsava[ḥ*] pratidinaṁ[9] prauḍha-pratāyō(p-ō)ditaḥ sad-vaidagdhya-vadhū-patirvu(r=bu)dha-ja-

8 na-prāravdha(bdha)-gōshṭhī-rataḥ [|*] kāryā(y-ā)mbhōja-ras-ōpalaṁ(la)mbha-madhupō gambhīrim-āmbhōnidhiḥ |[10] r=yasy=āyaṁ viṁ(vi)rataḥ kal-ānukaraṇē kshīṇ-ōpasaktir=jjanaḥ || [6*] Tishṭhantasmi[11] n[i]vṛi-

9 [tya] sarvva-jagatō dōsha-spṛiśā-saṁ(śaṁ)kayā piṇḍībhūya sad=aiva vismaya-bhuvas=trāṇāya yasmin guṇāḥ || (|) yasy=āsīta(sīt) paraman=tu[12] dūshaṇa-kaṇaḥ sarvvasya ni[sh]kāraṇaṁ

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[1] Above, Vol. VII, p. 93. It is possible that Kīrtipāla's family ousted the Malayakētus about the close of the 11th century to be themselves ousted by the Gāhaḍavālas shortly afterwards.

[2] From impressions.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[5] These *aksharas* are restored with the help of the other inscription.

[6] *B* has *mantra*.

[7] *B* has *rājyēshu*.

[8] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous. Read *patis=tasya*.

[9] *B* has a different reading.

[10] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary. Read *nidhi°*.

[11] Read *tishṭhanti sma* as in *B*.

[12] We may have it as *paramas=tu°*; but *B* has *param=atra*.

10 sarvvasya svam[1]=ajīharat=kila yasō(śō) digjō(g-yō)shitāṁ varlabhaṁ[2] || [7*] **Saudhāni nish-**ṭhuratayā kumudāni gandhād=dugdhaṁ rasēna madhura-dhvanibhiś=cha hansāḥ(haṁsāḥ |) [jñā]tāḥ kathaṁ(tha)ñchid=[iha]

11 yasya yaśasya[3]-samudra-saṁplāvitē jagati śītaruchi[r*]=mṛigāṅkāt || [8*] Sunnuḥ tasya[4] narēndra ēsha vijayī chandr-ānanō bhūtalē dharmmaḥ samprati yasya kīrtti-

12 latikā vra(bra)hmāṇḍam=ārōhati | yēn=ākāṇḍam=akhaṇḍa-dhairya-guruṇā lavdhā(bdh-ā)-bhishēka-kriyā-mātrēṇ=aiva cha vikramēṇa vijitā yuddh-āṅgaṇē vairiṇaḥ || [9*] Tyā-

13 gēn=āsa(sya) na varṇṇanā vijayatē Karṇṇasya rūpa-śriyā n=Ānaṅgasya na saṅgarēshu jai(jayi)naḥ |[5] sau(śau)ryēṇa siṁghī-patēḥ[6] [|*] gāmbhi(mbhī)ryēṇa na sāgarasya vidu-shāṁ gōshṭhīshu

14 Vāchaspatēḥ |[7] līlābhir=nna Pura[ndara*]sya nṛipatēḥ kō='nyaḥ prakarsha-kramaḥ || [10*] Yuddhē Kuñjaravarsha ēsha kim=iti śruty=aiva nāma dvishō magnāḥ kēchana pāda-pa-

15 ṅkaja-tala-chchhāyā-nishannāḥ(ṇṇāḥ) kha(ksha)ṇāt | n=aita[ch*]=chitram=idan=tu yasya charitaṁ nistrīṁnsa[8]-dhārā-jalē ja(ya)n=majjanti kiyaty=api kshitipatēr=matta-dvipānāṁ ghaṭṭāḥ(ṭāḥ) ||o|| [11*]

16 sa paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmat-**Sauryādityadēvaḥ** kuśalī || **Daradgaṇḍakī-maṇḍalē Vyālisi-vishay-āntashpāti[9]-Vaṅapallī-**

17 **grāmē** samupagatān aśēsha-ra(rā)japurushān mahārājñī-rāṇaka-ṭhaku(kku)r-āmātrō(tya)-purō-hita- |[10] mahāmahattaka-mahāsāndhivigrahika-mahā-

18 pratīhāra-mahā-aksha[11]paṭalika- | mahāsādhanika- | mahāpīlūpati- | mahāśē(sē)nāpati- | mahākaṭakādha(dhya)ksha-dushṭaśā(sā)dhyasādhanika- | da(dā)ṇḍika- | daṇḍapāsi(śi)-ka- |

19 sau(śau)lkika- | gaulmika- | gamāgamika- | dūtasaṁprēshaṇika- | talavarggika-[12] | aṅgara-kshaka- | chāṭṭa-bhaṭṭa[13]-prabhṛitīn yathā-sthā[na]-niyuktā[n*] rāja-pād-ōpajīvi- |

20 na(nō) rājapurushān yathārhaṁ mānayati vō(bō)dhayati ādiśati | viditam=astu bhavatāṁ | yathā grāmō=yaṁ sa-jala-sthalaḥ s-āmvra(mra)-madhu(dhū)kaḥ sva-śī(sī)mā-

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[1] Read *hṛit-sarvvasvam°* as in *B*.

[2] Read *vallabham.*

[3] Read *yaśas°*.

[4] Read *Sūnus=tasya.*

[5] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[6] Read *siṁhī°*. Possibly the word *siṁhīpati* (literally, 'the husband of the lioness') has been used to indicate 'a lion'. The 'husband of Siṁhī (Siṁhikā)' may also be understood in the sense of Śiva among others.

[7] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary. Read *°patēr=līlā°*.

[8] Read *nistriṁśa*.

[9] Read *°āntaḥpāti*. The *sh* in *shpā* really stands for the *upadhmānīya*.

[10] The *daṇḍa* here and elsewhere below in this line and the following lines is superfluous.

[11] Read *mahāksha°*.

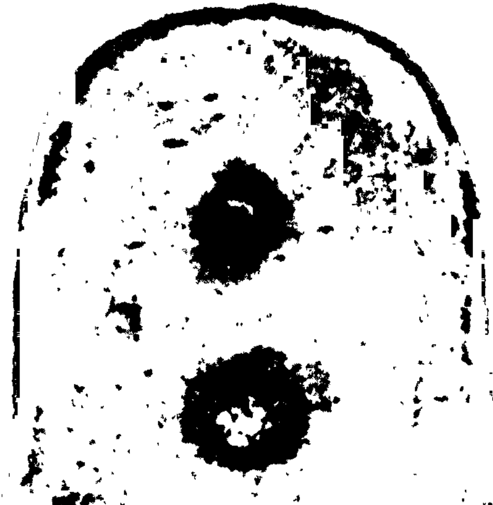
[12] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

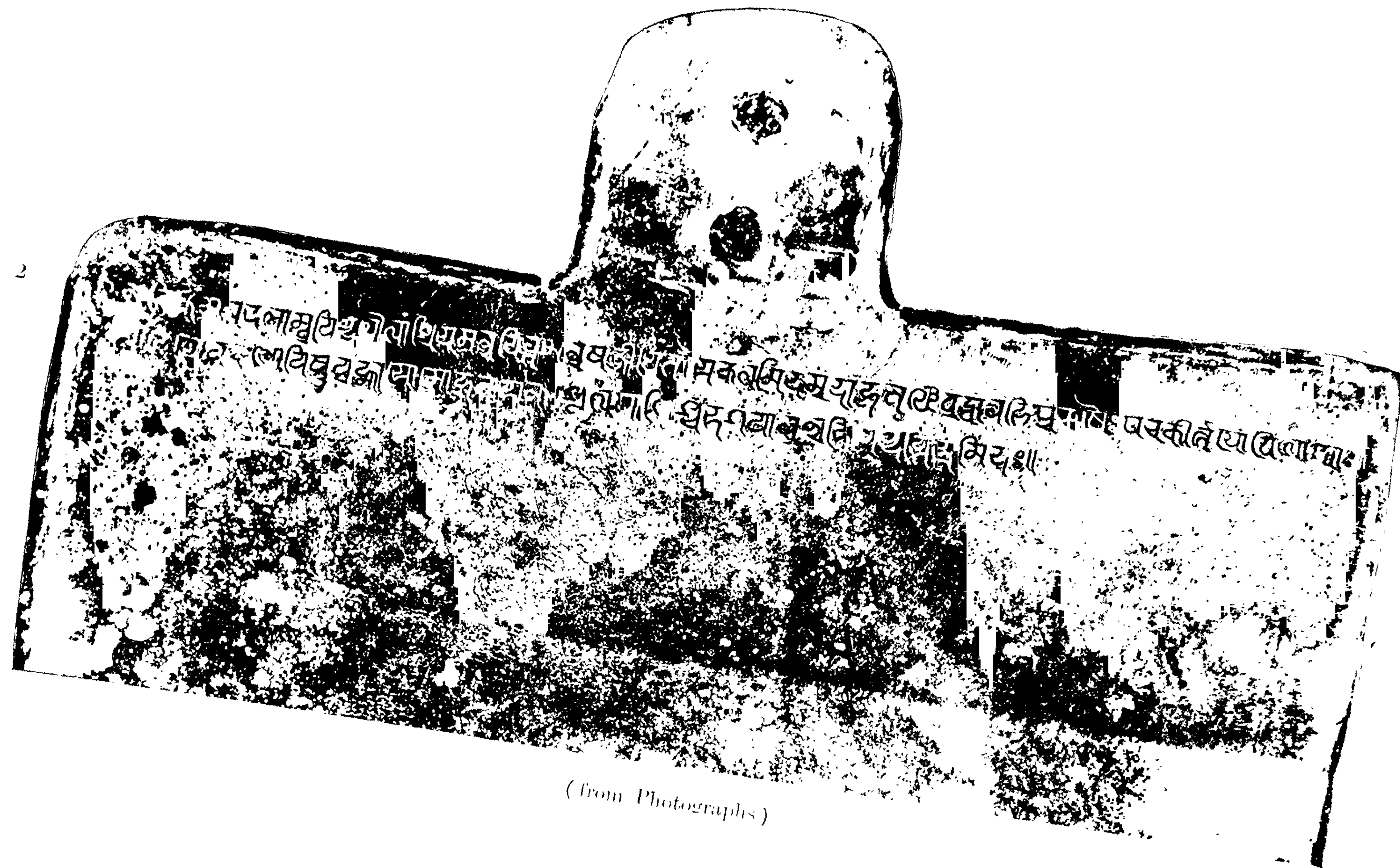
[13] This is the same as *chāṭa-bhaṭa* of earlier inscriptions.

COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM BIHAR—PLATE II

2. TWO GRANTS OF SAURYĀDITYA

A. Grant of Vikrama 1077





(From Photographs.)

21 paryantaḥ phala-ratikō ramya[ḥ*] s-ōshara[ḥ*] sa-gartt-āvaskara[ḥ*] jana-dhana-sahitaḥ sa-pallikaḥ su-kṛishṭa[ḥ*] mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha pū(pu)ṇya-ya[śō*]-bhivṛiddhayē | chandrā-

22 rkka-kshiti-kālaṁ yāvat | pūrvva-bhū(bhu)jyamāna-dēva-vrā(brā)hmaṇa-khē(kshē)tra-khaṇḍalakaṁ va[rja*]yitvā | **Chaitrē māsi Mahāchaitryāṁ** vidhivata(vat) snātvā bhagavantau Bhāskar-Īśānā-

23 v=abhyarchcha(rchya) tila-darvbhō(rbbh-ō)daka-pavitra-pāṇinā Chchhēla-vinirggata-[1] Usīya-grāmīya-Sāvarṇṇa(rṇya)-sagōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavana-[1]Āpnavāna-[1]Aurvva-Ya(Ja)-madagni ētē[2] pañcha-

24 pravarāya Bhaṭṭa-śr[ī]-Yaśādityāya[3] Bhaṭṭa-Vāṭṭhō-sutāya Bhaṭṭa[1]-Aḍavi-naptrē tā-mraśāsanīkṛitya sampradattō='smābhiḥ | bhavadbhir=anumantavyaṁ nivāsibhiś=cha ā-

25 jñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyībhūya yat kiñchid=rāja-pratyāy-ādikaṁ tad=asy=ōpanētavyaṁ(vyam) | **Samva(Saṁva)t 1077 Chaitra-śudi 14 Śukra-dinē** ēvaṁ(va)m=anēna vidhinā grāma[ṁ]

26 datvā(ttvā) rāj=ēdam=abhidhattē ||[4] || Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasuddhā(dhā) dattā rājabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya ja(ya)dā bhūmi[s*]=tasya taṁ(ta)sya tadā phala[m*] || [12*] Bhūmīyaṁ[5] pratigṛihnā(hṇā)āti yaś=ch bhū-

27 mi[ṁ*] prayachchhati [| u]bhau tau pū(pu)ṇya-karmmāṇau niyataṁ svargga-gāminau || [13*] Shashṭhi(shṭi)-varsha-sahaśrā(srā)ṇi mōdatē divi bhūmi[daḥ] [|*] āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakaṁ

28 [vrajē]t || [14*] Saṁ[Śaṁ]khaṁ bhadrāsanaṁ chchha(chha)traṁ var-āśvō vara-kuñjara-(raḥ) | bhūmi-dānasya chihnāni phalam=ēttata Pranandara[6] || [15*] Sva-datāṁ(ttāṁ) para-dat[ā]mvā[7] yō hara(rē)ta vasundharāṁ(rām |) sa vi-

29 shṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhu(bhū)tvā pitṛibhi[ḥ*] saha pachyatē || [16*] Gām=ēkāṁ suvarṇṇam=ēkaṁ bhūmēr=apy=ēkam=aṅgulaṁ(lam |) haraṁ(ran) narakam=āyāti jā(yā)vad=āhūta-saṁplavaṁ(vam) || [17*] Taṭṭā(ṭā)kāni saha-

30 śrā(srā)ṇi[1] aśvamēdha-sa(śa)tāni cha [|*] gavāṁ kōṭi-pradānēna Bhūmi-harttā na śuddha-(dhya)ti || [18*] Phalatkishṭā[8] mahīṁ datvā(ttvā) sa-vī(bī)ja(jāṁ) sasya-mālinī[m |*] yāvat=sūrya-kṛitō(t-ā)lōkaḥ[1] tāva-

31[9] t=svarggē mahīyatē || [19*]

[1] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[2] Read °*dagn-iti*°.

[3] The form of this personal name is not grammatically correct.

[4] There is a symbol of two concentric circles between the double *daṇḍas*.

[5] Read *Bhūmiṁ yaḥ*.

[6] Read °*ētat Purandara*.

[7] Read *dattāṁ vā*.

[8] Read *Phāla-kṛishṭām*.

[9] This small line begins after leaving the space for about four *aksharas*.

Reverse

32 Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlāṁ śriyam=anuchinta(ntya) manusha(shya)-jīvitaṁ [cha*] | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)ddhā(ddhvā) na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ || [20*]

33 [Ā]dityō Varuṇō Vishṇu Vrahmā[1] Sōmō Hutāsa(śa)nā(naḥ) | Śūlapāṇiś=cha bhagavān=anva-bhi[2]nandanti bhūmidaḥ(dam) || [21*]

B. Grant of Vikrama 1083

This **single plate** measures about 15½ inches in breadth and 14⅜ inches in height. There is a projection at the top, about 2⅞ inches high and 5⅛ inches broad. The upper part of the projection and the four corners of the plate are rounded. The figure of the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu, engraved on the projection, was meant to serve the purpose of the proper seal. The figure is of a boar-faced human form, having a crown and other ornaments and standing to right in the *pratyālīḍha* pose with the left elbow raised upwards.

There are 31 lines of writing in all on one side of the plate. In regard to **palaeography, language** and **orthography**, this inscription closely resembles *A* edited above. But lines 1-21 are more efficiently engraved than lines 22-31, the first part containing fewer orthographical errors than the latter part. Of the 11 stanzas of the introductory section, verses 3-11 have their respective numbers engraved after each of them. The ten imprecatory and benedictory stanzas at the end of the inscription are, however, not similarly numbered. The **date** of the record is quoted in lines 23-24 as **Saṁvat 1083, Chaitra-śudi 13, Saturday.** If the year is regarded as current (Kārttikādi), the date would correspond to the **2nd April 1026 A. D.**

The beginning of the inscription is similar to that of *A*. The 11 stanzas, occupying lines 1-11, have already been discussed in connection with *A* (lines 1-15). The following section in prose referring to the donor is also the same as in *A*; but the list of subordinates addressed by the king and that of the donee's privileges, though similar to those in the other record, are not exactly the same and the gift land in the present case is **Yamaṇiūṇḍa-grāma** situated in **Dvichatvāriṁśatikā-vishaya** of **Dardachaṇḍikā-maṇḍala.** The name of the *vishaya* is merely a Sanskritized form of that of the Vyālisi sub-district known from *A*; but, as already indicated above, the two do not appear to be identical since they were situated in different *maṇḍalas* or districts. Like the list of subordinates and the donee's privileges, other details in lines 17-22 are similar to those in *A*. But the donee's name is left out, though his *pravaras* are enumerated as Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnuvāna, Jamadagni and Aurva without mentioning the name of the *gōtra* which was apparently Sāvarṇya as in the case of the donee of *A* edited above. A few other details found in *A* are also similarly left out in this inscription. In this section, we have *paṭṭōlī-tāmraśāsanīkṛitya* instead of *tā raśāsanīkṛitya* in *A* and other records. As we have suggested elsewhere,[3] the word *paṭṭōlī* means 'a deed of purchase'. The nature of the present record thus seems to have been different from that of *A*.

But the **most important feature** of the record under study is the absence of the donee's name. It is of course tempting to suggest that this was due to a mistake of the scribe or engraver.

[1] Read °*shṇur=Brahmā*.

[2] Read °*vān=abhi*°.

[3] Cf. *JAS*, Vol. XX, p. 205. Cf. Tamil *paṭṭōlai* in the same sense.

It is, however, interesting to note that there is the following endorsement at the end of the record in the last line (line 31): *ētach=chhāsanam=uddēśa-mātraṁ=iti*, "This grant is merely an illustration." This suggests that the present plate was not actually issued in favour of a donee, but was merely kept in the record office of the king as a sample draft for being consulted by the scribes to prepare similar other documents. The mention of the *pravaras* seems, however, to indicate that the original intention was to issue it in favour of a donee belonging to the Sāvarṇya *gōtra*, though it was discarded owing to mistakes creeping in the text.

The **geographical names** mentioned in the record are: (1) Yamaṇiūṇḍa-grāma, (2) Dvichatvāriṁśatikā-vishaya, and (3) Dardachaṇḍikā-maṇḍala. I am not sure about their location.

TEXT[1]

1 Siddham[2] ō̃ namāḥ(maḥ) [||*] **Sūry-ānvayē** prakaṭa-vikrama-bhūmir=āśī(sī)d=bhūpāla-maulī(li)r=iha bhūpatir=ādibhūtaḥ | līl-ālayō **Ma[la*]yakētur**=atulya-dhāmā sarvv-ādbhut-aika-vasatir=jjagati prasiddhiḥ(ddhaḥ) || [1*] Tad-vansa(vaṁśa)jaṅ=kra-

2 ma-paramparayā pratāpō(pī) bhūpō vabh[u]vi[3] dāna-jala-pravāhaḥ | **Hēlāvarāha** iha sāhasa-vāsa-bhūmir=yat-kīrttayas=tribhuvanāni pavitrayanti || [2*] Dhairyaṁ kārya-vidhāsu [**yasya***] vilasatśau(t-sau)nda-

3 ryamvi(m=ē)ṇīdṛisāṁ(śāṁ) gāmbhīryan=naya-mantra[4]-guptishu girām=audāryam=āry-ōchitaṁ-(tam) | tyāgō yasya cha mārggaṇēshu vinayō vidvatsu kīrttir=ddisāṁ(śāṁ) yasy=āyaṁ charitārthatām=upagataḥ sarvvō guṇā-

4 nā[ṁ] gaṇaḥ || 3 || Hēlā-nirjjita-vairi-kuñjara-ghaṭaḥ sau(śau)ṭīrya-va(ba)ddh-ādaraḥ |[5] shāḍguṇy-ōdadhi-vu(bu)ddhi-manthana-bhava-[śrī]-ratna-lavdhō(bdh-ō)dayaḥ | krīḍā-nirbhara-bhavya-vārarama-

5 ṇī-līlā-vilās-ālayō bhūpāḥ kiñ=cha vichintya yasya charitaṁ rājyēshu lajjanty=amī || 4 || Bhūtō bhūmi-bhujāmvi(jāṁ vi)bhūshaṇa-maṇiḥ putrō dharitrīpatis=tasy=ōddaṇḍa-bhuja-pratā-

6 pa-taraṇiḥ śrī-**Hansa(Haṁsa)rājaḥ** kshitau ||(|) nāmnā[6] yēna dhṛitaṁ sad=ōditam=iha syā(sphā)raṁ punā(na)r=mmaṇḍalaṁ yasy=[ā]lōka-vidhiś=chakāra sujan-āmbhōjē vikāsa-śriyaṁ(yam) || 5 || Nity-āna-

7 nda-kṛit-ōtsava-rata[7] prauḍha-pratāp-ōditaḥ sad-vaidagdhya-vadhū-patirvvu(r=bbu)dha-jana-prāravdha(bdha)-gōshṭhī-rataḥ | kāvy-āmbhōja-ras-ōpalambha-madhupō gambhīra-(ri)m-āmbōnidhir=yasy=āya-

8 mvi(ṁ vi)rataṅ=kal-ānukaraṇē kshīṇ-ōpasaki[8] janaḥ || 6 || Tishṭhanti sma nivvṛi(vṛi)tya sarvva-jagatō dōsha-spṛisā(śā)-sa(śaṁ)kayā piṇḍībhūya sad=aiva vismaya-bhuvas=trāṇāya yasmi-

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[1] From impressions.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

[3] Read *babhūva bhuvi*.

[4] *A* reads *vartma*.

[5] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[6] Read *dhāmnā* as in *A*.

[7] *A* has °*vaḥ. pratidinaṁ*. The intended reading in *B* may be °*tsavō=navarata*°.

[8] Read °*śaktir*°.

9 n=guṇāḥ | yasy=āsīt=param=atra[1] dūshaṇa-kaṇaḥ sarvvasya nishkāraṇaṁ hṛit-sarvvasu-(sva)m=ajīharat=kila yasō(śō) dig-yōshitāmva(ṁ va)llabhaṁ(bham) || 7 || Saudhāni nishṭha-(shṭhu)ratayā

10 kumudāni gandhāt(ndhād) dugdhaṁ rasēna madhura-dhvanibhiś=cha hansā(haṁsāḥ |) j[ñ]ātāḥ kathaṁchid=iha yasya yasaḥ(śaḥ)-samudra-sa[ṁ]p[l]āvitē jagati śītaruchir=mmṛigāṅgāt(ṅkāt) || 8 || Sūnus=ta-

11 sya narēntra(ndra) ēsha vijayī chantrā(ndr-ā)naṇā(nō) bhū[ta*]lē dha[r*]mmaḥ samprati yasya kīrtti-latikā vrapthā(brahmā)ṇḍam=ārō[ha*]ti | yēn=ākāṇḍam=akhaṇḍa-dhairya-guruṇā lavdhā(bdh-ā)bhishēka-kriyā-

12 mātrēṇ=aiva cha vikramēṇa vijitā yuddh-āṅgaṇē vairiṇaḥ || 9 || Tyāgēn=āsya na varṇṇanā vijayatē Karṇṇasya rūpa-śriyā n=Ānaṅgasya na saṁgarēshu ja-

13 yinaḥ sau(śau)ryēṇa siṅghī(siṁhī)-patēḥ | gāmbhīryēṇa na sāgarasya vidushāṁ gōshṭhīshu Vāchaspatēr=llīlābhir=nna Purandarasya nṛipatēḥ kō=nyaḥ praka-

14 rsha-kramaḥ || 10 || Yuddhē Kuñjaravarsha ēsha kim=iti sru(śru)tv=aiva nāma dvishō magnāḥ kēchana pāda-paṅkaja-tala-chchhāyā-nishaṇṇāḥ kshaṇāt | n=aitach=chitram=idan=tu yasya

15 charitaṁ nistriṅśa(striṁśa)-dhārā-jalē yan=majjanti kiyaty=api kshitipa[tēr]=mma[tta-dvi]-pānā[ya]ṁ[2] ghaṭāḥ || 11 || Sa paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-

16 śrīmat-**Sauryādityadēvaḥ** kusa(śa)lī | **Darddachaṇḍikā-maṇḍa[la]**-prativa(ba)ddha-**Dvichatvāriṅśa(riṁśa)tikā-vishay**-āntaḥpātī(ti)-**Yamaṇiūṇḍa-grāmaḥ** | samupa[3]ga-

17 t-āśēsha-rājapa(pu)rushān rāṇaka-ṭhakkur-āmātya-purōhita-mahāsā[ndhi*]vigrahika-mahāpratīhāra-mahākshapaṭalika-mahāsādhanika-mahā-

18 pīlūpati-mahāsēnāpati-mahākaṭakādhyaksha-dushṭasādhyasādhanika-da(dā)ṇḍika-daṇḍipā-[śika][4]- sanika[5]- gaulmika-gamāgamika-dūtasaṁtō(mprē)shaṇika-ta-

19 lavarggik-āṅgarakshaka-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prabhyatin[6] yathā-sthāna-niy[u]k[t]a-rāja-pā[d-ō]pajīvi-[nō] [rā]japurushān |[7] yathārhaṁ mānayati vō(bō)dhayati | ādiśa-

[1] *A* has *paraman=tu*.
[2] Read *dvipānāṁ*.
[3] Read *grāma-samupa°*.
[4] Read *dāṇḍapāśika*.
[5] Read *śaulkika*.
[6] Read *prabhṛitīn*.
[7] This *daṇḍa* and some others in the following section are superfluous.

COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM BIHAR.—PLATE III

2. Two Grants of Sauryāditya

B. Grant of Vikrama 1083



(from Photograph)

20 ti | viditam=astu bhavatāṁ | yathā grāmō=yaṁ sa-jala-sthala[ḥ*] sīmā-paryantaḥ | s-āmra-madhūkaḥ | sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ | sa-nidhi-nidhānaḥ | sa-jana-dhanaḥ | sa(su)-palli-

21 k-ōpētaḥ | sukṛishṭaḥ | mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē | chandr-ārkka-kshiti-kālaṁ yāvat | pūrvva-bhujyamāna-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-

22 kshētra-khaṇḍalaṁ vihāya[1] gōtrāya Bhārggava-Cha(Chya)vana[2] -Āpnumā(vā)na-Ya(Ja)-madagni[2]-Aurvva-pravara(rā)ya paṭō(ṭṭō)lī-tāmvra(mra)śāsanīkṛitya pradattō=smābhir=mma-

23 [tvā] bhavadbhir=anna(nu)mantavyaṁ(vyam) | nivāsibhiś=ch=āijā[3]-śravaṇa-vidhēyībhūya yata(yat) kiñchit rāja-pratyādāy-ādikaṁ tad=asy=ōpāna(nē)tavyaṁ(vyam) | Samvat[4] 1083

24 Chaitra-śudi 13 Sa(Śa)nau | ēvam=amunā vidhinā grāmam=ēna[ṁ*] datvā(ttvā) rāj-ēdam=abhidhattē | Va(Ba)hubhi[r*]=vvasudhā da[t*]tā rājabhiḥ Saganā(r-ā)dibhiḥ | yasya yasya ya-

25 dā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) |[5][|*] [12*] Gām=ēkāṁ svarṇṇam=ēkaṁ [cha*] bhūmēr=apy=ēkam=aṅgula[m |*] haran=narakam=āyāyati[6] yāvad=āhūti-saṁpa(pla)vaṁ-(vam) || [13*] Shashṭi-va[r]sha-sahaśrā(srā)ṇi

26 mōdatē divi bhūmidaḥ | āchchhēttō(ttā) ch=ā[nu]mantā cha tāny=ēva naraka[ṁ*] vra[jē]t || [14*] Saṁ(Śaṁ)kha[ṁ*] bhadr-āsanaṁ chchha(chha)traṁ vana(r-ā)śvō vara-kuṁ(ku)ñjaraḥ | bhūmi-dānasya chihnē(hnā)ni phalaṁ sva-

27 rggas=tath=aiva cha || [15*] Bhūmiṁ ya[ḥ][7] pratigṛihṇāti ma(ya)ś=cha bhūmiṁ tha-(pra)yachchhati [|*] dra(u)bhau tau puṇya-karmmāṇau |[8] mimataṁ[9] svargga-gāminau || [16*] Sva-dattā[ṁ*] para-dattāmvā(ttāṁ vā)

28 yō harēdvasundharā[10] [|*] [śva]-pi(vi)shṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē || [17*] Shashṭi-varsha-sahaśrā(srā)ṇi shash[ṭ]i-varsha-śatāni cha | gavāṁ kōṭi-[pra]dānēna bhūmi-ha-

29 rttā na śudhyati || [18*] Pha(Phā)la-kṛishṭāṁ mahīṁ dadhyō(dyāt) sa-vī(bī)jāṁ śasya-m[ā]l[i]n[ī][m |*] yāvata śuryakritō lōkastyārata ārgga[11] mahīyatē || [19*] Iti kamala-dattā(l-ā)-

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[1] The following section is defective as the expected name of the donee is left out. The word left out befoer *gōtrāya* was *Sāvarṇya*.

[2] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[3] Read *ājñā*.

[4] Read *Saṁvat*.

[5] There is a symbol looking somewhat like an *anusvāra* of the Bengali type before the *daṇḍa*.

[6] Read *āyāti*.

[7] The *visarga*-sign was first engraved, then penned through and afterwards endowed with a restoration mark.

[8] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[9] Read *niyataṁ*.

[10] Read *harēta vasundharāṁ*.

[11] Read *yāvat=sūrya-kṛit-ālōkas=tāvat=svarggē*.

30 mvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlāṁ śriyam=anna(nu)chintya manna(nu)shya-jīvitaṁ cha [|*] sakalam=idam=udāhṛitaṁ cha ||[1] vuddhā[2] na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilē(lō)pyāḥ [||*] [20*] Ādityō Vaıuṇō

31 Visuḥ Vrashṇā[3] Mō(Sō)mō Hutāśanaḥ [|*] Śra(Śū)lapāṇiś=cha bhagavān=abhinandati [bhūmidam*] || [21*] ētatasāsanōddiśā[4]-mātram=iti [||*]

3. Grant of Bhulla, Vikrama 1381

This copper-plate grant was secured by Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division, Bihar, and now lies in his possession. Mr. Sohoni kindly allowed me to take impressions of the inscription in August 1960. The plate is stated to have been secured from the village of **Bagēn** under the Bihia Police Station of the Shahabad District of Bihar.

This is a **single plate** measuring about 13 inches in length and about 10½ inches in height. There is a small hole in the middle of the top margin of the plate. It was probably meant for hanging up the document from a nail in the wall. The corners of the plate are rounded off and there is no seal attached to it. There are 23 lines of writing only on one side of the plate, the last line being engraved vertically in the left margin. The engraving is neat and the writing is in a quite satisfactory state of preservation.

The **characters** of the record are Nāgarī of about the fourteenth century A.D. The rare *akshara jh* occurs in line 3. *B* has been written by the sign of *v*. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and it is written in verse with the exception of the *siddham* symbol and the word *siddhiḥ* at the beginning and the date in figures, etc., quoted in the left margin. **Orthographical errors** are not too many. But *y* has been written for *j* in some cases according to the peculiarity of the pronunciation of initial *y* especially in the East Indian dialects and, as in many other records, final *m* has been wrongly changed to *anusvāra* at the end of the halves of stanzas. *kh* has been written for *sh* under the influence of local pronunciation. There are again some cases of confusion between *ś* and *s*.

The **date** of the epigraph is given in verse 9 as **Sunday**, the **tenth** *tithi* of the **bright fortnight** of **Jyēshṭha** in the **Vikrama** year counted by the words *avani*, *naga*, *vahni* and *indu*. Of these words, *avani*, *vahni* and *indu* respectively mean 1, 3 and 1, while *naga* or 'mountain' normally means 7, although some late writers are known to have recognised the word also in the sense of 'eight'.[5] Thus according to the *vāma-gati* principle, the year would be Vikrama 1371 or 1381. But the same date has been quoted in a prose passage incised on the left margin of the plate as *Saṁ 1381 Jyaishṭha-śudi 10 Ravau*. The Vikrama year was therefore really 1381 and not 1371. Sunday, Jyaishṭha-śudi 10, in Vikrama 1381 corresponds to the **3rd June 1324 A.D.** The year was Kārttikādi current or Chaitrādi expired.

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the *maṅgala* : *siddhiḥ* and a stanza (verse 1) in adoration of the god Hari. Verse 2 (lines 1-3) introduces a great warrior named **Parāū** who is stated to have belonged to **Majhivāra** (*Majhivāra-śēkhara-maṇi*) and to the

[1] These *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[2] Read *buddhvā*.

[3] Read *Vishṇur=Brahmā*.

[4] Read *ētach=chhāsanam=uddēśa°*.

[5] Cf. Sewell, *Eclipses of the Moon in India*, p. 8.

Chēravu race (*Chēravu-vaṁśa*). The next stanza (verse 3 in lines 3-5) mentions Parāū's son **Durlabha** while verse 4 introduces the donor of the charter. This is king **Bhulladēva** who was the son of Durlabha and is described as the ruler (*narapati*) of **Vihiāpurī** and as the receiver of favours from the *Khaliphā* **Mahamanda-sāhi.** Bhulladēva is called **Bhullēśvara** in verse 7 (line 10) and **Bhūllēśa** in verse 19 (line 20), his actual name being **Bhulla.**

Thus Bhulla, who was the son of Durlabha and grandson of Parāū and belonged to Majhivāra and to the Chēravu race, apparently owed allegiance to *Khaliphā* Mahamanda-sāhi. The language of the record does not clearly indicate Bhulla's subordinate position, though it can be easily inferred from the otherwise inexplicable reference to the Muslim sovereign. The name *Chēravu* is the same as *Chērō* and we know that chiefs belonging to the aboriginal tribes called Oraon, Kharwar and Chērō flourished in the Shahabad-Palamau region during the medieval period.[1] The reference to Mahamanda-sāhi, i.e. Muḥammad Shāh, and to his title *Khaliphā* is very interesting. It appears that, by *Khaliphā* Mahamanda-sāhi, the overlord of the Chērō ruler Bhulla, the contemporary Muslim Sulṭān of Delhi is meant. The designation *Khaliphā* stands for Arabic *Khalifa* meaning 'the successor to sovereign power', the title being especially applied to the Prophet Muḥammad's successors who united the characters of the head of the State and of the Muhammadan religion, while many of the Sulṭāns of Delhi are described as *Khalifas* in the legends on their coins as well as in the inscriptions of their times. Muḥammad Shāh, mentioned in our inscription, appears to be none other than Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh of the Tughluq dynasty of Delhi, whose reign period is generally assigned to the period 1325-51 A.D. It should be pointed out that Sulṭān Muḥammad is believed to have ascended the throne in February or March 1325 A.D.,[2] while our inscription bears the date: 3rd June 1324 A. D., suggesting that the Sulṭān actually ascended the throne before the middle of 1324 A.D., that is to say, more than six months earlier.

Verses 5-9 of our record speak of the donee of the grant and the donation he received from king Bhulla, the donor of the charter. Verse 5 mentions Vidyādhara belonging to the race of learned Brāhmaṇas (*śrōtriya*) of Maṇērinagara, his family being known as Gaṇḍasvāmi-kula (i.e., the lineage of which the progenitor was Gaṇḍasvāmin). As we shall see below, this Brāhmaṇa family belonged to the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*. Vidyādhara's son Chulhēśvara is mentioned in verse 6 (lines 8-9) and the next stanza (lines 9-10) speaks of Sagunē (or Gunē), the son of Chulhēśvara and the donee of the charter. It is stated that Sagunē obtained the post of *Sēnāpati* and satisfied his master Bhullēśvara by his services. From verse 8 we learn that Sagunē was devoted both to the goddess Śivā (i.e., Pārvatī, wife of Śiva) and Kēśava (i.e., Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa) while verse 9 states that Bhulladēva dedicated the village of Vagēndī in favour of the said Sagunē belonging to the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*. Either the village was situated on the bank of the Ganges or the donor made the grant while he was standing or camping on the river bank.

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[1] Cf. above, Vol. IV, p. 311, note 10; Vol. XXXIV, p. 26, note 2. According to tradition, the Chērōs, who now work as coolies and wood-cutters and are reputed for being 'one of the hardest drinking castes', had formerly their own kings having one of their capitals at Bihia. This place is said to have been occupied by the Rajputs settled at Manjha on the Ghogra in the Saran District, who subdued the Chērōs in a struggle lasting for several centuries. The names of some Chērō rulers are known from traditions. Muslim historians mention a Chērō king named Maharta whose activities closed the road from Bihar to Bengal and whom Shēr Shāh subdued with great difficulty. See *Gazetteer of the Shahabad District*, pp. 19, 21, 162, 166-67, 169-70.

[2] *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 135. The year of his accession is given as A.H. 725 (from the 18th December 1324 A. D. to the 8th December 1325 A. D.). He is believed to have ascended the throne on his father's death about the beginning of that year. This is because the Batihāgaḍh (Damoh District, Madhya Pradesh) inscription, now preserved in the Nagpur Museum and noticed in Hiralal's *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, 1932, p. 59 (No. 106), and *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, pp. 19, 88 (No. 69), is reported to refer the Hijrī year 725 to the reign of Ghiyāthuddīn Tughluq Shāh, father of Muḥammad. See *Ep. Ind.—A. P. Suppl.*, 1955-56, pp. 70, 112.

The above account is followed in lines 14-20 by some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas (verses 10-18). Verse 19 (lines 20-21) contains **Bhūllēśa's prayer to other kings** not to resume the grant made by him.

Verse 20 (lines 21-22) states that the **grant was approved** by (cf. *anumantṛi*) **Jauṇa who was** the chief scribe (*karaṇa-pravīra*) and the other *sachivas* (officers or ministers). It is difficult to say whether Jauṇa was an officer of Bhulla or he was Muḥammad Shāh's viceroy of the Shahabad region. But the facts that there are cases of a grant being *anumata* by one of the donor's subordinates[1] and that the second half of the verse speaks of the composition of the *praśasti* (i.e. the document under study, by a Brāhmaṇa poet named Dhyāna, who was probably the court Pandit of Bhulla, may suggest that Jauṇa was one of Bhulla's officers. Verse 21 (line 22) says that the copper-plate grant (*tāmraśāsana-paṭṭaka*) was written by Dhānū who was endowed with the qualities of the scribe (*Kāyastha-guṇa-sampanna*). It appears that Dhānū had the qualifications of a scribe but did not belong to the Kāyastha community and that he merely wrote the letters on the plate for facilitating the work of the engraver.

The **geographical names** mentioned in the epigraph are : (1) Vihiāpurī, the capital of the Chērō ruler Bhulla ; (2) the village of Vagēndī granted by him in favour of his Brāhmaṇa general Sagunē ; (3) the river Ganges on the bank of which Vagēndī was situated or the donor was standing or camping while making the grant ; and (4) Maṇērinagara whence the donee's family hailed. Of the above names, Maṇēri is no doubt modern Maner in the Dinapur Sub-Division of the Patna District while Vihiā is the same as Bihiyā, a railway station in the Shahabad District a few miles to the west of Arah, the headquarters of the District. Vagēndī is modern Bagēn, the findspot of the charter. Majhivāra, mentioned in verse 2 (line 3) probably as the original home of Bhulla's family, may be modern Chandauli-Majhiwar, a railway station near Mogalsarai, in the Bhabua Sub-Division of the Shahabad District.

TEXT[2]

[Metres : Verse 1 *Āryā ;* verses 2-5, 7-9 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita ;* verses 6, 10-19, 21 *Anushṭubh ;* verse 20 *Upajāti.*]

1 Siddham[3] [||*] siddhiḥ || Āliṁgita-Jaladhibhuvaṁ ruchir-ādhara-pāna-bhā[4]vanā-rasikaṁ(kam) | vikasita-mukulita-maṁda-prahasita-nayanaṁ Hariṁ vaṁdē || [1*] Vīrāś=**Chēravu-**

2 **vaṁśa-**bhūshaṇatayā lavdhā(bdh-ā)tirēkāḥ purā |[5] vikhyātā dharaṇītalē nṛipa-kul-ōtsād-āpta-sau(śau)ry-ōdayāḥ ||(|) tan-mukhyō jvalan-ārkka-duḥsahata-

3 raḥ śastr-āstra-śikshā-gurur=vīrō='bhūn=**Majhivāra-**śēkhara-maṇir=nnāmnā **Parāū** mataḥ || [2*] Tasmād=iṁdur=iv=ōdadhēḥ paripatan-nārā-

4 cha-chakra-kshata-kshīṇa-kshatriya-gōtra-putra-nivahaḥ kshmā-durllabhō **Durllabhaḥ** |[6] udbhūt-ōjva(jjva)la-kīrtti-maṁḍita-mahī-pṛishṭhō garishṭhō guṇair=ddān-ā-

5 **naṁdita-**vaṁdi-vṛiṁda-dharaṇīdēvaḥ prabhāv-ōjva(jjva)laḥ || [3*] Tat-sūnur=**Vvihiāpurī-narapatiḥ** śrīmān yaśō-bhūshaṇō bhagu-ānēka-narēśa-rakshaṇa-parō

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[1] Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 191.

[2] From impressions.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] An unnecessary *anusvāra* above *bhā* is deleted by the engraver.

[5] This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[6] The *daṇḍa* is engraved above the line.

3. GRANT OF BHULLA, VIKRAMA 1381

Size : Three-fifths

6 ya(ja)jñē pratāp-āvadhiḥ | yēn=āptō **Mahamaṁdasāhi-khaliphā**-dattaḥ prasādaḥ paraḥ sau(śau)ry-āvarjita-bhūmipāla-nichayaḥ śrī-**Bhulladēvaḥ**

7 sudhīḥ || [4*] Gaṁḍasvāmi-kulē mahā-makha-yukhaḥ(jushaḥ) sach-chhrōtriyā ya(ja)jñirē s-āchārā dvija-shaṭ-sahaśra(sra)-sahitāḥ satya-vratāḥ sādhavaḥ | yat-saṁsargga-va-

8 śān=**Maṇērinagaraṁ** satsa(ch-chhā)sanaṁ pāvanaṁ jātaṁ tat-kula-bhūshaṇaḥ samabhavad=Vidyādharō dharmma-dhīḥ || [5*] Tasmād=ajani dharmm-ātmā śrīmach-**Chu-lhēśva-**

9 raḥ kṛitī | mahāva(ba)lō dayā-dāna-dākshiṇy-āchāra-bhūshaṇaḥ || [6*] Tat-putrō dvija-karmma-dharmma-nirataḥ śūraḥ sukhī sajjanō dātā śrī-pada-bhūshitō=sti Sa-

10 gunē[1]-nāmnā prasiddhaḥ kshitau | sēnāpatyam=avāpya yēna sudhiyā kāryēshu maṁtrēshu cha prauḍhiḥ saṁgara-mastakēshu rachitā **Bhullēśvara**-prītayē || [7*] Yē-

11 n=ājaśra(sra)-Śivā-pad-āvja(bja)m=amalaṁ saṁsēvyatē sādaraṁ yach-chittaṁ mudam=ēti Kēśava-kathā-pūjā-stutau nityaśaḥ | Yat-kuṁd-ēṁdu-samāna-kānti-yaśasa

12 stōmēna dig-bhittayō dhautās=tasya mahatva(ttva)m=uttama-guṇaṁ kaś=ch=īsti vaktuṁ kshamaḥ || [8*] Ētasmai sa hi **Bhulladēva**-nṛipatiḥ Sā(Śā)ṁḍilya-gōtrāya cha grā-

13 maṁ grāma-guṇ-āśrayaṁ samuchitaṁ nāmnā **Vagēṁd=īti** taṁ(tam) | **varshē Vikrama-bhūbhujō=vani-nagair=vvahn-īndubhiḥ saṁyutē Bhānau Jyēshṭha-śi(si)tān=tath=āpya daśa-**

14 **mīṁ Gaṁgā-taṭē** dattavāna(vān) || [9*] Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇā(hṇā)ti bhūmiṁ yaś=cha prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmmāṇau niyataṁ svargga-gāminau || [10*] Va(Ba)-hubhiḥ pṛithi-

15 vī dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [11*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēdva(ta va)suṁdharāṁ(rām) | sa vishṭhā-yāṁ kṛi-[2]

16 mir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē || [12*] Śaṁkhaṁ bhadr-āśa(sa)naṁ chchha(chha)-traṁ var-āśvā vara-vāraṇāḥ | bhūmi-dānasya chihnāni phalam=ētat=Puraṁdara || [13*] Hira-

17 ṇya-maṇi-muktāni vastrāṇy=ābharaṇāni cha | tēna sarvvam=idan=dattaṁ yēna dattā vasu[ṁ*]dharā || [14*] Suvarṇṇam=ēka[ṁ] gām=ēkāṁ bhūmēr=apy=arddham=aṁgulaṁ-(lam) | hara-

18 n=narakam=āpnōti yāvad=āhūta-saṁplavaṁ(vam) || [15*] Taḍāgānāṁ sahaśrē(srē)ṇa[3] aśvamēdha-śatēna cha | gavāṁ kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-harttā na śudhyati || [16*] Sha-[2]

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[1] Or *Sa Gunē*°.

[2] A *visarga* sign with a cancellation mark was engraved here in order to cover a little space at the end of the line.

[3] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

19 shṭni(shṭi)-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē vasati bhūmidaḥ | āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha-tāny=ēva narakē vasēta(sēt) || [17*] Vāri-hīnēshv=araṇyēshu śushka-kōṭara-vā-

20 sinaḥ [|*] kṛishṇasarppāḥ prajāyantē dēva-vra(bra)hma-sva-hāriṇaḥ || [18*] Iti matvā **na** harttavyā dvija-bhūmir=nnarādhipāḥ | **Bhūllēśō** yāchatē rājā

21 kṛitvā sampuṭitau karau || [19*] Dān-ānumantā karaṇa-pravīraḥ śrī-Jauṇa-saṁjñaḥ śa(**sa**)-chivaiḥ samētaḥ | praśastim=ētasya chakāra vipraḥ śrī-Dhyāna-nā-

22 mā sukaviḥ suśīlaḥ || [20*] Śrīmāna(mān) Dhānū lilēkh=ēdaṁ tāmra-sāśana[1]-paṭṭakaṁ(kam) | Kāyastha[2]-guṇa-sampannō vra(bra)hmaṇyaḥ sat-suvatsalaḥ || [21*] śubham=astu [|*]

23 [3]Siddham[4] [||*] **Saṁ 1381 Jyaishṭha-śudi 10 Ravau** ||

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[1] Read *śāsana*.

[2] We may also read *Kāyastha* (*sthō*) and suggest that Dhānū belonged to the Kāyastha Community.

[3] This is a vertically written line engraved in the left margin.

[4] Expressed by symbol.

No. 18—PENUGONDA PLATES OF HASTIVARMAN

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 22.7.1960*)

This inscription is engraved on a set of **five** plates, discovered at the village of **Penugoṇḍa** in the West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh. It was secured by the late Mr. R. V. Krishna Rao of Rajahmundry, who sent it for examination to the office of the Government Epigraphist for India in February 1953. The inscription was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1952-53, as No. A 14.

The plates, which are thin, measure each about 9 inches in length and 1·9 inches in height. They are held together by a ring (·3 inch in thickness) passing through a hole (·5 inch in diameter) in the left margin of the plates. The ring had not been cut when the inscription reached the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. The second, third and fourth plates bear their respective numbers in the left margin on the obverse. The joint of the ring is soldered to an elliptical **seal** which bears the figure of an animal facing proper right and a legend, both very much obliterated. The animal seems to be a bull and the legend apparently contained the name of the donor of the charter. viz. king Hastivarman, although, of the five *aksharas* in which it was written (probably *śrī-Hastivarmmā*), only the two at the beginning can be read as *śrī-Ha*. The first and fifth plates are written on the inner side while the other plates have writing on both the sides. The weight of the five plates together is 54 *tolas* and that of the ring with the seal 22¾ *tolas*.

Excepting the second side of the fourth plate and the inner side of the fifth, which have each three lines of writing, the other inscribed faces of the plates have only two lines each. Thus there are altogether eighteen lines of writing in the whole inscription. Individual letters, excluding *a*, *r*, etc., as also the conjuncts and the consonants endowed with vowel marks, are generally a little less than half an inch in height.

The **palaeography** of the inscription under study generally resembles that of such records of about the **middle of the fourth century A. D.** as the Kānukollu (Krishna District, Andhra Pradesh) plates[1] of the Śālaṅkāyana king Nandivarman I and there are some expressions common to both the records, though the language and orthography of the present epigraph may suggest a date slightly later than that of the Kānukollu plates. As regards palaeography, the inscription uses the initial vowels *a* (lines 3, 5, 10, 17 and 18), *ā* (line 12) and *e*[2] (line 6) as well as symbols for the numbers 2, 3 and 4. The mark of punctuation is indicated by a small vertical stroke in line 13 (cf. the somewhat bigger marks in the double *daṇḍa* in line 14) and by a small curved stroke opening towards the right in line 16.

As regards **language**, it may be pointed out that, while the Kānukollu plates are written partly in Prakrit and partly in Sanskrit, our epigraph is couched in Prakrit, Sanskrit and an admixture of both the languages. The Prakrit used in both these records is what may be called the

[1] Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 1 ff. and Plates. See also the Dhīrukāṭūra grant (below, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 1 ff.).

[2] Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

later inscriptional Prakrit characterised by the reduplication of consonants.[1] But, while Sanskrit is used in the Kānukollu plates only in the imprecatory and benedictory section containing a few stanzas at the end of the charter, our inscription not only has the corresponding section in Sanskrit verse but uses Sanskrit words elsewhere in the Prakrit section as well. By way of illustration, we may refer to the two expressions in the passage *dhamm-āyu-bala-vivaddhan-atthaṁ svar-nayan-ārthañ=cha* in line 4, in which the first expression is in Prakrit and the second in Sanskrit. In *nānā-gotra-charaṇa-tapa-sajjhāya-homa-vrata-niyama-ratānaṁ* in lines 6-7, *gotra* and *vrata* are typical Sanskrit words in an otherwise Prakrit compound expression, while, in the passage *yajana-yājan-ādhyayan-āddhyāpana-dāna-pratigraha-shaṭkarmma-niradāṇaṁ* in lines 9-10, *nirada* (Sanskrit *nirata*) is a typical Prakrit word in a Sanskrit compound. It will be seen that *ta* and *dhya* of Sanskrit have been retained in *rata* and *addhyayan-āddhyāpana* respectively but have been modified respectively in *nirada* (Sanskrit *nirata*) and *sajjhāya* (Sanskrit *svādhyāya*). The above quotations will show that the influence of Sanskrit in the language and orthography of our epigraph is more pronounced than on the language of records of the type of the Kānukollu plates. The language of the present inscription thus represents the final stage of Prakrit in South Indian epigraphy before its complete supersession by Sanskrit about the close of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Our inscription may be assigned to the **latter half of the fourth century** on the grounds of palaeography, language and orthography.

A few other points regarding the **orthography** and language of the inscription may also be mentioned here. Both *ṇ* and *n* have been indiscriminately used in the inscription, and *dh* has been reduplicated in conjunction with *y* in *addhyayan-āddhyāpana* in line 9. For what look like *shashḍi* in line 17 and *°guṇḍita* in line 2, *shashṭi* and *guṇṭita* (for Sanskrit *guṇṭhita*) were really intended, the second of the two words exhibiting the Dravidian tendency to non-aspiration. In *vayaṇena* (Sanskrit *vachanena*) in line 3 and *pavayaṇa* (Sanskrit *pravachana*) in line 8, *cha* has been changed to *ya* by the process of the elision of the consonant and the substitution of the remaining *a* by *ya*. The letter *k* has been similarly changed to *y* in *°aṭṭhamiyaya* (Sanskrit *°āshṭamikāyām*) in line 13. But *niradāṇaṁ* in line 10 exhibits the modification of a surd (*t*) to sonant (*d*). In *ppamuha* (Sanskrit *pramukha*) in lines 5-6 and *sa-muh-ā°* (Sanskrit *sva-mukh-ā°*) in line 14, *kh* has been changed to *h* and, in *pariharadha* (Sanskrit *pariharatha*) in line 12, *th* has been modified to *dh*. The words *nīroga* and *chhandovichita* (line 8) have been used in the senses of the medical and metrical sciences respectively.

The inscription is dated in the regnal reckoning of the donor. Unfortunately the word indicating the year of his reign in line 13 is rubbed off, though from the traces of the letters on the impressions it can probably be restored as *dabe*, i.e. 2. The other details of the date are : **the eighth of the dark fortnight of the month of Jyeshṭha** (*kāl-aṭṭhamiyaya*=Sanskrit *kāl-āshṭamikāyām*), **Bhādrapada-nakshatra.** Whether the *nakshatra* was *Pūrva* or *Uttara* Bhādrapada is not specified in the record though the position of the *nakshatra* shows that the month was *amānta*. It is interesting to note that, even though the charter was issued probably in the king's **second regnal year**, he was then a hundred years old (cf. *vāsa-sat-āyuka*=Sanskrit *varsha-śat-āyushka* in line 2). The circumstances leading to his accession to the throne at such an advanced age cannot, of course, be determined without further light on the subject.

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the mention of the victorious [city of] **Jayapura** whence the charter was issued. Lines 1-3 state that it was issued in the words of *Mahārāja* **Hastivarman** who was a hundred years old and was devoted to *Bhagavat* Nārāyaṇa, while lines 3-6 show that the king's order in respect of the grant was addressed to the villagers

[1] Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 170-71.

(*gāma*=Sanskrit *grāma*, literally 'a village', used here in the sense of *grāmeyaka*) of Mulukuli in the *āhāra* (district) of Kānīra, headed by their *muḍuḍa* (*mutuḍa*, no doubt meaning 'the village headman'), and that the grant was made for the increase of the virtue (*dharma*), longevity and strength of the king, for his passage to heaven (*svar-nayana*) and for his attainment of religious merit. The donees of the grant, described in lines 6-10, were sixty Brāhmaṇas whose names are not enumerated. They are, however, stated to have belonged to various *gotras* and *charaṇas* and to have been engaged in penance (*tapas*), recitation of sacred texts (*svādhyāya*), offering of oblations to gods (*homa*), observance of vows (*vrata*) and religious austerities (*niyama*) as well as in the six duties enjoined on a Brāhmaṇa (*shaṭ-karman*), viz. *yajana* (offering sacrifices), *yājana* (conducting sacrifices), *adhyayana* (study), *adhyāpana* (teaching), *dāna* (charity) and *pratigraha* (receipt of gifts) and were also experts in the *veda*, *vedāṅga*, *itihāsa* (tradition), *purāṇa*, *nīroga* (medical science), *chhando-vichita* (metrics) and *pravachana* (exposition). The concluding part of the sentence in lines 10-11 states that the grant of the village was made to the said Brāhmaṇas as *dakshiṇā* for what is called *prathama-kalyāṇa* that they must have performed for the king. The word *kalyāṇa* here no doubt means a ceremony to bring health or prosperity to the king while the adjective *prathama* suggests that it was the first of a series which the king contemplated to perform. Unfortunately the exact nature of the ceremony cannot be determined. It is, however, interesting to note that, although the increase of the donor's longevity was one of the objects of the grant, another object was his passage to heaven. This latter, when considered along with the fact that the donor was a hundred years old at the time of making the grant, suggests that the charter was issued when the king was afraid of death in the near future. The prayer for longevity, however, precludes the possibility of the case being exactly similar to that recorded in the Rākshaskhāli (Sundarban) plate of Ḍommanapāla.[1]

The residents and the headman of the gift village were ordered to exempt the village with the customary exemptions of obstacles for the sake of the *devatā* probably meaning the god Nārāyaṇa to whom the king was devoted (lines 11-12) while the donees were expected to enjoy the gift permanently (lines 12-13). It is possible to think from the reference to the god in this connection that the god Nārāyaṇa was worshipped in a temple at Jayapura which the king visited on pilgrimage and that the *kalyāṇa* ceremony, on the occasion of which the grant was made, was performed in the said temple. It further suggests that many of the donees were associated with the temple of Nārāyaṇa at Jayapura.

The date of the charter, already discussed above, is quoted in lines 13-14 where it is also stated that the grant was executed under orders of the king himself (*sa-muh-āṇatti*=Sanskrit *sva-mukh-ājñaptyā*). This is followed in lines 14-18 by two of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas. The document ends with the mention of *Amātya* (probably, a minister) Jayasvāmin who appears to have been its writer.

The inscription does not offer any indication regarding the dynasty to which king Hastivarman belonged. But, about the time in question, the Śālaṅkāyanas of Vēṅgī (modern Pedda-Vegi near Eluru in the West Godavari District) are known to have been ruling over the region between the lower courses of the Kṛishṇā and Godāvarī rivers and it is possible to think of the identification of our Hastivarman with one of the two known Hastivarmans of the Śālaṅkāyana family, viz. (1) Hastivarman I who was probably a contemporary of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.) and flourished about the middle of the fourth century A.D., and (2) Hastivarman II who was a son (probably the eldest son) of Nandivarman I (the donor of the Kānukollu plates

[1] See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 42 ff.

referred to above) and the grandson of Hastivarman I and is known from the Kānukollu copper-plate[1] inscription of his own son Skandavarman, which is written in the Sanskrit language. Since the language of our inscriptoin, as indicated above, stands midway between that of the Kānukollu Prakrit plates of Nandivarman I and the Sanskrit plate of Skandavarman from the same place, it is probably better to identify our Hastivarman with Śālaṅkāyana Hastivarman II.

In this connection, it may be pointed out that the known Śālaṅkāyana charters are all issued from the city of Vēṅgī which was the capital of the Śālaṅkāyana kings and that these rulers are generally represented in their records specifically as Śālaṅkāyana and also as devoted to *Bhagavat* Chitrarathasvāmin. As regards the mention of the kings as Śālaṅkāyana and the reference to the god Chitrarathasvāmin, it may be pointed out that the Kānukollu copper-plate inscription of Nandivarman I, one of the earliest known Śālaṅkāyana charters, does not contain any such reference. The said elements thus appear to have been popularised in the records of the family at a later date. Their absence in a charter of one who appears to have been the immediate successor of Nandivarman I is thus not unintelligible. As regards the issue of our grant from Jayapura instead of Vēṅgī, it has to be noticed that the charter may not have been issued from the capital of the donor, but, as indicated above, on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the temple of Nārāyaṇa at Jayapura.

The **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription are [the city of] Jayapura, the district of Kānīra and [the village of] Mulukuli. I am not sure about the exact location of any of them. Mulukuli, however, reminds us of Mulakalapalle in the Nugur Taluk in the East Godavari District.

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 Siddham[3] [|*] Vijaya-**Jayapurā** bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-charaṇ-āravinda-

2 rajo-vaguṇḍita[4]-śirassa vāsa-sat-āyukassa mahāraja-sirī-

Second Plate, First Side

2[5]

3 **Hatthivammassa** vayaṇeṇa **Kānīr-āhāre** appaṇo[6]

4 dhamm-āyu-bala-vivaddhaṇ-atthaṁ svar-nnayan-ārtthañ=cha

Second Plate, Second Side

5 amha[7]-punn-appāyana-nimitte **Mulukuli**[8]-muduḍa-ppamu-

6 hā(ho) gāmo bhāṇitavvo [|*] etaṁ g[ā]maṁ nānā-gotra-charaṇa-

[1] Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 7 ff.

[2] From impressions.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] The intended reading is ° *guṇṭita* for Sanskrit *guṇṭhita*.

[5] This is incised in the left margin to the left of the ring hole.

[6] The passage from *appano* here to *nimitte* in line 5 should properly be read in the next sentence beginning with *etaṁ* in line 6.

[7] The reading may be *amhaṁ* also.

[8] The word *gāme* seems to have been omitted here through the oversight of the scribe or engraver. Cf. *mahārāja-siri-Naṁdivaṁmasa vachaṇena Pidiha-ggāme muduḍa-ppamuho gāmo*, etc., in lines 2-4 of the Kānukollu plates of Nandivarman I.

i

2

ii, a

4

ii, b

6

iii, a

8

iii, b



10 10

iv, a



12 12

iv, b



4 14

v

6 16



8 18

Third Plate, First Side

3[1]

7 tapa-sajjhāya-homa-vrata-niyama-ratāṇaṁ veda-vedāṅg-eti-

8 hāsa-purāṇa-niroga-chhandovichita-pavayaṇa-paragāṇaṁ

Third Plate, Second Side

9 yajana-yājan-āddhyayan-āddhyāpana-dāna-pratigraha-shaṭka-

10 rmma-niradāṇaṁ saṭṭhi-Bamha[2]ṇāṇaṁ amhehi prathama

Fourth Plate, First Side

4[3]

11 kalyāṇa-dakshiṇa-nimitte saṁ[pa]dattaṁ [|*] taṁ devat-attha(tthe)ṇa

12 savva-bādha-parīhārehi pariharadha [|*] ā-chanda-tārakaṁ

Fourth Plate, Second Side

13 bhuñjantu | [dabe[4] sa]vachchhare(rā) Jeṭṭha-māsa-kāl-aṭṭhamiyaya

14 sa[5]-muh-āṇattī[6] Bhadrapada-naksha[tre] saṁpadattaṁ || Bahubhir=vvasu-

15 dhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=[ān]upāli[t]ā [|*]

Fifth Plate

16 yasya yasya yadā [bhū]mis=tasya tasya tadā phalam |[|*][7]

17 Shashḍi(shṭi)-varsha-saha[s]r[āṇ]i svaggi(rgge) modati [bh]ūmidaḥ [|*] apaharttā ch=ānumantā cha[8]

18 [9]tāvan=narakam=ṛi[ch]chhati |[|*] amāttya-Jayas[v]āmī(mi)nā[10] [|*]

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-6) Let there be success ! From the victorious **Jayapura**, the villagers of **Mulukuli** in the **Kānīra** district, headed by *(their) muṭuḍa*, should be addressed in the *(following)* words of the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Hastivarman** who is one hundred years old and whose head is covered

[1] This is engraved in the left margin on a level a little above that of the ring hole.

[2] Originally *mhā* had been incised ; but the *ā-mātrā* was rubbed off.

[3] This is engraved in the left margin to the left of the ring hole.

[4] These two *aksharas* are badly rubbed off.

[5] This *akshara* has been incised to the left of the ring hole.

[6] The intended expression seems to be °*āṇattiya*.

[7] The metre of this stanza and the following one is *Anushṭubh*.

[8] Read *apahartt=ānumantā cha* or *apaharttā ch=ānumantā* for the sake of the metre.

[9] This line begins from below the middle of the previous line.

[10] The word *likhitam* seems to have been omitted for want of space at the end of the line.

with the pollens of the lotus that is the feet of Lord Nārāyaṇa : "For the increase of our virtue, longevity and strength and for our passage to heaven, (*and also*) for our attainment of religious merit,—

(Lines 6-11) this village is granted by us, as the *dakshiṇā* of the first *kalyāṇa* (*ceremony*), to the sixty Brāhmaṇas (i.e. the priests who performed the ceremony) who belong to various *gotras* and *charaṇas* ; who are engaged in penance, recitation of sacred texts, offering of oblations to gods, observance of vows and religious austerities : who are experts in the *veda*, *vedāṅga*, tradition (*itihāsa*), *purāṇa*, medical science (*nīroga*), metrical science (*chhandovichita*) and the exposition of texts (*pravachana*) ; and who are (*also*) engaged in the six duties (*of the Brāhmaṇas, such as*) study, teaching, offering sacrifices, conducting sacrifices, charity and receipt of gifts.

(Lines 11-14) Exempt the said (*village*), for the god's (i.e. Nārāyaṇa's) sake, with all exemptions from obstacles. Let (*the donees*) enjoy (*it*) as long as the moon and stars endure. (*It*) is given by orders from our own mouth **on the dark eighth (i.e. the eighth of the dark fortnight) of the month of Jyeshṭha when the nakshatra is Bhādrapada and the (regnal) years are (to be counted as) two.**"

(Lines 14-18) (Two of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas.)

(Line 18) (*Written*) by *Amātya* Jayasvāmin.

No. 19—GRANT OF KADAMBA MRIGESAVARMAN, YEAR 2

(1 *Plate*)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 26.2.1960*)

A set of photographs of the copper-plate inscription, which is edited below, was obtained by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra for the office of the Government Epigraphist for India about the end of 1957. The plates were found somewhere in the old Mysore State : but I have no information as to their findspot and the circumstances leading to their discovery. The set consists of **three** plates each measuring about 5·6" long and 2·5" broad. There is a hole on the left margin of each plate for the ring to pass through and a **seal,** oval in shape and measuring about 1·3" by 1", is attached to the ring. The counter-sunk surface of the seal contains the figure of an animal which cannot be made out from the photograph. The weight of the set is not recorded.

The first and third plates are engraved on one side only while the second plate has writing on both sides. The first plate and the two sides of the second plate have each 4 lines of writing while the third plate contains 5 lines. Thus there are 17 lines of writing in all. The letters are boldly and deeply cut and the writing is very well preserved.

The **characters** are the box-headed variety of the Southern type and closely resemble those of the Halsi[1] and the Devagiri[2] plates of king Mṛigēśavarman who issued the present charter. Of the initial vowels, *a* occurs in lines 6, 8 and 11 while *u* is found in line 16. Medial *ī* is indicated by a curve inside the loop. Final *m* occurs in lines 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14 and 17. The **language** is Sanskrit, and, except an imprecatory verse at the end, the text is in prose. Of grammatical interest is the rare use of the *Parasmaipada* form *phalanti* in lines 9 and 10. In respect of **orthography,** it may be observed that the consonant following *r* is doubled.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Vijaya-Śiva-Mṛigēśavarman** of the Kadamba dynasty and registers gifts of some lands made by him to the Brāhmaṇas Rudrārya and Nandyārya of the Bhārgava *gōtra.* The king has the usual epithets found in his other grants and there can be no doubt about his identity with Mṛigēśavarman, the eldest son and successor of Śāntivarman and the grandson of Kākusthavarman. He is also called *paramabrahmaṇya* in our record.

The chief interest of the inscription lies in its **date** which is given as the **tenth day** of the **fourth fortnight** of **Hēmanta** in the king's **second regnal year.** This is the **earliest** inscription of Mṛigēśavarman discovered so far. Till now the Devagiri[3] plates of his third year were regarded as the earliest record. I have shown elsewhere[4] that Mṛigēśavarman may be referred to the period 450-75 A.D.

The gift consisted of two plots of land : one within the limits of the village **Kōgulipōguya** which was situated in **Antarmalaya-rājya;** and the other, within the limits of **Vēlpallī** and **Pōttara** which were also apparently included in the same territorial unit. The extent of both the

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 24-25 and Plate.

[2] Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 37-38 and Plates.

[3] Ibid., pp. 35-37.

[4] *Journ. Or. Res.* (Madras), Vol. XVII, pp. 39 ff. For another suggestion regarding Mṛigēśavarman's date, see Sircar, *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 234-36.

fields was as far as the water would flow. Probably there was a stream or a rivulet in both the places and the land irrigated by the water of the stream was granted. The field is called *pukkōllī kshētra* in both the places. The expression *pukkōllī* occurs in some other grants of this period and though its exact significance is not known, I have suggested that it may mean a 'kind of field'.[1] This suggestion is strengthened by the present inscription where the context in which the expression *pukkōllī* occurs shows that it is a kind of cultivable wet land.

Antarmalaya-rājya as well as Kōgulipōguyapalli, Vēlallī and Pōttara, which were situated in it, cannot be identified.

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 Siddham[3] || Vijaya-**Vaijayantyām(ntyāṁ)** Svāmi-mahāsēna-**mātṛi-gaṇ-ā**-

2 nuddhyāt-ābhishiktasya[4] Mānavya-sagōtrasya Hāritī-

3 putrasya pratikṛita-charchchā-pārasya **Kadambānām(nāṁ)**

4 dharmma-mahārājasya śrī-Vijaya-Śiva-**Mṛigēśavarmmaṇaḥ**

Second Plate, First Side

5 vijaya-vaijayikaḥ **saṁvva(va)tsaraḥ dvitīyaḥ Hēmanta-pakshaḥ**

6 **chaturtthaḥ tithir=ddaśamī** anay=ānupūrvyā brāhmaṇābhyām

7 Bhārggava-sagōtrābhyām(bhyāṁ) sv-āchāra-sampannābhyām(bhyāṁ) Rudrāryya-

8 Nandyāryyābhyām **Antarmmalaya-rājyē Kōgulipōguya-**pall [y]i(lli)-[5]

Second Plate, Second Side

9 sīmni yāvad=āpaḥ plava[ṁ*]ti tāvat=pukkōllī-kshētram(traṁ) **Vēlpallī-**

10 **Pōttarayōḥ** sīmni cha yāvad=āpaḥ plavat[ṁ*]i tāvad=ēvaṁ

11 pukkōllī-kshētram anēka-janmāntar-ōpārjjita-śubha-saṁskāra[ḥ]

12 su-viśuddha-pitṛi-mātṛi-vaṁśaḥ n-aika-vidha-pradāna-nityaḥ **parama-brahmaṇya[ḥ]**

Third Plate

13 Dharmma-mahārājaḥ Śrī-**Mṛigēśavarmmā** dattavān=ātma-śrēyō-bhyudaya-

14 nimittam(ttaṁ) sarvva-parihārēṇa brahmadēya-samayēna [|*]

15 yō=bhirakshati sa tat-puṇya-phala-bhāg=bhavati yō harati sa

16 mahāpātaka-yuktō bhavati || uktañ=cha [|*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā

17 rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā pha[lam ||]

[1] Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 218. For another suggestion regarding *pukkōllī* see above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 54.
[2] From the photographs.
[3] This word is written about the beginning of the second line.
[4] There is an unnecessary hook-like mark after *sya*.
[5] [The reading is *Kōguli-Pōguya-pallyōḥ*.—Ed.]

MGIPC—S1—9 DGA/60—24-7-63—750.

i

ii, a

ii, b

iii

SEAL



(from Photographs)

The material for this Part was sent to the Press by Dr. Sircar before his retirement in June 1962.

G. S. GAI,

Government Epigraphist for India.

No. 20—SPURIOUS GRANT OF GAHADAVALA VIJAYACHANDRA, VIKRAMA 1223

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 25.1.1961*)

The Tārāchaṇḍī rock inscription[1] of king Pratāpadhavala of Jāpila, dated Vikrama 1225, Jyēshṭha vadi 3, Wednesday (16th April 1169 A.D.), records the interesting fact that the Brāhmaṇas of Suvarṇahala or Svarṇahala secured a forged grant in respect of the two villages of Kalahaṇḍī and Baḍayilā by bribing Dēū who was an officer of king Vijayachandra of Gādhinagara or Kanyakubja, i.e. the Gāhaḍavāla king of that name who ruled in c. 1155-70 A.D. In this record, Pratāpadhavala advised his descendants not to recognise the spurious document but to collect revenues and tolls from the two villages as usual. Suvarṇahala or Svarṇahala (modern Sūnahar), Kalahaṇḍī (modern Karvaṇḍiyā) and Baḍayilā (modern Barailā) are localities near Tārāchaṇḍī about three miles from Sasaram in the Shahabad District of Bihar. Thanks to the energy of Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division, Bihar, the forged grant issued in the name of the Gāhaḍavāla king Vijayachandra to the Brāhmaṇas of Suvarṇahala (Svarṇahala) has been recently secured by him from the house of an inhabitant of **Sūnahar.** In August 1960, Mr. Sohoni kindly allowed me to copy the inscription at his residence at Patna.

It is a **single plate** measuring 17 inches in length and 12.6 inches in height and having writing on both obverse and reverse. There are twentysix lines of writing on the first side and only ten lines on the second. No **seal** is affixed to the plate, though we have a hole (·6 inch in diameter) in the centre of its upper part disturbing the continuity of the writing of lines 1-2 on the obverse.

In respect of **palaeography, language** and **style,** the inscription closely resembles other Gāhaḍavāla charters including those of Vijayachandra himself.[2] As regards **orthography,** it may be said that class nasals have been more often used than *anusvāra.*

The **interesting fact** about the writing of the grant under study is that the *aksharas* in many cases have been inaccurately formed so that often the sign of one *akshara* looks like that of another or of no *akshara* at all. In this respect, the present inscription has a close similarity with the Varanasi plate[3] of the Kalachuri king Karṇa (1041-71 A.D.). This peculiar feature of Karṇa's grant is explained by the fact that it was issued by the king when he was performing his father's annual *śrāddha* ceremony at Prayāga on the Vēṇī (Trivēṇī near Allahabad). When the king was far away from his capital, no experienced engraver may have been available to him and he had probably to engage a local goldsmith who failed to read the draft of the record prepared by an officer of the king and shaped the *aksharas* as he believed to have seen them in the draft. Similar seems to have been the case with the grant under study. Its draft, probably prepared by Dēū known from the Tārāchaṇḍī inscription to have been an officer of the Gāhaḍavāla king Vijayachandra and to have been bribed by the Brāhmaṇas of Suvarṇahala (Svarṇahala) for securing the forged

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[1] Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 23 ff.

[2] A grant of Gōvindachandra and another of Vijayachandra have been recently published in this journal. See Vol. XXXIII, pp. 176 ff. and Plate facing p. 189; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 223 ff. (without illustration). For two other copper-plate charters of Vijayachandra, see above, Vol. IV, p. 117; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 7.

[3] Above, Vol. II, pp. 305 ff. and Plates.

charter, appears to have been given for engraving to an ordinary goldsmith having little experience in this kind of work and he shaped the *aksharas* as he thought fit. The engravers in both these cases appear to have had very little education.

The peculiar **nature of the writing** discussed above renders it difficult to prepare an accurate transcript of the inscription, though the introductory and concluding parts of the record are similar to the corresponding sections of the other known charters of Vijayachandra, referred to above. As will be seen below, the **date** of the grant is quoted as **Vikrama 1223, Bhādra sudi 9, Monday.** This corresponds regularly to Monday, the **5th September 1166 A.D.**, the year being current and the month Nija-Bhādrapada.

The inscription begins with what was meant to be a *siddham* symbol followed by the auspicious expression *ō svasti*. This is followed by twelve stanzas already known from the other records of Gāhaḍavāla Vijayachandra though they are engraved in an indifferent way as indicated above: (1) *Akuṇṭh-ōtkaṇṭha-Vaikuṇṭha*°, etc. (line 1); (2) *Āsīd=Aśītadyuti*°, etc. (lines 1-2); (3) ***Tat-sutō=bhūn=Mahīchandra***°, etc. (lines 2-3); (4) *Tasy=ābhūt=tanayō*, etc. (lines 3-4); (5) ***Tīrthāni Kāśi-Kuśik-Ōttara***°, etc. (lines 4-5); (6) *Tasy=ātmajō Madanapāla*°, (lines 5-6); (7) ***Yasy=āsīd=vijaya-prayāṇa***°, etc. (lines 6-8); (8) *Tasmād=ajāyata nij-āyata-bāhu*°, etc. (lines 8-9); (9) ***Na katham=apy=alabhanta***, etc. (line 9); (10) *Ajani Vijayachandrō*, etc. (lines 9-10); (11) ***Lōka-tray-ākramaṇa-kēli***°, etc. (lines 11-12); and (12) *Yasmiṁś=chalaty=udadhi*°, etc. (line 12).

The above section in verse is followed by a passage in prose as known from the other charters of Vijayachandra, in which the reigning monarch is represented as the successor (cf. *pād-ānudhyāta*) of **Gōvindachandra** who was himself the successor of **Madanapāla**, the successor of **Chandra.**[1] Then follows the grant proper. The king's order in respect of the grant is addressed to the inhabitants of **Kirihiṇḍī** together with **Baḍailā** situated in the **Saputrāra** *paṭṭalā* as well as to a host of subordinates and officers, whose list is similar to that generally found in the records of the Gāhaḍavālas. It will be seen that *Baḍayilā* and *Kalahaṇḍī* of Pratāpadhavala's epigraph have been written here as *Baḍailā* and *Kirihiṇḍī*. The second name may be a mistake for *Kalahaṇḍī*, though the modern form of the name, viz. *Karvaṇḍiyā*, would suggest that *Kirihiṇḍī* or *Karahaṇḍī* was an alternative form. The name of the *paṭṭalā* or district of Saputrāra is not known from any other source and it is difficult to say whether it has been correctly written.

The passage quoting the date of the grant in lines 21-22 reads as: *siviṁsatpaviru-vādaṇa-satarsaṁhatsarē Bhātayadē mābhi sita-pakshē bhaiatpā tighai Bhōsa-ditē apkatō=pi saṁ 1223 Sāpra-sudi 9 Sōmē Siṁghaṇṭē savitari.* The intended reading for this was apparently: *trayōviṁśaty-adhika-dvādaśa-śata saṁvatsarē Bhādrapadē māsi sita-pakshē navamyāṁ tithau Sōma-dinē aṅkatō=pi saṁ 1223 Bhādra-sudi 9 Sōmē Siṁhasthē savitari.* The charter is thus purported to have been issued on Monday, the 9th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the year [Vikrama] 1223 when the sun was in the Siṁha *rāśi*. This date corresponds to the **5th September 1166 A.D.** as indicated above.

The following passage in lines 22-25 states in the style of the Gāhaḍavāla charters that the grant was made by the king after having taken a bath in the waters of the **Ganges at Vārāṇasī** for the merit and fame of his parents and himself. The donees of the grant are mentioned in line 25 in the passage: *Sōnahala-gāma-nivāsi-payōvūścharuṇa-lākēbhyā nātā-gōtrēbhyā Vrātēnajya* for which the intended reading is no doubt *Svarṇahala-grāma-nivāsi-nānā-vēda-charaṇa-śākhēbhyō nānā-gōtrēbhyō Brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ*. Thus the grant is purported to have been made in favour of the

[1] The inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavāla family generally quote his name as *Chandradēva*, though his own records sometimes give it both as *Chandradēva* and *Chandrādityadēva*. See above, Vol. XIV, pp. 194 (text line 14) and 198 (text line 9); but cf. Vol. IX, p. 304 (text lines 4 and 7).

Brāhmaṇas of Svarṇahala, who belonged to various *gōtras*, *charaṇas* and *śākhās*. The name *Sōnahala*, as found in our record, is a modification of *Suvarṇahala* or *Svarṇahala* noticed in the Tārāchaṇḍī inscription. It is thus these Brāhmaṇas who were charged by king Pratāpadhavala of Jāpila with the possession of a forged document fabricated with the help of an officer of the Gāhaḍavāla king.

After advising the inhabitants of the gift villages to pay the royal dues to the donees (line 26), a number of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 27-35. The language of this section also resembles that of the corresponding part of other Gāhaḍavāla charters. The last line of the record (line 36) reads : *likhitaṁ cēkshaṁ tāprakaṁ sahākshapaṭalika-gkura-śrī-Śrīpatikē=ēti* no doubt standing for *likhitaṁ ch=ēdaṁ tāmr-ākaṁ mahākshapaṭalika-ṭhakkura-śrī-Śrīpatikēn=ēti*. Thus the charter is purported to have been written by the *Mahākshapaṭalika Ṭhakkura* Śrīpatika. The same *Mahākshapaṭalika Ṭhakkura* Śrīpati is known from a number of inscriptions of Gōvindachandra (c. 1114-55 A.D.) and Jayachandra (c. 1170-93 A.D.),[1] though his name does not occur in the published records of Vijayachandra himself who was the successor of the former and predecessor of the latter.[2]

It will be seen that the present grant was forged in September 1166 A.D. and Pratāpadhavala declared it to be spurious in April 1169 A.D. Apparently the Brāhmaṇas of Svarṇahala exposed themselves when they had presented the forged document to the officers who went to collect taxes for the villages of Baḍayilā or Baḍailā and Kalahaṇḍī or Kirihiṇḍī on behalf of Pratāpadhavala. It is of course not clear whether Pratāpadhavala was a subordinate of Vijayachandra or ousted Gāhaḍavāla rule from what is called Saputrāra-pattalā, i.e. the modern Sasaram Subdivision of the Shahabad District. We can see, however, that the exposure of the Brāhmaṇas' crime does not come soon after the winter (i.e. the harvesting season when taxes were generally collected) of the years 1167 and 1168 A.D. This may be explained by the supposition that the overthrow of Gāhaḍavāla rule by Pratāpadhavala from the area in question took place after the winter of 1168 A.D. or that the Brāhmaṇas were hesitating for some time to put up their claim to the two villages on the authority of the forged document. It is also possible that the tax-collectors were originally deceived successfully by the culprits who were caught after sometime.

The **geographical names** occurring in the inscription have already been discussed above.

TEXT[3]

Obverse

1 Siddhaṁ[4] paṁ(ō) khabhti(svasti) || Akuṇṭh-ō[t*]kaṇṭha-Vaikuṇṭha-kaṇṭha-pīṭha-ṇu(lu)ṭhat-karaḥ | sa[ṁ*]ratuḥ(mbhaḥ) surat-ārabhtē(mbhē) sa śripaḥ(vaḥ) bhōma(śrōya)sē=su-(stu) raḥ(vaḥ) [|| 1*] Āsīd=Asī(śī)tapu(dyu)ti-kaṁbha(vaṁśa)-jāta-nmā(kshmā)pāla-

2 mālāsu divaṁ gatāsu | sātvādri(kshād=Vi)vasphāra(svān=i)va bhūri-dhatanmā(dhāmnā) nāmnā **Yaśōvipa(gra)ha** itpu(ty=u)dya(dā)raḥ || [2*] Tat=sutō=shta(bhū)n=**Mahīta-(cha)ndrasva**(ś=cha)ndra-dhāma-nibhaṁ nija[ṁ](jam) || (|) yētā(n=ā)pāra-

3 m=akūpācha(ra)-pārē vyāpāritaṁ yaśaḥ || [3*] Tasy=ābhūt=tanayō nay-airu(ka)-va(ra)-sikaḥ krānta-dvishan-malḍa(ṇḍa)lō vidhvast-ōdva(ddha)ta-vīrē(ra)-yōvi(dha)-timiva(raḥ) śrī-**Chandradēvō** nṛipaḥ (|) yēn-ōdāratara-

[1] See, e.g., above Vol. IV, pp. 117, 121, 123, 124, 129.

[2] A grant of Vijayachandra written by the same person was recently copied by us in the Lucknow Museum. This epigraph is being published below along with some other Gāhaḍavāla charters. See pp. 209 ff. below.

[3] From impressions. In the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions, subscript *y* generally looks like subscript *p*. In the present transcript the sign has been read as *p*. The metres of the verses are not indicated since the stanzas are well known from other records.

[4] Expressed by symbol.

4 pratāpa-sa(śa)mıt-āśēsha-praj-ōpadravaṁ śrīmad-**Gādhipur**-ādhivādya(rājya)m=asasa(ma)n=dōrdvi(r-vvi)kramēlā(ṇ=ā)rjjitam || [4*] Tīrthāni Kāsi(śi)-Kusi(śi)kā(k-ō)ttava(ra)-Kōśal-Ēndrastā(sthā)nīyakāni paripā-

5 layat=ābhigasya(mya) | hēm=ātma-tu[lya]m=anisa(śa)n=dadatā dvijēnyō(bhyō) śē(yē)n=āṅgi(ṅki)tā [va]sumatī sa(śa)taśas=tulābhiḥ || [5*] Tasy=ātmajō **Madanapāla** iti kshitīndra-chūḍāmali(ṇi)-

6 rdri(r=vvi)jayatē nija-gōtra-chandraḥ | yasy=ābhishēka-kalas-ōllasitaiḥ payōbhiḥ prakshālitaṁ kali-rajaḥ-[pa]ṭalaṁ dharitryāḥ || [6*] Yasy=āśi(sī)d=vijaya-prayāla(ṇa)-samayē tuṅg-ā-

7 chal-ōchchaiś=chalan=mādyat-kumbhi-pada-krasā(m-ā)sama-[bha]ra-bhrasyan-mahī-malu(ṇḍa)lē [|*] chūḍā-ratna-vibhinna-tālu-galita-styāgā(n-ā)sṛig-udu(d)bhāsitaḥ Śēshaḥ prē(pē)sha-vasā(śā)d=iva kshaṇam=asau krōḍē

8 vi(ni)lī[n-ā]ta(na)naḥ || [7*] Tasmād=ajāyata ti(ni)j-āyata-vā(bā)hu-valli-vaddhā(bandh-ā)varuddha-va(na)va-tāgha(rājya)-gajō na[rē]ndraḥ | sāndr-āmṛita-drava-muvāṁ(chāṁ) ga(pra)bhavō gavāṁ yō **[Gō]vindava(cha)ndra** iti chandra i-

9 v=āgdhu(mbu)-[rā]sēḥ(śēḥ) || [8*] Ra(Na) katham=appa(py=a)latpatta(bhanta) raṇa-kamāṁnti(kshamāṁs=ti)sṛishu diku(kshu) gajātacha(n=atha) Vaji(jri)ṇaḥ | kakuti(bhi) patra(badhra)mur=Abhramurattata(vallabha)-pakti(prati)-bhaṭā ha(i)va yasya ghaṭā-gajāḥ || [9*] Pra(A)jani **Ri(Vi)-**

10 **ayara(cha)ndrō** tāta(nāma) tabhtātratē(smān=narē)ndraḥ surapatir=ira(va) bhūbhṛit-paka(ksha)-vitkē(kshē)pa-daṁjaḥ(dakshaḥ) | tvu(bhu)vataṁ(na)-dalata(na)-ha(hē)lā-rhamyā(harmya)-Haṁvī(bī)ra-tārā(nārī)-tapata(nayana)-jasa(la)da-sa(dhā)rā-nē(dhau)ta-vūlī(bhūlō)ka-tāpaḥ || [10*] Llō(Lō)-

11 sā(ka)-tray-ākramala(ṇa)-kēli-ritṛigra(viśṛiṁkha)lāri(ni) praghō(ddyō)ta-sātti(kīrti)-viri(kavi)-varṇṇita-dai(vai)bharāli(vāni) | yasva(sya) [Tri]vikrama-pada-krama-bhāṅgi(ñji) bhānni(nti) prārna(prōjjṛimbha)yanti Va(Ba)li-rāja-sa(bha)yaṁ yaśāṁmē(si) || [11*]

12 Yasti(smiṁ)ś=chalapu(ty=u)dadhi-tē(nē)mi-sa(ma)hī-jay-ārgha(rthaṁ) mādyat-karīndra-tu(gu)ru-bhāra-ti(ni)pīḍit=ēva | yāti Praṁ(Pra)jāsha(pa)ti-padaṁ sa(śa)raṇa(ṇ-ār)thinī bhūsva(s=tva)ṅgabhu(t-tu)ra[ṅga*]-nira(va)h-ōrtha(ttha)-rajaśra(ś-chha)lēta(na) || [12*]

13 sō=yaṁ samasta-rāja-chakra-saṁsēritaṁ(vita)-va(cha)raṇaḥ paramaha(bha)ṭṭārabha(ka)-mahāra(rā)jādhirāja-paramēvapa(śvara)-paramatahipa(māhēśva)ra-ti(ni)jatu(bhu)j-ōrppāji(pārjji)ta-[śrī]-Katpa(nya)kujā(bj-ā)dhipati(tya)-śrī-**Vaddha(Chandra)dēva-pā-**

14 d-ānudhyāta-parana(ma)bhagha(ṭṭā)raka-ta(ma)hātā(rā)jāpi(dhi)rāga(ja)-paramēbhya(śva)ra-param[ē](ma)māhēma(śva)ra-tyō(śrī)matma(n-**Ma)danapāladēra(va)**-pāpā(d-ā)nudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-pa-

15 ramēsra(śva)ra-paramanā(mā)hēśra(śva)r-ātva(śva)pati-gajarpāta(pati)-narapatı- rāḍātta(jatra)y-ādhipati-vividha-righa(vidyā)-rirā(vichā)ra-chara(vācha)spati-śrīmad-**Gōvindava-(cha)ndrapē(dē)va**-pād-ānudhyāta-

16 paramabhagha(ṭṭā)raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśra(śva)ra-paramamāhētpē(śva)r-āchya-(śva)pati-gajapati-narapati-rājara(tra)y-ādhipati-vividhavighā(dyā)vivā(chā)ravāva(cha)-spati-śrī-

17 mad-**Vijayava(cha)ndradērō(vō)** vijayī || || **Saputrāra**-pattalāyāṁ **Va(Ba)ḍailā**-saha-**Kirihıṁḍī**-grāma-nivāsinō niśvi(khi)la-janapadrā(dā)n=upagatān=api cha

SPURIOUS GRANT OF GAHADAVALA VIJAYACHANDRA, VIKRAMA 1223

Size : One-half

18 rājā(ja)-rājñī-yuratā(varā)ja-mari(ntri)-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākupē(ksha-pa)ṭalika-vi(bhi)shakē(g-nai)mivi(tti)k-āttaḥ(ntaḥ)pur[i]ka-dra(dū)ta-kari - turaga-pattan-ākā(ka)ra-

19 bhvāra(sthāna)-gōkul-ādhirkārēru(kāri-pu)rushātāmrā(n=ājñā)pasha(ya)ti tāvavapōjibhati[1] yarthara(yathā) vidiu(ta)m=asu(stu) bhaṁratī(bhavatāṁ) yavō(th=ō)pariliśri(khi)ta-grānaḥ(maḥ) sa-jaya(la)-śra(stha)laḥ sa-tō(lō)-

20 ha-lavaṁ(va)ṇ-ākaraḥ sa-tatbhyārāraḥ[2] sa-gajōya(rtt-ōsha)raḥ sa-giri-gahana-ti(ni)dhāvaḥ-(naḥ) sa-saṁ(ma)dhūk-āmvra(mra)-vata(na)-sha(vā)ṭi[kā]-viṭapa-tpa(tṛi)ṇattani(yūti)-gōda-(cha)ra-paryantaḥ

21 s-ōvāva(rdhv-ādha)ś=chatur-āpā(ghā)ṭa-visu(śu)ddhaḥ sva-sīmā-paryata(ntaḥ) **siviṁsatpa-viru[3]-va(dvā)daṇa(śa)-sa(śa)ta-rsacha(saṁva)tsarē Bhāta(dra)padē mābhi(si) sita-pakshē bha(na)vatpā(myāṁ) tighai(thau) Bhō(Sō)-**

22 **sa(ma)-ditē(nē) apka(ṅka)tō=pi saṁ 1223 Sāpra(Bhādra)-sudi 9 Sōmē** ||[4] Siṁghaṇṭē-(hasthē) savitari ayē(dy=ē)ha śrīmad-vijaya-**Vātā(rā)ṇasya|(syāṁ) Gaṁgāyāṁ** snātvā vidhivaḍē(d=dē)va-muni-

23 matu(nu)ja-tū(bhū)ta-pitṛi-gaṇā[ṁ*]s=tarppayittā(tvā) timira-paṭala-pāṭana-padu(ṭu)-mahas-tarsvarāṁvisham[5]=upabhpāyi|yaṁ[dē]patiśarālayashara|[6] tvanaṇyaryaṁ[7] pritu(tri-bhu)va-

24 ra(na)-[trā]tur=Vvātu(su)dēvasva(sya) pūtāṁ(jāṁ) vidhāya prachurā(ra)-pāyasat ı(sēna) Havi-rbhujaṁ [ṅga]vā(hutvā) mātā-pitrōr=āla(tma)naś=cha putya(ṇya)-yasō(śō)-bhivṛidnaya-(ddhayē) prashṭāri(asmābhiḥ) grā(gō)kasraruga(rṇa-kuśa)-lartā(tā)-rta(pū)-

25 ma(ta)-vā(ka)ratal-ōdaka-pva(pū)rvvavāṁ(kaṁ) **Sōnahala**[8]-yā(grā)ma-nivāsi-payōvūś**charu**-ṇalākēbhyā[9] nātā(nā)-gōtrēbhyā(bhyō) Vrātēna|tya[10] śravadrājña srāva[chchhā]sanōgha-tya[11] prada-

26 rtā(ttō) matmā(tvā) yathādīyamāna-tā(bhō)ga-bhāga-vā(ka)ra-sapalidāsa[12]-ra(ya)matti(li)-kāva(mba)li-graprati[13]-ti(ni)yat-āti(ni)yata-samasādā-śāttāpāti-[dhi]yīttama dāsyatati[14] |

Reverse

27 bhērari(bhavanti) rātta(ch=ātra) vō(pau)rāṇivā(ka)-śvō(ślō)kāḥ || Gū(Bhū)miṁ **raḥ(yaḥ)** pratigṛihvā(hṇā)ti yaś=cha bhūtiṁ(miṁ) prayattha(chchha)ti | **ubhau tau punva(ṇya)-karmmālau(ṇau)** niyataṁ śva(sva)rgga-gāti(mi)nau || [13*] Saṁ(Śaṁ)khaṁ bhadra-(dr-ā)sanaṁ chcha(chha)traṁ

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[1] The intended reading is *bōdhayaty=ādiśati*.

[2] Read *sa-matsy-ākaraḥ*.

[3] The intended reading is *trayōviṁśaty-adhika*.

[4] The *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.

[5] Read *mahasam=ushṇarōchisham°*.

[6] Read *°upasthāy=Aushadhipatiśakalaśēkharaṁ*.

[7] The intended reading is *samabhyarchchya*.

[8] The name is *Suvarnahala* or *Svarṇahala* in the Tārāchaṇḍī inscription.

[9] The intended reading is *nānā-vēda-charaṇa-śākhēbhyō*.

[10] Read *Brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ*.

[11] Read *ā-chandr-ārkkaṁ yāvach=chhāsanīkṛitya*.

[12] Read *pravaṇikara*.

[13] Read *prabhṛiti*.

[14] Read *samast-ādāyān=ājñā-vidhēyībhūya dāsyath=ēti*.

28 var-ābhyā(śvā) vara-vāralāḥ(ṇāḥ) [|*] sūti(bhūmi)-dānasya vi[a]ti(chihnāni) phalanē[ra]-(m=ēta)t=Puraṁdara || [14*] Sarvvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pā[r*]thivēndrān=bhūpō(yō) vūsō-(bhūyō) yāchatē Rānara(machaṁ)draḥ | sānānpō(mānyō)=yaṁ

29 varmra(dharmma)-sētur=nnṛipālāṁ(ṇāṁ) kālē kālē pālarnā(nī)yō bhavatbhiḥ(dbhiḥ) || [15*] Anēdrasē(Asmad-vaṁśē) parikshīṇē yaḥ kaśchinna(n=nṛi)patir=bhanē(vēt) [|*] tasy=āhaṁ kara-lagnē(gnō)=[s]mi sā(śā)sanaṁ na ppa(vya)tikramē-

30 t || [16*] Ta(Ba)bubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ād[i]bhiḥ [|*] yasā(sya) yasā(sya) yadā bhūmi bhasā(s=tasya) tasya ra(ta)[d]ā phalaṁ(lam) || [17*] Gām=ēkāṁ vērṇṇi(svarṇṇa)-m=ēkaṁ va(cha) sū(bhū)mēr=apy=ēkam=aṅgulaṁ(lam |)

31 haran=narakanātō(m=āpnō)ti yāvad=āhūva(ta)-saṁplavaṁ(vam) || [18*] Taḍāgānāṁ saha-bhnē(srē)ṇa āpanē(aśvamē)dha-phalēna va(cha) [|*] garvā(vāṁ) kōṭi-pradānēna ta(bhū)mi-hartā na supya(śudhya)ti || [19*] Śva(Sva)-dattāṁ para-

32 datvāṁ(ttāṁ) vā yō harēd[1]=vasuṁrarāṁ(dharām |) sa vintā(shṭhā)yāṁ krimirsūtyā-(r=bhūtvā) pitṛibhiḥ saha majjati || [20*] Shapniṁ(shṭiṁ) varsha-va(sa)haśtā(srā)ṇi ṇna-(sva)rggē vasati bhūmidaḥ [|*] āchchhētā(ttā) vānata(ch=ānuma)ntā va(cha)

33 tā[ny=ē]va narakē vasēta(sēt) || [21*] Vāvi(ri)hīnēshv=aranyēvu(nyēshu) sukna(śushka)-kōṭara-vāsitaḥ(naḥ) | krisma(shṇa)sarppāś=cha jāyantē ve(yē) va(cha) vahna(brahma)-sva-hāriṇaḥ || [22*] Yā[n=ī]ha dattā[ni] purā na-

34 rēndrair=dānāni dharmm-ārtha-yaśatka(ska)rāli(ṇi) [|*] nirmmāṇya(lya)-[vāṁta]-pratimāni tāni kō tā(nā)ma vātuḥ(sādhuḥ) vu(pu)nar=ādavō(dī)ta || [23*] Vāvāsra(t-ābhra)-vi-bhramam=idaṁ rabhurāri(vasudh-ādhi)patya-

35 m=āpāta-mātra-madhurā vishay-ōpasō(bhō)gāḥ [|*] grātō(prāṇā)s=tṛiṇ-āpa(gra)-jala-vi(bi)-ndu-samā ta(na)rāṇāṁ dharnmaḥ(rmmaḥ) sakhā parana(m=a)hō parala[2]lōka-yātē(nē) ||[24*][3]||

36 likhitaṁ vēkshaṁ(ch=ēdaṁ) tāpra(mra)kaṁ sa(ma)hākshapaṭalika-gku(ṭhakku)ra-śrī-Śrīpatikēn=ēti || ||

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[1] Read *harēta* for *harēd*°.

[2] Read *para*.

[3] The engraver made here what was supposed to be the floral design found on the Gāhaḍavāla plates.

No. 21—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM NANDED DISTRICT

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR AND G. BHATTACHARYA, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 24.1.1961*)

We have referred above to our plan to make a search for inscriptions in the Telugu-, Kannaḍa- and Marāṭhī-speaking areas of the former Hyderabad State.[1] The results have been encouraging. Two inscriptions copied in the course of the said search, viz. (1) Warangal inscription of Raghudēva and (2) fragmentary Rāshṭrakūṭa inscription from Kandhār, have already been edited above.[2] Two other inscriptions of the same collection are published in the following pages. Both these epigraphs come from the Nanded District, Bombay State.

1. Hoṭṭal Inscription of the time of Chālukya Sōmēśvara

The village of **Hoṭṭal** (or Hoṭṭul) is five miles from the headquarters of the Deglur Taluk of the Nanded District. In the year 1959, we learnt from Shri Manohar Rao Deshmukh of the said village of the existence of a rectangular **stone pillar** with an inscription lying near a dilapidated temple at Hoṭṭal. The village abounds in ruined structures, two temples amongst them being specimens of beautiful architecture with sculptures of good workmanship, the parallel of which is not to be found elsewhere in the Nanded District. Unfortunately the temples are in a ruined condition, wild vegetation and lack of care contributing to their gradual destruction.

The inscribed pillar referred to above lies near one of the said temples. It measures approximately five feet eight inches in length, one foot five inches in breadth and one foot and a quarter inch in depth. Shri Manohar Rao informs us that the inscription was copied a few years back by Shri Pohnerkar of the Archaeological Department of the former Hyderabad State.

The record is incised on **two sides** of the pillar. Individual letters on the first side are bigger in size (about ·8 inch) than those on the second (about ·6 inch). As the first side of the inscription was exposed to the sun and rains, its writing is damaged in some places while, in three places about the middle, some letters are completely rubbed off. The writing on the second side is better preserved. There are altogether 125 lines of writing. Above the beginning of the inscription, the figures of the sun, the crescent, a recumbent bull, a cow with calf and a Śiva-liṅga are engraved in relief. This fact indicates the Śaivite character of the epigraph.

The **characters** of the record are Nāgarī of the **eleventh or twelfth century A.D.** and its **language** is Sanskrit. Excepting the salutation to the god Śiva at the beginning and two passages in the last line, the whole text is written in verse. There are 43 stanzas in all and they are consecutively numbered. As regards **orthography**, it may be noted that some consonants have sometimes been reduplicated in the association of *r*. Final *m* at the end of a verse or half verse has invariably been changed wrongly to *anusvāra* ; but it occurs in the last word of the record. There are a few cases of wrong *sandhi*.

The inscription is **undated**, though it mentions the **Later Chālukya king Sōmēśvara** as ruling at **Kalyāṇa**. There were, however, four Later Chālukya kings bearing that name, viz. Sōmēśvara I (1043-68 A.D.), Sōmēśvara II (1068-76 A.D.), Sōmēśvara III (1126-38 A.D.) and

[1] Above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 125.

[2] Ibid., pp. 125 ff.; Vol. XXXV, pp. 105 ff.

Sōmēśvara IV (1184-1200 A.D.). As will be seen below, it is difficult to say which of these Sōmēśvaras is mentioned in our record, though the possibility is that he was Sōmēśvara I or Sōmēśvara II. Thus the inscription may be assigned to the **latter half of the eleventh century A.D.** It is stated in verse 37 that the record was caused to be written out by a local ruler at midday in the month of Kārttika when the *tithi* was *rākā* (full-moon) and the *nakshatra* Kṛittikā. But no year is mentioned.

The inscription opens with the expression *Ōṁ nama[ḥ] Śivāya* which is followed by a stanza (verse 1) in adoration of the god Śiva. Verses 2-3 describe **Mount Kailāsa,** which is in the Himalayas, while verse 4 mentions the hermitage of Agastya which was apparently situated in the valley of the Kailāsa and is stated to have been resounding with the chanting of the Vedic hymns by young ascetics at prescribed hours. Verse 5 mentions the austere penance of Agastya in that hermitage. Verses 6-11 describe the birth of a hero who was the progenitor of 'the family or race of **Fire**' (*kula* of *Pāvaka, Vahni* or *Agni*). We are told how Agastya's Kāmadhēnu (i.e. wish-fulfilling cow) was snatched away by certain rulers (verse 6) and how the sage offered in a great rage an oblation to the blazing fire without uttering a curse (verse 7). The result was the birth of a great hero from Agastya's fire-pit (verse 8), who after having killed those rulers, brought back the *hōma-dhēnu* to the sage as if it were the sage's *māna-siddhi* (i.e. 'the restoration of prestige') incarnate (verse 9). By his prowess, 'the son of Fire' became a powerful ruler after having conquered enemies in the three worlds and helped Indra by uprooting the demons (verse 10). According to verse 11, this hero became known as **Munimānasiddhi** (literally, 'the restorer of the sage's prestige'). The latter half of verse 11 and the following stanza (verse 12) introduce a ruler named **Dhōrarāja** (Dhruvarāja) as an ornament of the 'Fire family' which is represented as the third dynasty, the celebrated solar and lunar races probably being the other two. The second half of verse 13 is damaged and its purport is difficult to determine, though reference is made in its first half to **Muñja** and **Tailēśvara** who are no doubt the famous Vākpati Muñja (973-96 A.D.) of the Paramāra dynasty and Taila or Tailapa II (973-97 A.D.) of the Western Chālukya family, and to the *kaṭaka* (probably, 'army') of the said two *chakravartins* (i.e. imperial rulers). Dhōrarāja was thus a contemporary of the said kings who flourished about the last quarter of the tenth century. There was a long-drawn struggle between the Paramāra and Later Chālukya kings, which seems to be vaguely indicated in the singular used in the expression *śrī-Muñja-Tailēśvarē* as in *ahi-nakulam*, though what part Dhōrarāja played in the struggle is not possible to guess from the incomplete nature of the stanza. The second half of the verse seems to mention one **Gōpāla** whose relationship with Dhōrarāja is unascertainable from the damaged text. Verse 14 introduces another member of the 'Fire race', whose name was **Uttama.** The language seems to suggest that he was the son of Dhōra, although it is difficult to be sure on this point because of the mention of Gōpāla in the previous stanza. Verse 15 introduces Uttama's son **Kalichōra (I)** who was succeeded by his son **Argadēva** according to verse 16. The next eight stanzas (verse 17-24) describe Argadēva's valour and his achievements on the battle-fields. Verse 21 says that, owing to the fame of the Kshatriya hero (i.e. Argadēva) spreading everywhere, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Purāṇas*, and the *Ākhyāyikās* were all forgotten.

Verse 24 is the last stanza on the first side. Verse 25 is engraved on the second side of the pillar, the first three lines of which are considerably damaged. Verses 25-26 appear to introduce **Kalichōra (II),** a devotee of Hara (Śiva). But whether Kalichōra was just another name of Argadēva cannot be determined from the damaged text of verse 25 which may have contained a word meaning 'son' so that Kalichōra II would be the son and successor of Arga. The description of the 'Fire family' ends with verse 27 which continues to describe the glory of Kalichōra II. This stanza represents the chief as the ruler of twenty thousand villages.

Verse 28 introduces a Vaiśya named Siddhugi who was a friend of the king, apparently meaning Kalichōra II of the 'Fire race'. In the following stanzas (verses 29-32), Siddhugi is highly praised for his noble qualities. Verse 31 compares him to Nāgārjuna, Karṇa, Vikrama (i.e. king Vikramāditya), Śibi and Vairōchani (i.e. Bali). Verse 33 states that Siddhugi installed Lord Sthāṇu (Śiva, i.e. a Śiva-liṅga) at **Kalyāṇa** which was the capital (*pura*) of king **Sōmēśvara**, the moon of the **Chālukya family** (*Chālukya-chandra*). Then the king is stated to have donated a *nishka* and a *dramma* from every village and town for [the worship of] the said god in the presence of 'the preceptor' Chandrarāśi (verse 34). This seems to refer to the ratification, by the Chālukya monarch, of a grant actually made by one of his provincial rulers as indicated later in the record. The Śaiva ascetic Chandrarāśi, who was the preceptor of Sōmēśvara or of the provincial ruler, appears to have requested the Chālukya king for the ratification. Of course, the language may also be so interpreted as to suggest that it was the semi-independent local chief of the 'Fire family', who made the grant without reference to the Chālukya king. But the first alternative is more likely since that would easily explain why such a big grant was made for the maintenance of a temple at the capital of another king. That the chiefs of the 'Fire race' were the feudatories of the Later Chālukyas is known from the Karaḍkhēl inscriptions referred to below.

Verse 35 states that, as long as the members of the 'Fire family' (*Pāvaka-santati*) and the god Siddhēśvara, made by Siddhugi, would flourish on this earth, for that length of time covering a thousand *kalpas*, the arrangement regarding a *dramma* together with a *nishka* from each of a thousand villages was made by king **Raibhēya** after creating the *śilā*, i.e. after causing the *praśasti* to be written on the stone. Verse 36 again speaks of the same arrangement made for the god Siddhēśvara by the ruler of the territory of **Yerga** (*śrī-Yergadhātrīpati*) in respect of a *dramma* and a *nishka* from every town, etc., in the district (*vishaya*, i.e. the Yerga district). If Kalichōra II is regarded as identical with Arga and not as the latter's son, the expression *Yerga-dhātrīpati* may possibly also mean 'king Yerga' (i.e. Arga). But it appears better to take Yerga mentioned here as a geographical name because there is actually a locality called Yergi near Hoṭṭal. It has also to be noticed that the 'Fire race' chief's territory consisted of twenty thousand villages and the gift concerned only one thousand villages probably comprised in one of the districts in his territory. It is thus expected that the name of the particular district should be mentioned in the record.

This section thus suggests that Raibhēya belonging to the 'Fire race' was the governor of the Yerga *vishaya* under the Chālukya king Sōmēśvara. There is also little doubt that Raibhēya (literally, 'the son of Rēbha or Rēbhā') was the same as Kalichōra II of the 'Fire race', who, as we have seen above, was either the son of Argadēva or Arga himself. If he was identical with Argadēva, we can assume that Rēbha was another name of Kalichōra I. In case, however, he was Argadēva's son, his mother's name may have been Rēbhā. It may be mentioned in this connection that Rēbhēśvara, referred to in verse 37 below, was apparently named after the same Rēbha or Rēbhā. If the expression *guru-maṭha* in the verse referring to the Rēbhēśvara temple is understood in the sense of 'one's father's temple,' we can say that Rēbha was the name of Raibhēya's father. But the expression may also suggest that the temple in question was built by the *guru* Chandrarāśi.

According to verse 37, the epigraph was caused to be made by the ruler (i.e. Raibhēya *alias* Kalichōra II) out of devotion to and for the worship of the god Siddhēśvara while he was listening to an auspicious tale narrated by a *śrēshṭhin* in [the temple of the god] Rēbhēśvara, which was the *guru-maṭha*, when the sun was in the meridian (i.e. at midday), the month was Kārttika, the *tithi* Pūrṇimā and the *nakshatra* Kṛittikā. It is not impossible that the *śrēshṭhin* referred to is no other than the Vaiśya Siddhugi and the auspicious tale is the news of the ratification of Raibhēya's grant by Sōmēśvara.

The above analysis would suggest that the grant of a *nishka* and a *dramma* out of the revenue income of each one of the one thousand villages in the Yerga district was made by Raibhēya *alias* Kalichōra II of the 'Fire race', who was ruling over the said territory, and that the gift was ratified by his overlord, the Chālukya king Sōmēśvara. It also suggests that the Yerga *vishaya* consisted of one thousand villages (that is to say that it was called Yerga-1000) and that the gift consisted of one thousand *nishkas* and one thousand *drammas*. Of these two coins, *nishka* was a gold coin sometimes also called *gadyāṇa*, *varāha*, *hon* or *pagōda*, while *dramma* was a silver coin often called *gadyāṇa* (silver), etc., and was sometimes regarded as equal to one-sixteenth of a gold *nishka*.

Verse 38, which is composed in adoration of the god Śiva, states that Nārāyaṇa, Bāṇa, Rāvaṇa and the old sages like Dadhīcha are respected in the world because they were devoted to the *Śiva-śāsana* (mandates of Śiva) while **Nigalaṅkamalla** was a great devotee of Chaṇḍīśvara (i.e. Śiva) in the Kali age. This verse suggests that Raibhēya *alias* Kalichōra II was also known by the name Nigalaṅkamalla. In the next stanza (verse 39), the name is given again as Raibhēya instead of Nigalaṅkamalla and it is said that, having his hand, the wish-fulfilling jewel (*chintāmaṇi*) nurtures the desire of removing the worries of the poor. Verse 40 says that the ten heads of Rāvaṇa are praiseworthy because they offered themselves to Śiva ; praiseworthy is also Hari because he adopted the form of Gaurī (as Mōhinī) ; but king Nigalaṅkamalla is undoubtedly a third Śiva besides the two (i.e. Rāvaṇa and Hari). The next stanza (verse 41) is one of the usual imprecatory verses. Verse 42 states that the dead kings live either through poetical works or through stories and, as such works are composed by poets, the poet is the friend of the king. Verse 43, which is the last stanza in the epigraph, expresses some pious wishes as in the case with the concluding stanza (*Bharata-vākya*) in classical Sanskrit dramas. The following passage in prose states that the epigraph was written by a scribe named Lakshmaṇa.

The *Bharatavākya*-like stanza (verse 43) may be translated into English as follows: "Let the Brāhmaṇas mark the earth with sacrificial posts on auspicious occasions ; let the kings, steadfast in their own religious principles, protect all the world ; let the cattle live happily ; let the people be happy, [and] let there be no rise of the wicked ; let the poets be honoured in the world [and also] the well-reputed courtesans who have accquired eminence in dancing." The reference to the dancing girls in the concluding part of the stanza is interesting as it seems to allude to the *Dēvadāsīs*, a number of whom may have been dedicated to the temple in question. It is well known that the dancing girls (*Dēvadāsīs*) represented a permanent feature of the big Brāhmanical temples of the early medieval period. Recently we have noticed that the Buddha shrines in the Buddhist monastic establishments of the same age, at least in Eastern India, were also not free from the *Dēvadāsīs*.[1]

The **importance** of the inscription lies in the fact that it reveals for the first time the existence of a 'Fire family' ruling in the eleventh century A.D. in the Nanded region apparently forming parts of the dominions of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. The origin of the family as given in the record was the fire-pit of the sage Agastya on Mount Kailāsa in the Himalayas. Munimānasiddhi, who was the progenitor of this family, sprang from the fire-pit as a result of an offering of oblation by the angry sage whose cow providing milk for his daily sacrifice had been stolen by certain rulers ; he killed the robbers and brought back the cow to the sage. This story closely resembles that of the fire-pit origin of the Paramāras, which first occurs in their inscriptions about the middle of the eleventh century A.D.[2] In the Paramāra epigraphs as also in the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*

[1] See above, Vol XXXIII, p. 272.

[2] Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 841. Cf. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, etc., Vol. II, 1941, pp. 861 ff.

by Padmagupta, it is stated that, from the fire-pit of Vasishṭha on Mount Arbuda (Ābu), there sprang up a hero as the result of an offering of the angry sage whose 'wish-granting cow' was carried away by king Viśvāmitra. The fire-born hero, who was the progenitor of the Paramāra family, wrested the cow from Viśvāmitra and brought it back to Vasishṭha who was highly pleased and, having given him the name Paramāra (literally 'the slayer of enemies'), made him the paramount ruler of the earth. The basis of 'the Fire family' story in our record appears to have been the same as that of the origin of the Paramāras. though here the sage is Agastya in the place of Vasishṭha and the place is not Mount Abu but the Kailāsa. The author of the present *praśasti* thought it fit to connect the name of Agastya, famous in legends as one who first went to the South beyond the Vindhyas and settled there for the rest of his life, with the origin of a South Indian ruling family. But it is difficult to understand why Agastya's fire-pit has not been located in South India.

The 'Fire race' of our record is not known from published epigraphs. But two inscriptions[1] of the same family were copied by us in 1959 from a pillar in the village of Karaḍkhēl about 6 miles from Hoṭṭal, the findspot of the present record. Both these inscriptions are in Kannaḍa and belong to the time of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.D.). The first of them gives the genealogy of the Chālukya kings upto Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI) and of the chiefs of the 'Fire race', who were apparently feudatories of the former, and mentions Karka of the said family as the builder of the temple of Sōmēśvara at Karaḍikal (modern Karaḍkhēl). The second record, dated December 1, 1079 A.D., mentions the same Karka as a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* granting lands for the worship of several gods, viz. Svayambhū Sōmanāthadēva, Dōrēśvaradēva, Kalichōrēśvaradēva and Prasannabhairavadēva, for the repairs of the temples of the said gods and for feeding Brāhmaṇa students. Karka himself is stated in the record to have built many temples. It is interesting to note that the gods Dōrēśvaradēva and Kalichōrēśvaradēva bear the names of the chiefs Dōra and Kalichōra of the 'Fire family', who were apparently the ancestors of Karka. In the genealogy given in our epigraph, Dōra appears as Dhōrarāja and Kalichōra (I) probably as his son; but Karka has not been mentioned at all. Thus the relations between Karka of the Karaḍkhēl inscriptions and the members of the 'Fire race', responsible for setting up the Hoṭṭal *praśasti*, cannot be determined. But the Karaḍkhēl inscriptions show that the chiefs of the 'Fire family' were the subordinates of the Later Chālukya kings of Kalyāṇa and that they were ruling over the territory including the area around modern Karaḍkhēl and Hoṭṭal, probably called 'the Yerga district' or 'Yerga-1000' in our epigraph. The entire territory of the 'Fire race' chiefs, stated to have consisted of twenty thousand villages, probably contained several *vishayas* like Yerga.

As indicated above, the identification of the Later Chālukya king mentioned in our record is not easy. We have seen that the first ruler of the 'Fire race', viz. Dhōra, was a contemporary of Taila II (973-97 A. D.) as well as of Paramāra Muñja (973-96 A. D.), while the same king as well as Kalichōra I apparently flourished before 1079 A. D. as is evidenced by the Karaḍkhēl inscriptions of the time of Vikramāditya VI. If Dhōra was succeeded by his son Uttama and Uttama by his son Kalichōra I, this last king may have ruled about the middle of the eleventh century. If therefore Arga, son of Kalichōra I, was the same as Kalichōra II *alias* Raibhēya Nigalaṅkamalla, who was responsible for setting up the Hoṭṭal inscription, he may be regarded as a contemporary of Sōmēśvara I (1043-68 A. D.) or Sōmēśvara II (1068-76 A. D.). If, however, Kalichōra II was the son and successor of Arga, he may at best be regarded as a contemporary of Sōmēśvara III (1126-36

[1] See *A. R. Ep.*, 1958-59, Nos. B 184, 187.

A.D.). It is difficult to think of Sōmēśvara IV (1184-1200 A.D.) in this connection since he flourished long after 1079 A. D., the date of one of the Karaḍkhēl inscriptions. It is also not easy to say whether Arga of our inscription is the same as Karka of the Karaḍkhēl inscriptions.

A question that may be asked in this connection is that, if the god Sthāṇu (i.e. Śiva) called Siddhēśvara, was installed by Siddhugi at Kalyāṇa, why was the pillar bearing the *praśasti* recording a gift in honour of that god set up in the village of Hoṭṭal. The answer seems to be that, since the gift made by Kalichōra II *alias* Raibhēya *alias* Nigalaṅkamalla, the ruler of the territory around the Yerga district, was a part of the revenue of the said district, the record could have been set up at the head quarters of that district, although another copy of the same inscription appears to have been set up in the temple itself at Kalyāṇa. If such was the case, Hoṭṭal or a city of which it formed a part or suburb was probably the head quarters of the Yerga *vishaya* and the capital of the rulers of the 'Fire family'. We have seen that the *Vaiśya* Siddhugi, the hero of our *praśasti* who installed the god Siddhēśvara named after himself in a temple at Kalyāṇa, was a friend of Kalichōra II of the said family. Siddhugi may have been an inhabitant of the Hoṭṭal area.

It is tempting to identify the hero of our *praśasti* with Siddhugi, also called Basuvarasa Siddayya, occurring in another epigraph[1] dated the 9th December 1184 A. D., hailing from Lakkuṇḍi in the Gadag Taluk of the Dharwar District and belonging to the Western Chālukya king Sōmēśvara IV. If this identification is accepted, the Chālukya king Sōmēśvara mentioned in our inscription has no doubt to be identified with Sōmēśvara IV. But, as already indicated above, this is highly improbable.

Of the **geographical names** occurring in the inscription, Kalyāṇa is the same as modern Kalyan in the Bidar District of Mysore. Yerga seems to be the district around the village of Yergi, 3 miles from Hoṭṭal.

TEXT[2]

[Metres : Verses 1-2, 4, 10, 12-13, 15-18, 21, 24, 26-27, 30-31, 35-40, 43 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 3, 7-8, 19, 25 *Sragdharā* ; verses 5, 22, 28, 32 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 6, 14 *Mandākrāntā* ; verse 9 *Svāgatā* ; verses 11, 23, 42 *Indravajrā* ; verses 20, 29 *Upajāti* ; verses 33-34, 41 *Anushṭubh*.]

First Side

1 || Ōṁ namaḥ Śivāya || Tē vaḥ pāṁtu Pinākinaḥ katipayē kruddhasya bhālastha-

2 lī-janmānaḥ kiraṇ-āvalī-stava(ba)kit-ākāśāḥ kṛiśānōḥ kaṇāḥ | yē-

3 shām=ēkatamasya tējasi jagaj-jālaṁ jigīshō ripōḥ[3] saṁdhānē=pi pataṁ-

4 ga-pātam=apatat=Pushpāyudhaḥ s-āyudhaḥ || 1 || **Kailāsō**=sti samasta-

5 parvvata-patir=yaḥ saṁśrayaḥ śrēyasāṁ yaṁ dēvāḥ samupāsatē Suragirir=yē-

6 n=ālpa-dhāraḥ kṛitaḥ | yasmai svasti vadaṁti siddha-munayaḥ siddhēr=ni-

7 dhānaṁ yataḥ sīmā yasya na vidyatē kṛitadhiyāṁ yatra stavō vāsta-

8 vaḥ || 2 || Śṛiṁgair=āliṁgit-ā[rkaḥ] pravitata-kaṭak-ākrāṁta-nā[n]ā-dig-aṁtaḥ sō=sti

[1] B.K. No. 40 of 1926-27. We are indebted to Mr. S. H. Ritti for the reference.

[2] From impressions. We are indebted for some suggestions to Mr. S. Sankaranarayanan and Pandit V. S. Subrahmanyam.

[3] Possibly *jigīshū ripuḥ* is intended.

9 svēchchhā-nivāsas=tridaśa-mṛigadṛiśā[ṁ*] Mīnakētōś=cha bhūmiḥ [|*] prāptuṁ ratnākaratvaṁ

10 punara(r=i)va vilasad-ratna-sarvvasva-sārē sphārē yasy=ōpakaṁṭhē luṭhati jala-

11 nidhir=[vvaṁjarā][1]-vyājam=ētya || 3 || Vi(Bi)bhrāṇasya tapō-vibhūtim=asamā-

12 m=āstē hy=Agasty-ākhyayā vikhyātasya mahāmunēḥ śamavatāṁ sēvyasya

13 ta[tr=ā]śramaḥ | yasmin=yāmika-nādavan=muni-vaṭu-svādhyāya-pāṭha-dhvaniḥ

14 prōdbhāsī kali-kāla-taskara-tiraskārāya sannahyati || 4 || [Ta]smi-

15 n=muhuḥ prahuta-pāvaka-dhūma-rāji-sphārībhavad-viṭapi-pallava-mēchak-aughaḥ(ghē) | puṇy-ōṭa-

16 j-ā[gra]-ghaṭamāna-mṛiga(gē) kadāchit=tēpē tapāṁsi sa śam-aika-dhanō munīṁdraḥ || 5 ||

17 Unmārgēṇa prasabham=avanīvallabhāḥ paryaṭaṁtō na prēkshaṁtē truṭad=api yaśaḥ svachchha-

18 hāra-prakāraṁ(ram) [|*] yat=tasy=āpi prachura-tapasām=agragaṇyasya puṇyāṁ pāp-āchā-[rās]=tvari-

19 tam=aharan=hōmadā[ṁ*] Kāmadhēnuṁ(num) || 6 || Aṁtaḥ saṁchiṁtya kiṁchit=tad-anu-sa virataḥ śā-

20 pa-dānān=munīṁdraḥ sāṁdrībhūtaṁ dadhānaḥ sphurad-adhara-ruchā krōdha-vahnēr=iv=ārchchiḥ |

21 pratyarthy-utpāta-kētu-pravibhava-vilasad-dhūmra-dhūm-ānuva(ba)ddha-sphūrjjaj-jvālā-kalā-

22 pē hutabhuji hutavān=āhutiṁ hūṁ-vimiśrāṁ(śrām) || 7 || Bhāsvat-tējaḥ-kaṭaprair[2]=iva

23 sha(pa)righaṭitas=tāra-hār-ānukāri-pratyagra-vra(bra)hmasūtras=Tridaśagirir=iva Svargana-

24 dyā sanāthaḥ | vi(bi)bhrāṇaḥ svarṇṇa-mū(tū)ṇā-yugalam=atha pumān kō=pi chaṁḍ-āgni-

25 kuṁḍāt=kōdaṁḍ-ākāṁḍa-siṁjā-rava-janita-jagad-bhītir=āvirva(rbа)bhūva || 8 || Patri-

26 bhiḥ sa bhuvana-traya-vīras=tā[n*] nṛipā[ṁ*]ś=cha sakalā[n=vinihatya] [|*] hōma-gām=upaninā-

27 ya tatō=smai māna-siddhim=iva mūrtti[ma]— —[3] || 9 || Dūr-ōtsārita-kaṁṭa-

28 ka-vyatikarām=ēkāṁgavīraḥ kramād=gē — — ⏑ ṇa-līlay=aiva sakalā-

29 m=ākramya lōka-trayīṁ(yīm) | sāmrājyaṁ vijaya ⏑ — ⏑ bhuvanē khyātaḥ kṛi-

30 śānōḥ sutaḥ Śakrasy=āpi sahāyatāṁ prakaṭayann=utpātya dēva-dvishaḥ || 10 ||

31 [Satyaṁ] tatō=bhūd=iha tasya nāma vīrasya lōkē **Munimānasiddhiḥ** | tasmā[t*]=tṛitīyō=bha-

32 vad=ēsha vaṁśō vairi-pratāp-ānala-kāla-mēghaḥ || 11 || Vahnēr=vvaṁśam=alaṁchakāra śa-

33 taśaḥ krūr-āsi-dhār-āhati-krīḍā-dārita-vairi-kuṁjara-tatiḥ śrī-**Dhōrarā-**

34 **jō** nṛipaḥ | yasy=ādy=āpi Himādri-Śaṁkaragiri-Kshīrāṁvu(bu)rāśi-chchhalād=āstē di-

35 g-valayēshu puṁjitam=iva śvētāṁśu-gauraṁ yaśaḥ || 12 || Yēn=[4]āchchhidya samasta-

36 pārthiva-kulaṁ prāṇ-ādhikaṁ tad-yaśaḥ(śō) jagrāh=ōbha[ya-chakravartti-kaṭa]kē śrī-

37 **Muṁja-Tailēśvarē** | yad-vā— ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — rakshita⏑ — — — — shṭyās[aya]-

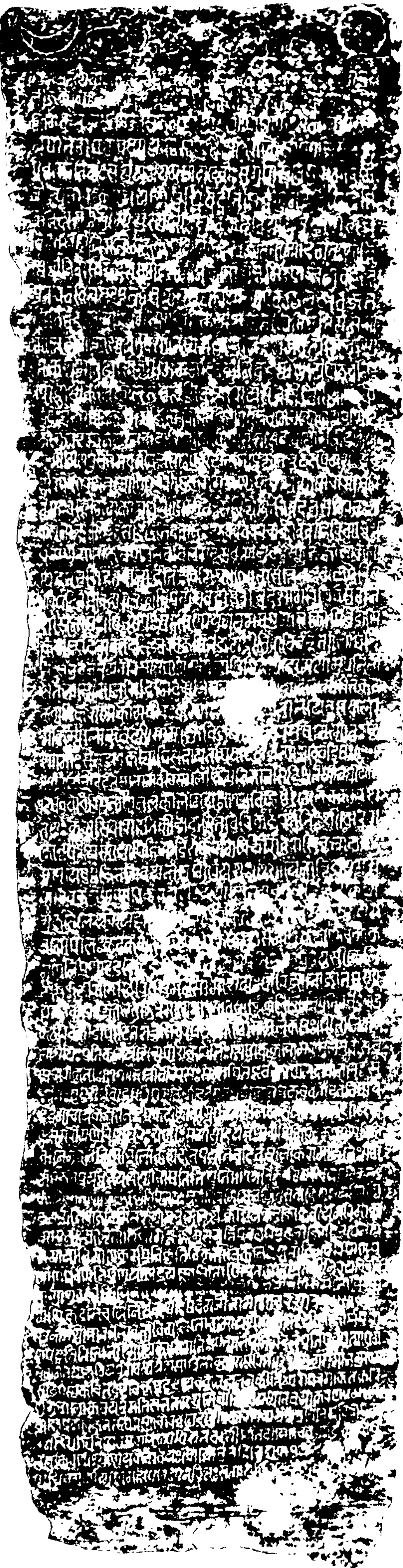
[1] Possibly *bandhutā* is intended.
[2] The intended reading was probably *kalāpair°*.
[3] The intended reading may have been *mūrtimatīṁ tāṁ*.
[4] Read *yaś=ch°*.

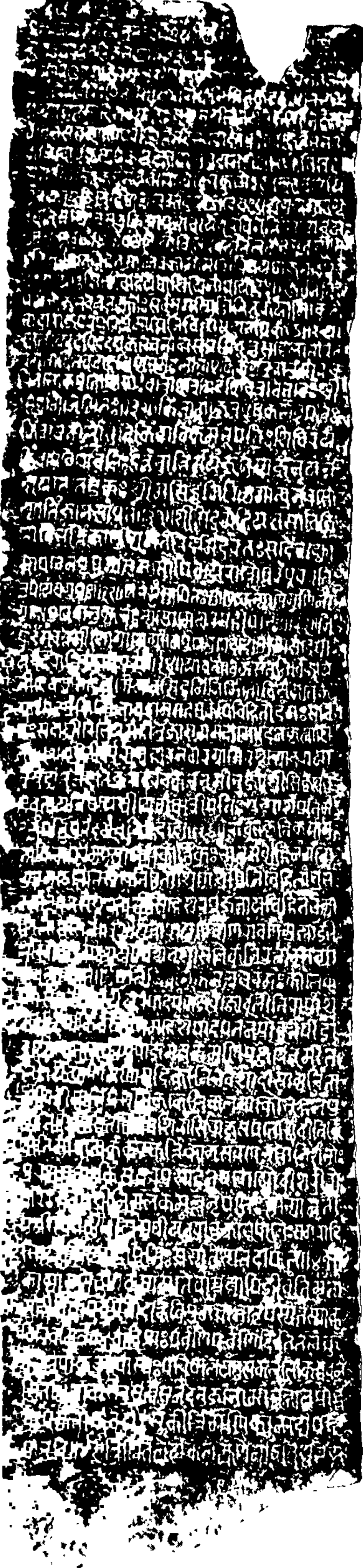
38 n **Gōpālaḥ** kaṭakastha— ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ — — — ᴗ nach-chhāsanaṁ(nam) || 13 || **Kshōṇī-chakr-**
ākra-
39 maṇa-nipuṇ-ōddaṁḍa-dōr-ddaṁḍa— —[līlā]-bhagna-pratibhaṭa-nṛipa-prēyasī-kēli-
40 hāsaḥ | kshīrāṁ[bhō]dhēr=iva sumanasām=āśrayaḥ pārijātō jātas=tasmā-
41 d=Yama iva paraḥ(ra)-kshmābhṛitām=**Uttam-ākhyaḥ** || 14 || Tasmāch=chhrī-**Kalichōra-**
bhūpatir=abhūd=u[chchaṁ]ḍa-
42 kaṁṭhīrava-krīḍā-pāṭita-śatru-siṁdhura-ghaṭaḥ kshmāpāla-mūlaṁkashaḥ | pīt-ānēka-ja-
43 lāśaṁ(śa)yaiḥ pratikalaṁ yat-sainya-pāṁs-ūtkarair=nnihśēshā[ḥ*] kakubhō marut-sthala-
bhuvāṁ sa-vra(bra)-
44 hmachārīkṛitāḥ || 15 || Mūrttō vīra-rasaḥ samāśrita iva kshmāpāla-dāv-ānalaḥ saṁ-
45 jātaḥ pṛithu-dīrgha-vā(bā)hu-parigha-vyūḍhō=**rgadēvas**=tataḥ | chakrē śatru-kavaṁ(baṁ)-
dha-tāṁḍava-vidhāv=u-
46 ddaṁḍam=āchāryakaṁ jyā-nāda-prakaṭīkṛit-ōgra-paṭaha-dhvānē(nair)=yadīyaṁ dhanuḥ
|| 16 || Yat-kha-
47 ṭgaḥ(ḍgaḥ) samar-āṁgaṇē ripu-śiraḥ-śrēṇīḥ samāsādayann=asthi-graṁthi-vibhēdakaḥ kha-
ṇad=iti
48 dhvānēna nūnaṁ dvishā[m*] | bhūr-lōkaṁ tyajata prayāta cha divaṁ svar-lōka-rāmā-janaiḥ
saṁbhō-
49 gaṁ bhajata prayachchhata yaśō vyābhāshat=ēti śrutau || 17 || Chakshur=mugdha-marī-
cha(chi) vēsha-vikalaḥ
50 kāyō manō vyākulaṁ bhraśyaṁti smṛitayaḥ skhalaṁti cha girō naśyaṁti sarvā diśaḥ |
yasmin=vi-
51 krama-bhāji rājani milat-saṁgrāma-bhūmau bhṛiśaṁ kva sthairyaṁ kva bhujau kva vīrya-
garimā kv=ā-
52 tmā punaḥ kshmābhṛitāṁ(tām) || 18 || Garjjaj-jīmūta-mūrtti-prabala-ripu-va(ba)l-ājau hi
bhūpēna yē-
53 na māyā-nirmāṇa-karma-pratikṛiti-vikṛit-ānēka-nēpathya-bhāṁji | vairi-prāṇa-pra-
54 yāṇa-pravaṇa-nipuṇayā khaḍga-yashṭyā sthitō=pi[1] prēta-prōt-āṁtra-taṁtrī-niraya-vichari-
55 tāny=āśu rakshāṁsi yēna || 19 || Snigdhaṁ svakīyaṁ priya-bhāshaṇaṁ cha manō-bhirāmē
56 maṇi-kuṁḍalē cha [|*] yēn=aitad=āśu dvishad-aṁganānām=agōcharaṁ śrōtra-yugasya
chakrē
57 || 20 || Bhagnā Bhārata-bhāvatā vigalitō Rāmāyaṇ-ōpakramaḥ śīrṇṇā jīrṇṇa-purā-
58 ṇa-paddhatir=itō n=ākhyāyikānāṁ gatiḥ | praty-āśaṁ pratimaṁḍalaṁ prati-puraṁ praty-
āpagaṁ
59 praty-agaṁ tasya kshatriya-puṁgavasya yaśasā trailōkyam=āpūritaṁ(tam) || 21 || Anyaṁ
samāna-guṇam=a-
60 sya nṛipasya kaṁchit(chid=) drashṭuṁ vikṛishṭa-hṛiday=ēva kutūhalēna [|*] kīrttiḥ parā
prathama-kētaka-rē-
61 ṇu-śubhrā lōka-trayaṁ bhramati saṁtatam=aśram=aiva || 22 || Yasy=ābhavad=vyākaraṇaṁ
pramāṇaṁ
62 rājyē prajā-raṁjana-tatparasya | chōra-dhvanēr=dāruṇa-kāraṇasya anayatra chitrē yadi
vā prachā-

[1] The intended reading may be *sthitēna*.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM NANDED DISTRICT

1. Hoṭṭal Inscription of Chālukya Sōmēśvara





Size : One-Sixth

2. Fragmentary Inscription from Ardhāpur



63 [ra]ḥ || 23 || Bhūr bhidyēta sur-ālayō=pi śatadhā sīryēta dīryēta cha vra(bra)hmāṁḍaṁ ⏑⏑ [mē]yu-
64 r=u[gra]-kiraṇāḥ śushyēyur aṁbhōdhayaḥ | [vāk-sētur]=na hi [bh]idyatē pu ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ —
65 py=asti cha[1] **Arg-ākhyasya** mahīpatēḥ punar itaḥ sa[tyāya]tē [vi]k[ra]maḥ || 24 ||

Second Side

66 Pūjyānāṁ pa ⏑ r-īśaḥ subhaṭa-parishadāṁ(dā)=n=arthināṁ [ka]⏑ — — — — —masya
67 sūnuḥ para-yuvatijanasy=ārtta-vitra(tra)]sya tataḥ | sa — — — — ⏑yō-yaṁ Hara-
68 charaṇa-rajō-rāji-rajyach-chharīrō [yō] jāt-ōtsāha-[yuk]taḥ prasabham=ari-
69 va(ba)[la]ṁ ch=aika-vīraḥ pinashṭi || 25 || Rājyaṁ ni[h*]śrita-kaṁṭakaṁ pratibhaṭaiḥ
70 śūnyō(nyā)ś=chatasrō diśaḥ śāṁtaḥ sustha-sukhī cha naṁdati janō nirdvaṁdvam=u-
71 rvvītalaṁ(lam) [|] sarvvasy=āpi parīpsitaṁ tad-abhavad rājyaṁ prajā-raṁjitaṁ bhū-bha-
rttuḥ
72 **Kalichōrakasya** sakala-kshmāpāla-chūḍāmaṇēḥ || 26 || Viṁśad-grā-
73 ma-śatī-patiḥ katham-ayaṁ vīrō vidhi-prakramaiḥ śakyō varṇṇayi-
74 tuṁ prayatna-paṭhitair dvitr-āksharair mādṛiśaiḥ | dēvaḥ Padma-guhā-mahā-gṛi-
75 ha-patis tavyō[2]=tra sūtra-kriyā pūrvv-āchārya-dhuraṁ vi(bi)bhartti Bhagavān ya-
76 dy=ēsha mṛishyāmahē [|*] 27 || Vaṁśē viśāṁ viśada-kīrttimatāṁ va(ba)bhūva śrī-Si-
77 ddhugir=nnarapatēr=iha tasya mitra[m |*] Kāmō Madhōr iva yathā jaladhēś=cha chaṁ-
78 draḥ vāyōḥ śikh=īva hi yathā śikhināṁ payōdaḥ || 28 || Niḥkshi-
79 ptam Aṁbhōjabhavēna lakshmyāḥ sarvasvam=asminn=iti tarkayāmi | kutō=
80 sya vā rāja-paraṁpar=ēyam=āstē niviśhṭā sadan-ōpakaṁṭhē || 29 ||
81 Svarlōkād api daṁdaśūka-bhavanād=ā-sapta-siṁdh-ūllasad-vēlā-tīra-ta-
82 raṁgā(gi)tād dhi bhavanād=anvishya bhūmaṁḍalāt | ēk-aikaṁ guru-chāru-sāra-cha-
83 ritaṁ lōka-pravō(bō)dh-āspadaṁ Dhātrī pātram=idaṁ vichitra-vibhavēḥ(vaiḥ) śrī-
84 Siddhugir=nirmitaḥ || 30 || Kiṁ Nāgārjuna ēsha Karṇṇa-nṛipatiḥ
85 kiṁ v=āvatīrṇṇō bhuvi kiṁ vā Vikrama-bhūpatiḥ Śivi(bi)r=ayaṁ
86 kiṁ v=ātha Vairōchaniḥ [|*] itthaṁ bhrāntim=ayaṁ janasya janayan=na
87 jñāyatē tēshu kaḥ śrīmat-Siddhugir=ity=agāt=punar=asau
88 khyātiṁ janē sāṁprataṁ(tam) || 31 || Śrī-Siddhugēr hi yaśasā viji-
89 tō vi(bi)bhartti kālushyam aṁtar=idam=iṁdur=ataḥ sad=aiva [|*] jyō-
90 tsnā-paṭēna pṛithunā svam=asau pidhāya rātrau paraṁ pracharati
91 trapay=ēva guptaḥ || 32 || Tēna saṁsthāpitaḥ Sthāṇuḥ **Kalyāṇē** guṇināṁ
92 gṛihē | purē **Chālukya**-chaṁdrasya **Sōmēśvara**-mahīpatēḥ || 33 || Ni-
93 shkaṁ draṁmaṁ cha bhūmīśō grāmē grāmē purē purē [|*] dadau tasmai sa dēvā-
94 ya Chaṁdrarāśi-gurōḥ puraḥ || 34 || Yāvat=Pāvaka-saṁtatir=vijayi-
95 nī dēvaś=cha Siddhēśvarō [yā]vat=Siddhugi-nirmitō vijayatē ka-
96 lpāḥ(lpān) sahasraṁ kshitau | tāvad=grāma-sahasrakē=pi vihitō draṁmaḥ sa-ni-
97 shkaḥ sadā śrī-**Raibhēya**-mahībhujā mṛigamad-āmōdēna kṛitvā śi-
98 lāṁ(lām) || 35 || Pṛithvī tīrtha-pur-āgrahāra-nagara-grāmair=aśūny-ōdarā yā-

[1] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[2] The intended reading may be *siutyō*°.

99 van=namdyata namdati klama-haraṁ chakraṁ cha bhūmībhujāṁ(jām) | śrī-Siddhēśvara-
100 daivatāya vishayē śrī-Yerga-dhātrīpatiḥ praty-āśaṁ prati-maṁ-
101 ḍalaṁ prati-puraṁ drammaṁ cha nishkaṁ dadau || 36 || Rākā Kṛittikayā yu-
102 tā kim=aparaṁ māsō yadā Kārttikaḥ Bhānur=madhya-dinaṁ gatō
103 guru-maṭhē Rēbhēśvarē tishṭhatā [|] śrēshṭhā[ṁ] śrēshṭhi-nivēditāṁ śubha-
104 kathāṁ bhūpēna saṁśṛiṇvatā śrī-Siddhēśvara-pūjanīya vihitaṁ bhaktyā
105 śilā-śāsanaṁ(nam) || 37 || Yan=Nārāyaṇa-Vā(Bā)ṇa-Rāvaṇa-mukhā jī-
106 rṇṇā Dadhīch-ādayaḥ śrūyaṁtē Śiva-śāsan-aika-niratā mānyā-
107 ś=cha dhanyāś=cha tē | tēshāṁ tvaṁ **Nigalaṁkamalla** charamaḥ kālē Ka-
108 lau saṁprata(ti) śrī-Chaṁḍīśvara-pāda-paṁkaja-rajō-dhūlībhir=āpāṁśu(su)-
109 laḥ || 38 || Kiṁ v=ānyaḥ sa Mahēśa-pāda-patana-prōdbhūta-pīḍā-
110 chayō **Raibhēyō** ripu-rāja-mastaka-maṇi-prakshuṇṇa-bhūmīta-
111 laḥ | yat-pāṇiṁ maṇi-mudrikā-nibha-vaśād=āsādya chiṁtā-
112 maṇir=ddīn-ārtti-praśam-aika-kēli-kalanā-kautūhalaṁ pu-
113 shyati || 39 || Stutyāny=ēva śirāṁsi rākshasa-patēś=chhiṁdh=īti chhiṁ-
114 dh=īti māṁ pratyēkaṁ kara-karttik-āgra-saraṇa-bhrashṭāni Śaṁbhōḥ
115 puraḥ | stutyaḥ kiṁ sa Hara-prasādana-parō Gauvī(rī)-śarīrō
116 Hariḥ stutyaḥ śrī-**Nigalaṁkamalla**-nṛipati(ti)s=tābhyāṁ tṛitī-
117 yaḥ Śivaḥ || 40 || Yady=ap=īyaṁ dharā bhuktā bhūpālaiḥ Sagar-ādi-
118 bhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ(mi)s=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || 41 ||
119 Kāvy-āmṛitair=v=ātha kath=āmṛitair=vā[1] ady=āpi jīvaṁti mṛitā
120 mahīśāḥ | pūrva-prasādāt=kavi-puṁgavānāṁ nṛipasya tasmāt=ka-
121 vir=ēva mitraṁ(tram) || 42 || Viprāḥ parvaṇi parvaṇi kshititalaṁ ku-
122 rvaṁtu yūp-āṁkuraṁ bhūpālāḥ paripālayaṁtu sakalaṁ lōkaṁ sva-dharma-
123 sthitāḥ | gāvaḥ saṁtu sukhaṁ sunaṁdatu janō mā bhūt=khala-prōdbha-
124 vaḥ pūjyaṁtāṁ kavayaḥ su-kīrtti-gaṇikā nāṭya-pratī(ti)-
125 shṭhā bhuvi || 43 || Likhitaṁ lēkhaka-Lakshmaṇēna | iti śubham |

2. Fragmentary Inscription from Ardhāpur

The inscription,[2] published in the following pages, is engraved on a broken stone slab originally lying in the house of the Police Patel, Shri Ramachandra Rao, at **Ardhāpur**, headquarters of a circle of that name in the Nanded District, lying ten miles away from Nanded.[3] Shri Rao informed us that the inscribed slab had been discovered from a nearby field while the cultivators were ploughing it. As the slab was broken into two halves, a frantic search for the other half was

[1] *Sandhi* has not been observed here. Better read *ch=ādy=āpi*.

[2] This is No. B 197 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1958-59.

[3] Shri V. A. Kanole, Honorary Secretary of the Gōdātīr Historical and Literary Research Society at Nanded, has recently removed the inscribed slab to the Society's Museum.

made by the farmers, but in vain. There is an old Śiva temple and an old tank attached to it near the field where the slab was found. The figures of the sun, a Śiva-liṅga, a devotee and a cow with a calf are engraved above the writing of the record under study. These seem to indicate that the fragmentary inscription was meant to record some donation in favour of a temple of Śiva, probably the one at Ardhāpur, referred to above.

The surface of the broken slab bearing the inscription measures approximately one foot three inches by one foot nine and half inches. The record is incomplete, the lower part of the inscribed slab having broken away and lost. There are altogether ten lines of writing though a portion of the ninth line and more than half of line 10 have broken away. Each line contains about twentyfive *aksharas*. A verse in the *Vasantatilaka* metre, which begins about the end of line 8, suggests that it concluded about the end of line 11, no trace of which now remains. It is not possible to determine the number of lines lost after the extant part of the epigraph. The engraving is careless and the preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. It is thus difficult to read the inscription.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Southern Nāgarī alphabet of the twelfth or thirteenth century A. D. Its language is Sanskrit and the inscription is written entirely in verse. Of palaeographic interest is the letter *l*, in which the left limb is often not joined with the right vertical so that the *akshara* looks as if it is endowed with an *ā-mātrā* (cf. *hālā* in line 5 ; *ōtpalaḥ* in line 7 ; the last letter in *Vallāla* in line 8, etc.), though sometimes it has the usual Southern Nāgarī form (cf. *sakala* in line 2 and the first *akshara* in *Līlā°* in line 3, etc.). It is interesting to note that the second *akshara* in *Līlā°* in line 3 has been written in the former form so as to look like having two *ā-mātrās*. Initial *i* has the usual form written with two dots having a curved stroke below (cf. line 6). *B* has been represented by *v* in some cases. As regards orthography, it may be pointed out that consonants after *r* have been occasionally doubled. The words *bhūbhṛit* and *pṛithivī* have been written respectively as *bhūbhūt* (line 5) and *pṛithvī* (line 8).

Since the lower part of the inscription is lost, its object cannot be definitely determined. It stops in the middle of the description of a local branch of the Raṭṭa or Rāshṭrakūṭa family and was probably meant for recording the donations of one of the Raṭṭa chiefs in favour of the Śiva temple at Ardhāpur.

Verses 1-2 of the inscription are in adoration of the god Śiva, though the following stanza (verse 3) extols the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu. Whether this means that the Raṭṭa family mentioned in the record adored both Śiva and Vishṇu, like the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas,[1] cannot be determined, because the adoration to Śiva would also be suitable for an inscription which probably recorded a grant in favour of a Śiva temple. It is thus possible to think that the Rāshṭrakūṭa family, to which the donor of the grant recorded in the inscription seems to have belonged, was specially devoted to the Boar form of Vishṇu. As, however, will be seen below, one of these Raṭṭa chiefs was devoted to Nāgēśa and, if the latter was a deity, he was Śiva.

Verse 4 extols the standard of the golden bull (*suvarṇa-vṛishabha-dhvaja*) which was apparently one of the royal insignia of the family. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas had the *pāli-dhvaja*, *ōka-kētu* and *Garuḍa-lāñchhana*,[2] while the Raṭṭas of Saundatti are known to have the *suvarṇa-Garuḍa-dhavaja*.[3] Among the important ruling families of Kannaḍa origin, the Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa, who eclipsed Later Chālukya power in the third quarter of the twelfth century, had the *suvarṇa-vṛishabha-dhvaja*[4] as the Raṭṭas of our inscription. It is of course difficult to say whether the Raṭṭas of the Ardhāpur region borrowed the

[1] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 387.

[2] Ibid., p. 387.

[3] Ibid., p. 552.

[4] Ibid., p. 469.

banner from the Kalachuris and ever acknowledged their supremacy, although that does not appear to be unlikely.

Verse 5 introduces a ruler named **Haṁsapāla** of the Raṭṭa family. His son was **Vikramārka** (i. e. Vikramāditya) whose valour is referred to in the next stanza (verse 6). Verse 7 introduces **Ballāla**, son of Vikramārka, as proud on account of the favour of Śrī-Nāgēśa. This Nāgēśa may have been Ballāla's preceptor or the deity he worshipped. In the latter case, the deity may be the same as Śiva in the Ardhāpur temple, if, of course, it can be supposed that the Raṭṭa family in question had their headquarters at modern Ardhāpur or in its neighbourhood. Verse 7 describes the glory of king Ballāla in causing the destruction of his enemies and the prosperity of his friends. The following stanza (verse 8) is incompletely preserved and the record ends in its second foot in line 10.

The **importance** of the epigraph lies in the fact that it introduces for the first time a hitherto unknown Raṭṭa or Rāshṭrakūṭa family ruling over the area around Ardhāpur probably as subordinate of some imperial ruler. The lateness of the epigraph suggests that the present Raṭṭa family might have been the feudatories of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, though there is no reference to that effect in the record itself. It is, however, not improbable that the Ardhāpur branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas originally owed alligiance to the Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa as already indicated above.

No **geographical name** can be traced in the extant part of the inscription.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verses 1, 3-8 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 2 *Āryā* (?) ; verse 9 *Vasantatilaka*.]

1 [Siddham][2] [|*] [Bhuvas=taraṁ]gam=atu[la*]m=avatu jagad-adhīśaḥ [|*] Pārvatījīvitē-[śva]raḥ praṇa[ta]-jana-jū(jō)[shaṇaḥ ||] [1*]

2 Sarvas=ta..........ṇahā .... dhāv=adhīśaḥ [|*] sakala-jana .... mu(mū)[r]tti

3 .... Mahēśaḥ || [2*] Līlāvarāhō jayati daṁshṭr-āgrē yasya mēdinī | bhāti tat-kāṁti(tī) rakt-ārddha-vinya-

4 [st-ā]ṁjana-viṁva(ba)vat || [3*] Vistārayatu lakshmīr= vvō(vaḥ) suvarṇna(rṇṇa)-vṛishabha-dhvajaḥ [|] ta(ya)t-patāk-ānil-ōprā(dvā)-

5 taṁ śatru-hālā-lavaṁ bhuvi || [4*] [Śrī]mad-bhūbhū(bhṛi)t-kulā[j*]=jātō **Raṭṭa-vaṁśa-**samudbhavaḥ [|*] [**Haṁ**]**sapāla**

6 iti khyātō rājā rāja-śirōmaṇiḥ || [5*] Tasy=ātmajō=bhavach=chhrīmān **Vikramārka-ma-**

7 hīpatiḥ [|*] pratāpa-glapit-ārāti-vanitā-nayan-ōtpalaḥ || [6*] Tasy=ātmajō mahātējāḥ(jā)

8 **Va(Ba)llālaḥ** prithvī[3]-patiḥ [|*] śrī-Nāgrē(gē)śa-pad-āṁbhōja-prasāda-[chaya]-garvvitaḥ || [7*] ....

9 mya-nāśāya śatru-paksha-kshayāya cha [|*] mitr-ābhyudaya-rūpā[sra][4] jātō Bal[lā]....[5] [|| 8*] — — ◡ — ◡

10 ◡ ◡ [labdha]-vara-prasādaḥ pratyarthi- [paksha] ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — [|*] — — ◡ —

11 ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — — — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — [|| 9*]

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[1] From impressions.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

[3] Read *prithivī*.

[4] Read *rūpō=sau*.

[5] The intended reading was something like *Ballāla-bhūpatiḥ*.

No. 22—INSCRIPTIONS FROM MAIHAR

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR AND V. S. SUBRAHMANYAM, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 24.1.1961*)

The two inscriptions published here were copied by us in October 1959 at **Maihar**, headquarters of the former State which now forms a Tahsil of the Satna District of Madhya Pradesh.[1] The records are marked as **A** and **B** for the sake of convenience. **A** is engraved on the pedestal of the goddess Sāradādēvī whose temple stands on a hill, while **B** is incised on a slab of stone lying in the same temple. The four lines of writing in **A** cover an area about 15 inches in length and 3½ inches in height, while **B** contains 39 lines engraved on a well-dressed slab of stone having a raised border (about 2 inches wide) on all the four sides. The excavated bed within the borders, which is 34½ inches high and 31 inches broad, was originally meant for engraving the epigraph. Since the space was later found inadequate to incise the whole record, the first and last lines were engraved respectively on the upper and lower borders. The preservation of the writing in both the records is unsatisfactory. Many parts of the inscriptions here and there are rubbed off, though the number of passages, in which the letters are completely lost, are not too many.

Inscription **B**, which is a big *praśasti*, was noticed by J. D. Beglar, who visited Maihar (spelt by him as Mahiyār) in 1871-72, in Cunningham's *A. S. I. Reports*, Vol. VII, p. 51, in the following words : "....to the right of the steps leading upto the chief statue [in the shrine of Dēvī Sāradā] is a large slab, now cracked, which contains an inscription perfectly illegible from the effects of weather ...... ". This description of the record with reference to the state of its preservation is not quite correct.

The **characters** of both the records belong to the Early Nāgarī alphabet of the **tenth century A.D.** They, with the top of letters like *p*, *s* and *y* generally closed, very closely resemble the alphabet of such epigraphs as the Pratabgarh inscription[2] of the Pratīhāra king Mahēndrapāla II, dated in V. S. 1003 (946 A. D.), though there is a notable difference between the alphabets of the Pratabgarh and Maihar records in the form of the medial *ē* sign. While the former indicates medial *ē* by bending the left end of the top *mātrā* of the consonants downwards, the sign in the latter is much longer as in records like the Dharampuri plates[3] of the Paramāra king Vākpati Muñja, dated in V. S. 1031 (974 A. D.). But such letters as *ś* in the Dharampuri plates exhibit a decidedly later form than in the Maihar inscriptions. On palaeographical grounds, the epigraphs under study may be assigned to a date about the **middle of the tenth century A.D.**

The **language** of the inscriptions is Sanskrit and they are written in verse. In **A**, we have only one stanza while Inscription **B** contains a versified eulogy with a *maṅgala* in prose at the beginning, the expression *api cha* occurring twice in between the stanzas and two passages in prose referring to the writer and engraver at the end. In **orthography** and style also, our inscriptions resemble the Pratabgarh inscription and other contemporary epigraphs. There is **no date** quoted anywhere in either of the inscriptions.

Inscription **A** contains a single stanza in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* following a few damaged *aksharas* at the beginning. It is of course tempting to regard these letters as forming a *maṅgala*. But

[1] Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra copied the inscriptions in 1940 and prepared their transcripts. We are indebted to him for the reading of some words.

[2] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 176, Plate facing p. 185.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 48 ff., Plate facing p. 51.

the stanza mentions a great scholar who was the very Vyāsa of the Kali age in poetic skill and became an expert in sciences like *vēda*, *nyāya*, *sāṅkhya*, *nīti* and *mīmāṁsā* even when he was a boy and this seems to refer to the young Brāhmaṇa scholar Dāmōdara whose career is described in **B** at some length. The inscriptions on the pedestals of images generally speak of the installation or dedication of the deities in question. It is therefore strange that the present record merely refers to the person in whose memory the goddess Sāradā (Sarasvatī) was apparently installed in a temple, the construction of which by Dāmōdara's father Dēvadhara is mentioned in Inscription **B**. It is thus possible that the few damaged *aksharas* at the beginning of **A** represent the concluding part of another stanza. If such was the case, it has to be surmised that the beginning of this inscription, incised on the image elsewhere. escaped our notice while copying the record. As a matter of fact, the image of the goddess Sāradā is under worship and the priests allowed us to copy the epigraph on the front side of the pedestal of her image after considerable pursuasion. Since, moreover, the stanza in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* referred to above does not appear to be the concluding part of a record, it is possible to think that Inscription **A**, though it is followed by marks of punctuation indicating the end of a work or a section, was continued and concluded on the left side.

Inscription **B** begins with the *maṅgala* : *ō namaḥ Sarasvatyai* which is followed by a fairly big *praśasti* in fiftyone stanzas composed in various metres. Verses 1-2 of the *praśasti* describe the goddess [Sarasvatī] as identical with Brāhmī, Kamalā and Gaurī and as installed ' on this peak [of the hill]' and again refer to her abode on the hill. The reference is no doubt to the hill at Maihar, on which the inscribed slab has been found. The following stanza records the author's obeisance to the goddess Sarasvatī.

Verse 4 introduces a Brāhmaṇa named Śōṇabhadra whose son, the learned Vūpati, born in the Vatsa *gōtra*, is mentioned in verse 5. The name of the *vishaya* or district where the Brāhmaṇa family flourished is not clear, though it may be **Gōvana**. The following stanzas mention the descendants of the said Brāhmaṇas: (1) Bhṛigudēva, son of Vūpati (verse 6); (2) Gaṅgādhara born in Vūpati's family (verse 7); (3) Śivadēva-bhaṭṭa whose relationship with Gaṅgādhara is not stated though he may have been a younger brother of the latter (verse 8); (4) Trivikrama, son of Śivadēva-bhaṭṭa (verse 9); and (5) Dēvaprasāda, son of Trivikrama (verses 11-12).

The description of the family in verses 13-19 is difficult to follow. Verse 13 either mentions the younger brother or the two sons of Dēvaprasāda, though no personal name is clear from the extant part of the damaged stanza. It is also difficult to understand whether the description in the following stanzas relates to the younger brother or the younger of the two sons of Dēvaprasāda or some other members of the family were introduced in the section. Verse 20 mentions Dāmōdara, whose description continues in verses 21-23, though it is not clear whether he was the same as the younger brother or son of Dēvaprasāda or was a descendant of either of the latter. But the latter part of the record shows that this Dāmōdara was the son of Dēvadhara whose name therefore must have occurred in the damaged section referred to above probably as the younger brother or as the younger son of Dēvaprasāda.

Verses 24-35 narrate a story relating to the antecedents of Dāmōdara. It is said that he was really the son of the goddess Sarasvatī and was living in Brahma-lōka along with the preceptor of the gods (Bṛihaspati) and that once there was a Śāstric dispute between the two, in which Bṛihaspati was defeated by the young boy (verses 24-26). Being angry at his defeat, the preceptor of the gods cursed the boy to be born on the earth (verse 27). The boy's mother Sarasvatī then appeased Bṛihaspati (verse 28) who consoled the daughter of Brahman (Sarasvatī) by predicting that her young son would be born in a family of pious Brāhmaṇas and would become a great

scholar (verses 29-34). The last stanza of this section (verse 35) puts the following words in Bṛihaspati's mouth : " Verily, this child will again come back to you as a result of being drowned in [the waters of] the sea after having seen **Purushōttama in the Ōḍra country.**" The reference here is to the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī in Orissa.

Verses 35-40 describe Dāmōdara's career on the earth, the first two stanzas (verses 35-36) stating that, at the time Bṛihaspati was consoling Sarasvatī in heaven, Dāmōdara was born as the son of Dēvadhara on the earth. It is further stated that, as predicted by the preceptor of the gods, he stayed in his (i.e. his father's) house till he became sixteen years old. The following two stanzas (verses 37-38) state how then Dāmōdara left his parents, friends and relations and, resolving to set out on pilgrimage, reached in due course the sea-shore where he saw the god Purushōttama. Verse 40 states that Dāmōdara went back to the world of Brahman where he told the people the story about himself. As indicated by the prediction in verse 35, he must have lost his life while bathing in the waters of the Bay of Bengal near the temple of Purushōttama-Jagannātha in Orissa. The next stanza (verse 41) says how his father became greatly mortified at the news of his son's death.

Verses 42-43 introduce a banker named Madhusūdana who was a devotee of the god Madhusūdana (Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa) and a friend of Dāmōdara's father Dēvadhara. He is described as responsible for the building of many temples and other charitable institutions and as a poet and an incarnation of Vajradatta whose identity is uncertain, although he may have been the well-known author of the *Lōkēśvarastava.*[1] Verses 45-46 state how Dēvadhara built a temple for the goddess Sarasvatī in his son's memory while the previous stanza (verse 44) seems to suggest that he received help in that connection from his friend Madhusūdana. The temple referred to is no doubt the one in which the goddess Sāradā of Maihar was originally installed on the hill. Verse 47 says how Dēvadhara left his home and went to the world of Vishṇu (i.e. died). It seems that he went to a holy spot with a view to giving up his life.

Verse 48 introduces a Śaiva ascetic named Sāmbaśambhu whom the following stanza (verse 49) describes as a terror to the Chārvāka school of philosophers and as an adept in the Buddhist and Jain doctrines as well as in the *āgamas* of the Śaivas. From verse 50, we learn that this Sāmbaśambhu was the author of the *praśasti* under study. Verse 51, with which the eulogy ends, contains the prayer that the goddess (i.e. the image of Sarasvatī or Sāradā now worshipped on the hill at Maihar) may last for ever. The concluding section in line 39 states that the eulogy was written (i.e. written on the stone for facilitating the work of engraving) by Bhāva and that its engraver was Nāgadēva.

The inscription analysed above does not contain information of any importance to the student of the political history of ancient India. Still it is not devoid of interest to the student of Indian literature and cultural history. In the first place, it contains an as yet unknown work of a little known poet named Sāmbaśambhu, though the composition cannot be regarded as of a high order. Secondly, if Vajradatta mentioned in verse 42 is really identical with the author of the *Lōkēśvarastava*, it offers one of the rare instances of the mention of an earlier poet in an epigraphic record. Thirdly, the inscription seems to indicate the popularity of the works of Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa. The story of Sarasvatī's son having been cursed by Bṛihaspati in Brahma-lōka and born on the earth reminds us of a similar story told in the first chapter of Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* how Sarasvatī herself was cursed by Durvāsas in Brahma-lōka and was compelled to live on the earth (the bank of the river Śōṇa) where she was married to a mortal and gave birth to a great scholar.

[1] Vajradatta, author of the *Lōkēśvarastava*, flourished at the court of Dēvapāla in the ninth century A.D. (S. N. Dasgupta, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, p. 378).

Amongst informations in the text which would interest the student of Indian mythology and religious history, attention may be drawn to the representation of the goddess Sarasvatī as identical with Brāhmī, Kamalā and Gaurī and also as the daughter of the god Brahman. We know that our goddess of learning is variously represented in Puranic literature as the daughter or wife of Brahman (though Brahman's more well-known wife is Gāyatrī or Sāvitrī) and sometimes also as identical with Durgā, the wife of Śiva, as the wife of Vishṇu or Manu, and as the daughter of Daksha.[1]

The reference to Dāmōdara's pilgrimage to Purī is very interesting. As we have seen above,[2] there is evidence to show that the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī in Orissa was a celebrated deity in the latter part of the eleventh century A.D. when Kṛishṇamiśra wrote his *Prabōdhachandrōdaya* at the court of the Chandēlla king Kīrtivarman (c. 1070-1100 A.D.). It is now clear from the present record that the god was enjoying the same celebrity as early as the middle of the tenth century and probably even some time earlier.

Among the **geographical names** in the inscription, Ōḍra has to be identified with the Puri-Cuttack region of Orissa.[3]

TEXT[4]

A

1 तो . .[5] । वेदे यश्चतुराननश्चरणदृङ्न्यायप्रव(ब)न्धे परः

2 सांख्यख्यातिषु नैपुणं परमगा[न्नीतौ] च वाचस्पतिः । मी-

3 मांसासु विचक्षणः परम[हो वा(बा)]ल्येपि सर्व्वज्ञता येनावा-

4 पि किमुच्यते कलियुगव्यासः कवित्वं [प्रति][6]॥○॥

B

[Metres : verses 1, 15, 22, 31, 50 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*. verses 2-8, 10, 11, 16-19, 21, 23-27, 29, 30, 32, 35-41, 43-47 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 9, 13, 14, 20, 48 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 28, 33 *Vaṁśastha* ; verses 12, 34, 42, 49, 51 *Sragdharā*.]

1 ॐ नमः सरस्वत्यै । या व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मी कमलोद्भवस्य कमलं [विष्णोश्च वक्षस्थलं] देहार्द्ध गिरिशस्य विश्वमहिता गौरी जगद्विश्रुता । प्रत्यग्रास्थित[सांद्रवि-म्व(म्ब) ◡ ◡ – पिष्टातकस्थासकं ?]

2 सैवास्मिन्शिखरे गिरेर्भगवती नित्यं स्थिता चारुणि ॥[१॥*] पर्व्वताधिनिवासेन . . . . । . . . परदेवी च वरदानैकतत्परा ॥[२॥*] सर्व्वविद्यात्मके देवि ने-

[1] See Monier-Williams' *Sans. Eng. Dict.*, s.v.

[2] Vol. XXXIII, p. 184 and note 1.

[3] See Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 134 ff.

[4] From inked impressions.

[5] The *aksharas* here appear to represent the concluding part of a stanza.

[6] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

3 दिष्ठे दूरवर्त्तिनि । व्र(ब्र)ह्मवक्त्रांवु(बु)जोद्भूतो(ते) सरस्वति नमोस्तु ते ॥[३॥*] धर्म्माचारविदग्धेषु मर्त्येषु धृतिसद्मसु । ·[1]वने विषये पुण्ये शोणभद्रे(द्रो)-तिविश्रुतः ॥[४॥*] तत्सूनुर्व्वृपतिर्नाम वे-

4 दवेदांगपारगः । वत्सगोत्रे पवित्रेभूत्साक्षादिव पितामहः ॥[५॥*] तद्वंशभूषणं भद्रो भृगुदेवो द्विजोत्तमः । व(ब)भूव यशसां पूरैः परिपूरितदिङमु[ख]ः ॥[६॥*] ततस्तदन्व-

5 ये धीरो विध्वस्ताशेषवं(बं)धनः । गंगाधर इति ख्यातः समभूत्समदर्शनः ॥[७॥*] शरीरिणेव पुण्येन मूर्त्तेन श्रुतिराशिना । शिवदेवभट्टेनातः सान्वयाः पूर्व्वभाविनः ॥[८॥*] त-

6 स्माच्च शुभ्रचरितश्चतुरश्रमूर्त्तिर्मान्यस्त्रिविक्रम इति प्रथि[तो]रुकीर्त्तिः । संपादितार्थि-हृदयाभिमतानुरूपः प्रादुर्व्व(र्ब्ब)भूव भुवि कल्पतरोरनूनः ॥[९॥*] षट्कर्मा-

7 भिरतस्यास्य सर्व्वकामाभिगामिनः । कुलशीलगुणोपेते स्वकलत्रे सुतोभवत् ॥[१०॥*] समुद्र इव गांभीर्ये गु[णे] माणिक्यरोहणः । देवप्रसादनामा[भू] . .

8 वार्थसमर्थनात् ॥[११॥*] अपि च । रूपे कंदर्प्पकल्पो वचसि सुर[गुरु]र्व्वेद-विद्यासु वेधा व्यासः प्रज्ञाविकाशे गुरुजनविन[ये] नूतनो राम[भद्रः] । स[त्ये]

9 धर्म्मस्य सूनुर्निजकुलकुमुदानंददाने च चंद्रश्चारित्रे चित्रगुप्तः किमपरमसमः सज्जनत्वं द[धा]नः ॥[१२॥*] सर्व्वद्विजेषु महितस्तत – ⏑ – – – – ⏑

10 वेश्मनि ⏑ – न्नतपौरभारः । तस्यानुजः सुजनलोचनपूर्ण्णचंद्रः साक्षादुपेन्द्र इव लांगलिनो व(ब)भूव ॥[१३॥*] कांत्या विडम्व(म्ब)यति कांचनमेष दीर्घं दामोच्छ्वसत्कुवलय ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –

11 – । गत्या वृषं वृषरतिर्नलकूव(ब)रस्य रूपं जिगाय शुभलक्षणलक्ष्ममूर्त्तिः ॥[१४॥*] अपि च । वेदाभ्यासपवित्रवक्त्रकमलः शास्त्रेषु पारंगतः काव्या-[ख्यानक]नाटकादिषु

12 परं प्रावीण्यमाप्तः स्वयम् । कर्त्ता चाद्भुतवस्तुरम्यवचसां [श्रात्रा]मृतस्यंदिनां सूक्तीनां कुशलः कलासु सकल[स्मृत्यर्थ?] – – स्थिरः ॥[१५॥*] व(ब)हुभिः . . . . . .

[1] The damaged *akshara* may be *gō*.

13 [दू]रीकृत्य कृत्यवित् । देवानाराधयामास वितृष्णः सप्ततंतुभिः ॥[१६॥*] संसारासारतां ज्ञात्वा विदुषां म धुरि स्थितः । सर्व्वत्राचीखन[त्कूप]सरांसि . . . . . [॥] [१७॥*] . . .

14 तु मरुद्देश्म ध्वजव्याजेन निर्म्मलम् । प्रससार यशस्तस्य प्राप यच्चें(च्चं)द्रमंडलम् ॥[१८॥*] तस्याख्या ख्यातिमापन्ना जगत्यापन्नपालनात् । . . . . इति . . . .

15 . . [॥] [१९॥*] – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ [निहत्य रजस्तमांसि शापाक्ष]राद्दलितदुर्द्दमदर्प्पसर्प्पः । दामोदरो विजितदुर्ज्जयकोपमोहः संसार – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – ॥[२०॥*] पूर्वज-

16 न्मान्तरोपात्तसंस्कारस्य प्रभावतः । स वा(बा)ल एव पुण्यात्मा सर्व्वशास्त्राण्यवु(बु)ध्यत ॥[२१॥*] अपि च । प्रद्युम्नः किमयं पुनः क्षितितलं प्राप्तः [स्वयं] कौतुकात्स्मृत्वा शैशव-

17 मेष वारिधिसुताकान्तो जयन्तः किमु । किम्वा तारकमारको दधदसावेकं मुखं लीलया भातीत्थं [चतुरश्च कीर्त्तिविभवः] – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – ॥[२२॥*] एकसंस्थः स्थिरप्रज्ञः सु-

18 कविर्वादिनां वरः । पित्रोर्भक्तोनुरक्तश्च श्रुतौ धर्म्मपरश्च सः ॥[२३॥*] सोयं सरस्वतीसूनुर्व्र(र्ब्र)ह्मलोके वसन्पुरा । देवानां गुरुणा सार्द्धं जन्ययामास सन्मतिः ॥[२४॥*] व्र(ब्र)ह्म-

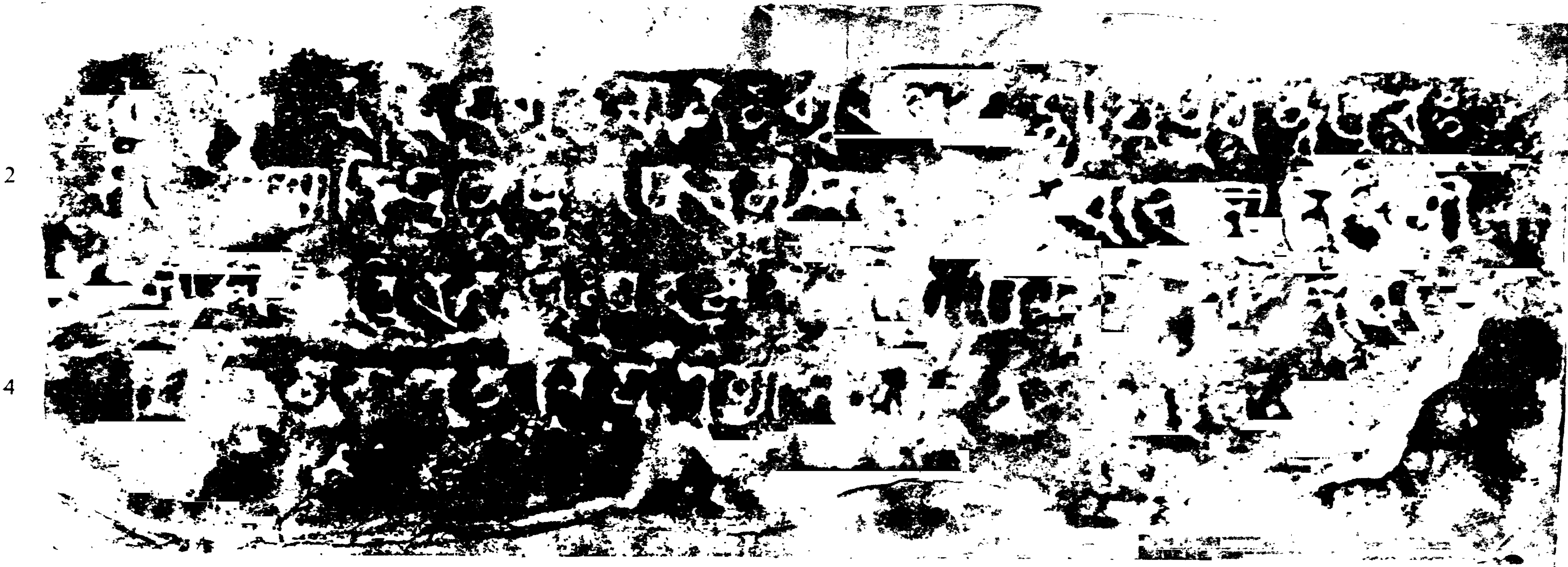
19 पर्षदि सर्व्वेषां व्र(ब्र)ह्मर्षीणां च पश्यताम् । विवादः सुमहानासीत्तयोर्व्विद्यावलिप्तयोः ॥[२५॥*] सर्व्वज्ञत्वात्सुवक्तृत्वात्सरस्वत्याः प्रभावतः । सप्तमेहनि वा(बा)लेन विजितो

20 देवतागुरुः ॥[२६॥*] पराजयविलक्षेण कोपेनाहृतचेतसा । शप्तः स वा(बा)लो गुरुणा गच्छ त्वं मर्त्यमण्डलम् ॥[२७॥*] निशम्य तत्तस्य वचः सरस्वती सुतस्य शापात्परितप्तमानसा । प्र-

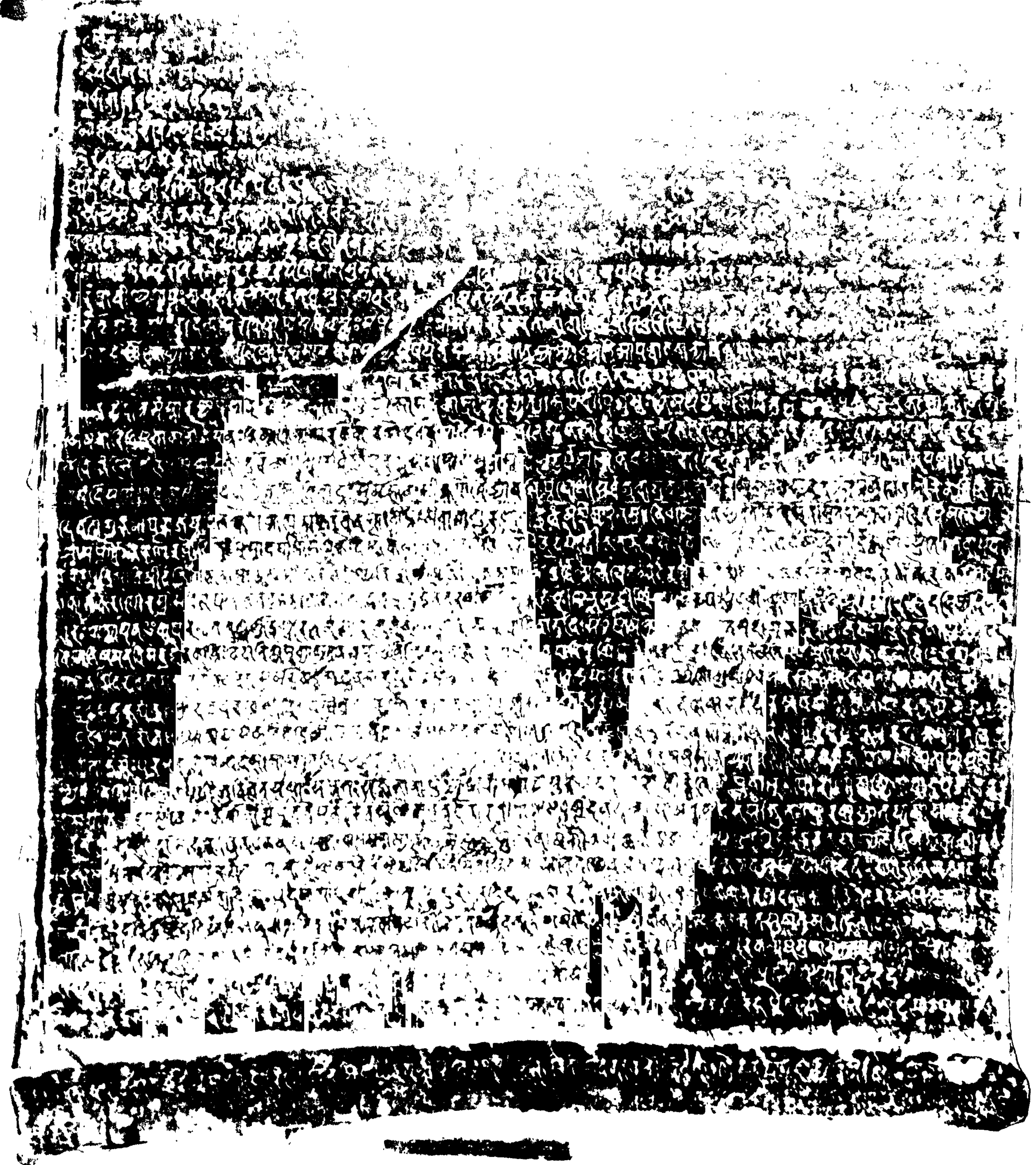
21 णामपूर्व्वं करुणैरथोदितैः प्रसादयामास गुरुं दिवौकसाम् ॥[२८॥*] स तस्या उपरोधेन दयार्द्रीकृतमानसः । वृ(बृ)हस्पतिरुवाचेदं मा भैषीर्व्र(र्ब्र)ह्मणः सुते ॥[२९॥*] तवायं वा(बा)-

INSCRIPTIONS FROM MAIHAR

A



(from Photograph)



(from Photograph)

22 लकः पुत्त्रि मा विषीद जितात्मनाम् । उत्पत्स्यते कुले पुण्ये विप्राणामृतुया-
जिनाम् ॥[३०॥*] मातुर्व्वेश्मनि देवमंदिरशिरोविन्यस्त[हस्ता]ननभ्राजत्कांचननिर्मि-
तोरुकलशध्वस्ता-

23 न्धकारोत्करे । पौरस्त्रीसविलेपनोन्नतवृ(बृ)हद्वक्षोजविक्षोभितप्रादुर्भूततरंगसंगसुरभिक्रीडोल्ल-
सद्दीर्घिके ॥[३१॥*] सुरूपः सुभगः श्रीमान्सर्व्वशास्त्रविशारदः । भविष्यति सदा-

24 चारः कात्यायन इवापरः ॥[३२॥*] ततश्च शुभ्रैश्चरितैर्मनोरमैर्मनांसि गृह्णन्पुरवा-
सिनां भुवि । स एष मित्त्रैः सह रंस्यते सदा गरुत्मकेतुर्निवसन्निव व्रजे
॥[३३॥*] पुत्रस्ते वेद-

25 विद्यानिगमनविसरद्दन्तकान्तिः कदाचिच्छास्त्रव्याख्यानलुब्धैः(ब्धैः) सुनिशितमतिभिर्व्वेष्ट्य-
मानः कदाचित् । शिष्टानां सम्मताभिः क्षितितलतिलकः क्रीड[मा]नः कदाचि-
द्विद्वत्प्रश्नप्रव(ब)-

26 न्धान्सुकविविरचितानाख्यतेयं कदाचित् ॥[३४॥*] समुद्रमज्जनान्नूनमोड्रेषु पुरुषोत्तमम् ।
दृष्ट्वा तवांतिके भूयः पुरागच्छत्ययं शिशुः ॥[३५॥*] एवं सरस्वतीं यावदा-
श्वासयति [गीष्पतिः ।]

27 तावत्तत्सूनुरुत्पन्नः श्रीदेवधरवेश्मनि ॥[३६॥*] यथैव गुरुणाख्यातं तथा स्थित्वा
स्वके गृहे । दामोदराभिधानोसौ द्विरष्टवर्षाकृतिः[1] ॥[३७॥*] [परित्यज्य
निजान्व(न्ब)न्धू ?]-

28 न्सुहृदः पितरौ तथा । यात्रायां स मतिं चक्रे शापस्यान्तवशादथ ॥[३८॥*]
ततश्च गणितैरेव दिवसैर्देवदुर्लभः । प्राप्तवान्जलधेस्तीरं दृष्टश्च पुरुषोत्तमः
॥[३९॥*] तेनैव

29 गच्छता भूयः परमं व्र(ब्र)ह्मणः पदम् । आख्यातमिदमाख्यानं लोकानां तन्नि-
वासिनाम् ॥[४०॥*] दामोदरस्य वृत्तान्तममुमाकर्ण्य धीरधीः । कथं कथमपि
प्राणान्पितास्य समधा-

30 रयत् ॥[४१॥*] तन्मित्त्रं चित्त्रचेष्टार्ज्जितविततयशाः सम्मतः सज्जनानां
पुण्यात्मारामवाटीसुरसदनसरःकीर्त्तनो(ने)तिप्रगल्भः । पौराणां श्रेष्ठिभावादुपजनित-

[1] One *akshara* is missing here.

31 मन:प्रोतिरग्राम्यकेलि: कर्त्ता काव्यप्रव(ब)न्धे पुनरिव गुणवान्वज्रदत्तोवतीर्ण्णः
।।[४२।।*] मधुसूदनभक्तोसौ मधुसूदनसंज्ञित: । पुरमुद्यो(द्द्यो)तयामास प्रदीप

32 इव मंदिरम् ।।[४३।।*] दामोदरपितानेन सुहृदा सममताम्यत् । समदु✕खसुखेनायं
शोकशंकुक्षतव्यथः ।।[४४।।*] सुपुत्रस्नेहव(ब)न्धेन तदाख्यानं निशम्य च । श्रीदेव-

33 धरनामामु सरस्वत्या अकारयत् ।।[४५।।*] प्रासादं शिखरे रम्ये यशो
मूर्त्तमिव स्थितम् । भाति तस्यैव विप्रस्य विदुषः कृत्यवस्तुषु ।।[४६।।*]
सोपि देवधरो धीरो नि[:*]सृत्य विधिव-

34 द्गृहात् । मुमुक्षुः क्षीणकर्मत्वाद्विष्णोः पदमगात्परम् ।।[४७।।*] तस्मिन्पुरे पुरभि-
दश्चरणारविन्दमाराध्य लव्ध(ब्ध)शुभवो(बो)धनिरस्तवं(बं)धः । कां सन्निव(ब)न्ध
◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ मुक्तरेणु[:]

35 पादांवु(बु)जः ◡ ◡ ◡ – भुवि सांव(ब)शंभुः ।।[४८।।*] अपि च । भावाभावानुभावी
त्रिभुवनभवनाभोगगर्भैकचंद्रश्चार्वाकातंकदक्षः कृतसुगतमतिर्ज्जैनविज्ञानकेतुः । संसारां-

36 भोधिमज्जज्जनजनितनिजज्ञानहस्तावलंवः(बः) शैवानामागमानामवगतमहिमा सर्व्व-
शास्त्रेष्वभिज्ञः ।।[४९।।*] तेनेयं समकारि कल्मषमुषा शस्ता प्रशस्तिर्ल्लस-
त्काव्यावर्ज्जि-

37 तचेतसास्य विदुषा स्वोविक्रमस्य स्वयम् । तत्सूनोश्च पवित्रचेष्टितशतैः
शश्वत्सतां सम्मतैः सन्तः सज्जनकीर्त्तनेषु महतीं यस्मान्मुदं वि(बि)भ्रति
।।[५०।।*] ।। ⊕ । ⊕ ।

38 देहार्द्धे चंद्रमौलिः कलयति गिरिजां यावदंभो ◡ – – – – – – – स्थलस्थां श्रियमधिवहति
प्रेमव(ब)न्धादुपेन्द्रः । – – – – ◡ – – ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ – – ◡ –

39 [त्रौ?] च यावत्तावद्देवीयमास्तां गिरिशिखरमिदं पावयन्ती पृथिव्याम् ।।⊕[५१।।*]
लिखिता भावेन । उत्कीर्ण्णा च नागदेवेनेयं प्रशस्तिरिति ।।◯।।

No. 23—INSCRIPTION FROM WARI, SAKA 1467

(*2 Plates*)

DEBALA MITRA, CALCUTTA

(*Received on 29.11.1960*)

During my visit to Malda in May 1959, an inscribed stone slab (now in the Malda Museum) was shown to me by Shri Shibendra Sekhar Roy, Pleader and Secretary of the Malda Museum, who stated that it had been found in 1958 by Shri Raghunandan Saha. Block Development Officer, during the Test Relief operation near a mound by the side of a large tank called Ratangāḍā, at **Wari,** 10 miles north of the Harishchandrapur Police Station in the Malda District.

The inscription. engraved on the finished side of an otherwise irregular slab of basalt with letters in relief as generally found in Arabic and Persian inscriptions, contains six lines of writing. The length and breadth of the finished oblong face of the slab are respectively 1 foot $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches and $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches. There is a socket on the back side. apparently for fixing it on the wall of the *maṇḍapa* referred to in the inscription. The writing has a raised border on all the sides. The letters are uniform in size and carefully made.

The **characters** of the record are Bengali and resemble those in the epigraphs and manuscripts of the 15th or 16th century found in Bengal and Assam. In regard to palaeography. the following points call for attention. The upper part of medial *i* generally shows, instead of the curve above the top *mātrā*, an oblique stroke coming downward to the left from the right end of the top *mātrā* and attached to the top of the concerned letter. as in *likhyamānē*, *muni*, *Manubhir*° and *nirmmāya* (line 1). This type of *i* is found in a few dedicatory inscriptions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in some of the temples of Vishṇupur in the Bankura District. Medial *u* at the foot of consonants like *n*, *p* and *s* (e.g. *Manubhir*° in line 1. *putrīṁ* and *surair*° in line 3) is indicated by an angular attachment (resembling the tail of a fish), but has the modern Bengali form below such letters as *m*, *v*, *shṇ* and *d* (e.g. *muni* in line 1. *viru(bu)dha* and *Vishṇu* in line 2 and °*dupachitā* in line 5). Medial *ū* in *mūrttiḥ* (line 5) is denoted by an angular curve resembling the modern Bengali form of medial *ṛi*. *Anusvāra* is indicated by a dot near the top end of the right side of the letter and also by a dot put above a slanting *daṇḍa* tipped by a dot placed at the right of the letter as in *vādaṁ* (line 5). *Visarga* resembles the Bengali figure for 4 as in the copper-plate inscription of the time of king Vijayamāṇikya of Tripura.[1] The *avagraha* sign has the same form as *h* without the top *mātrā*. The sign of final *m* in *Viśvanātham* (line 4) resembles somewhat the mark of interrogation placed obliquely. The tongue of *ja* in *Vighnarājaṁ* (line 3) does not come down as in the modern one but is finished with an upward curve as in the manuscript of the *Śrīkṛishṇakīrttana*.[2] The letter *ṭ* is yet to achieve its final Bengali form, while *ṇ* (e.g. in *vivu(bu)dhagaṇaṁ* in line 2) shows an oblique *l*-like double curve attached to the left top of a vertical line. The letter *r* has the shape of *v* (which of course is undifferentiated from *b*) with a dot inside the triangle as in the earlier of the two Barakar inscriptions[3] and in a stone inscription

[1] *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1951, pp. 73-82.

[2] R. D. Banerji, *The Origin of the Bengali Script*, University of Calcutta, 1919, Plate VIII.

[3] *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. II, 1936, pp. 21 f., Plate 4.

of V.S. 1553 (1496 A.D.).[1] The letter *l* exhibits a single oblique curve attached to the right vertical line. The upper portion of *h* looks like that of *d*.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and, except for the names of the two composers, it is in verse. The following **orthographical** points may be noted : (1) reduplication of *m* in *Manubhir=mmaṇḍapaṁ* but not in *sārair=muktyai* (both in line 1) ; (2) the use of *avagraha* in *bhakty=ā'dhṛita* (lines 1 and 2) but not in *Mahēndrō=tra* (line 2) and (3) the absence of the mark of the final consonant with *t* in *sākshāta* (line 2) but its presence with *m* in *Viśvanātham* (line 4).

The inscription is dated in the **Śaka year 1467,** given in the chronogram *muni*(7)-*rasa*(6)-*Manu*(14). The year corresponds to **1545-46 A.D.**

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple by a person named Mahēndra with the image of Vishṇu in the centre surrounded by Sūrya, Gaṇēśa, Pārvatī and Viśvanātha respectively in the south-east, south-west, north-west and north-east directions. Like a modern tolerant Smārta, Mahēndra rose above sectarianism and engaged himself in *pañch-ōpāsanā*.

The contents of this inscription made me curious about the structure itself. With a faint hope of getting some traces I visited the site from Malda on the 24th April 1960 and found the remains, scanty though they are, faithfully answering to the description.

The main edifice consists of a square structure with a low platform-like stone-paved *upāna* around it. The brick walls of its outer periphery, about 4 feet thick, are veneered both internally and externally with smooth slabs of bluish basalt (*śaila-sāra* and *nīl-ōpala* of the inscription). Internally the structure is compartmented by a network of brick walls, about 3 feet 6 inches wide, into nine chambers (see Plate). The largest is the central chamber about 11 feet square, and it is surrounded by eight others—four squarish small rooms at the corners and four oblong bigger ones, on the four sides of the central chamber. The latter, no doubt served as porches to the central and the corner rooms, utilized as sanctuaries. The central chamber has three doors, one on the front and the others on the sides, leading to the porches, while each of the corner rooms has two doors communicating with the flanking porches, the latter having in addition doors leading outside, so that they have each four doors, except the western one behind the central chamber which has three. The floors of all the rooms were originally paved with bluish basalt slabs, traces of which still linger at places. The frames of the doors were also of stone, the sills and jambs of which are extant in many cases.

The central object of worship, i.e. Vishṇu of the inscription, is now missing.[2] It no doubt stood against the doorless western wall of the central chamber. The disloged pedestal of the image now lies in the adjacent north porch. *Pañcha-ratha* on plan and of bluish basalt, it is 5 feet 11 inches long and 2 feet 6 inches wide (at the maximum point), with a socket, 1 feet ½ inch by 7 inches in the centre of its rear end.

The corner rooms doubtless housed the remaining deities mentioned in the inscription. There is, however, at present no trace of them except that the north-eastern room still has *in situ* a *liṅga* of bluish basalt with a large *arghyapaṭṭa*. The inscription itself had been found loose, according

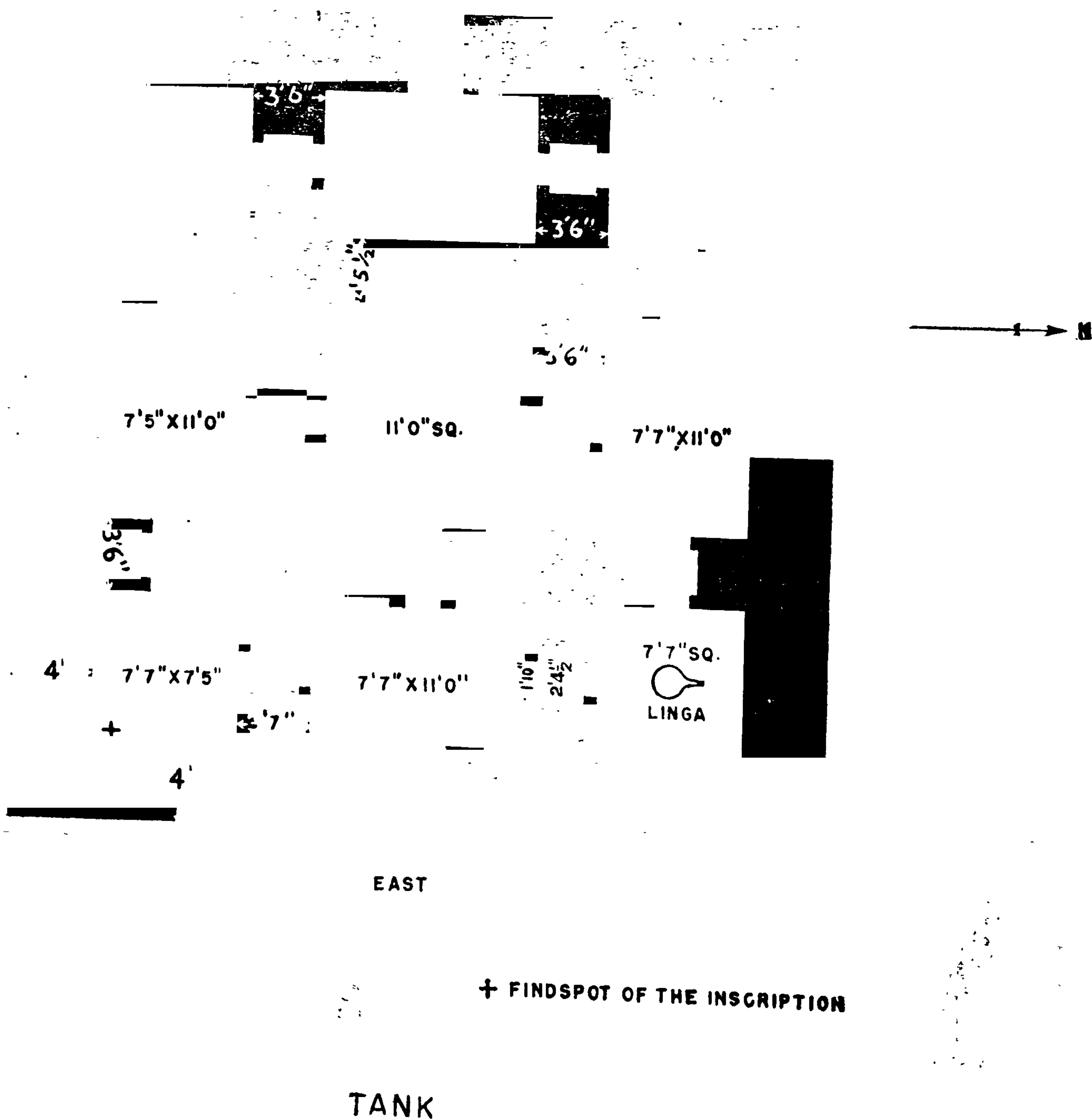
[1] Ibid., Vol. XIV, 1948, pp. 114 f.; Plate 1. This type of *r* also occurs on the dedicatory inscriptions on the Mallēśvar, Śyāmarāy, Jōḍ-bāṅglā, Kālāchānd, Lāljī, Rādhāvinōd, Muralīmōhan and Madan-Gōpāl temples (all of the seventeenth century) of Vishṇupur.

[2] My enquiries revealed that a large image of Vishṇu, which may be regarded as the central deity of the shrine, had been removed by a local person who is said to have thrown it in the neighbouring tank following a mishap in his family.

INSCRIPTION FROM WARI, SAKA 1467—PLATE I

Size : One-half

SKETCH PLAN OF THE PAÑCHĀYATANA TEMPLE AT WARI



+ FINDSPOT OF THE INSCRIPTION

TANK

to Shri R. N. Saha,[1] at whose initiative the site was cleared off its debris and who was kind enough to take me to the site, on the top of the extant wall in the south-eastern corner room, i.e. the chamber of Sūrya.

The facing brickwork of the partition-walls is fine and its mortar is lime, while lime and *surki* are used in the core. The filling in between the facing stones of the outer periphery is of brick courses alternating with layers of concrete consisting of lime and brick grits. The mortar is extremely strong even now.

The structure (*maṇḍapa* or *maṭha* of the inscription) was therefore a *pañch-āyatana* temple dedicated to the principal deities of the five recognized Brahmanical cults, namely, Vaishṇava, Śākta, Śaiva, Saura and Gāṇapatya, a remarkable combination under one roof. Although the spirit of rapprochement between the different rival Brahmanical creeds was at work from a fairly early period and syncretistic images, miniature temples with figures of different cult-deities on their faces and the *pañch-āyatana* temples consisting of a central one dedicated to the chief object of worship with four subsidiary temples at the corners of the quadrangle grew up in response to it, it seems to have gathered momentum after the conquest of Muslim rulers. The instinct of self-preservation appears to have prompted the votaries of the different Brahmanical deities to combine before a common foe who had no respect for their faiths.

Twelve feet away from the back (i.e. western) wall of the structure are the ruins of a row of nine brick cells connected with each other by side doors. It is not known whether similar cells, laid after a quadrangular monastic plan, existed on the three other sides as well. But this is not unlikely as the north-west end of the western wall shows a turn towards the north. To the east of the structure is the Ratangāḍā tank which, according to local belief, is the repository of *ratan* (*ratna*, precious things).

In the office of the Block Development Officer exists a fragmentary stone sculpture which, I was told by Shri R. N. Saha, was found in the debris of the structure. It represents an eight- or ten-armed goddess seated in *lalit-āsana* on a double-petalled lotus. All the forearms with the attributes, except a water-pot (preserved on the lap), are now missing. Though it is tempting to identify the figure with that of Śailaputrī of the inscription, the image, as evident from the characters of the inscription on its pedestal, seems to be earlier than the temple-complex.[2]

Not far from the complex is another large tank, on the banks of which are remains of some more brick structures.

TEXT[3]

[Metres : Verse 1 *Sragdharā* ; verse 2 *Vasantatilaka*.]

1 **Śāk-ābdē** likhyamānē **muni-rasa-Manubhir**=mmaṇḍapaṁ śaila-sārair=muktyai nirmmāya bha-

2 kty=ā'dhṛita-vivu(bu)dha-gaṇaṁ śrī-Mahēndrō=tra sākshāta(kshāt) | madhvē Vishṇuṁ Kṛiśānōr=ddi-

3 śi Divasakaraṁ nairṛitē Vighnarājaṁ vāyavyē Śailaputrīṁ Hara-hariti surair=vvandi-

4 taṁ Viśvanātham || [1*] śrī-Gōvindamiśrasya ||[4] Nīl-ōpalēna ghaṭitō maṭha ēsha ya-

[1] Shri Saha also mentioned a carved gate which he has kept beneath a huge stack of bricks.

[2] [See below, pp. 183-84.—Ed.]

[3] From the original.

[4] Between the two *daṇḍas*, there is a floral motif within an oblong border.

5 sya saṁgharshaṇād=upachitā kila nīla-mūrttiḥ | ātanvatī vata vṛith=aiva kalaṅka-vādaṁ

6 vimvē(mbē) vidhōr=vvimala-bhāsi vibhāti rēkhā || [2*] śrī-Śatāvadhānasya |[1] ||

TRANSLATION

In the **Śaka year** which is being **written by muni (7), rasa (6) and Manu (14),** the illustrious Mahēndra, out of devotion (*and*) for salvation, built, with the best stones, (*this*) *maṇḍapa*, which holds several deities, (*with*) Vishṇu in the centre, the maker of the day (Sūrya) in the direction of Kṛiśānu (agni), Vighnarāja (Gaṇēśa) in that of Nirṛiti, the daughter of the mountain (Pārvatī) in that of Vāyu, and Viśvanātha, worshipped by gods, in that of Hara (Iśāna). (*This is the composition*) of the illustrious Gōvindamiśra. Made of blue stones is this] *maṭha*, the blue form of which is produced by burnishing. Alas ! The (*black*) stain in the brightly-shining orb of the moon, which spreads the ill fame (*of the moon*), (*now*) shines in vain (i.e. the lustre of the black stain pales into insignificance before the shiny black stone of the *maṭha*).[2] (*This is the composition*) of the illustrious Śatāvadhāna.

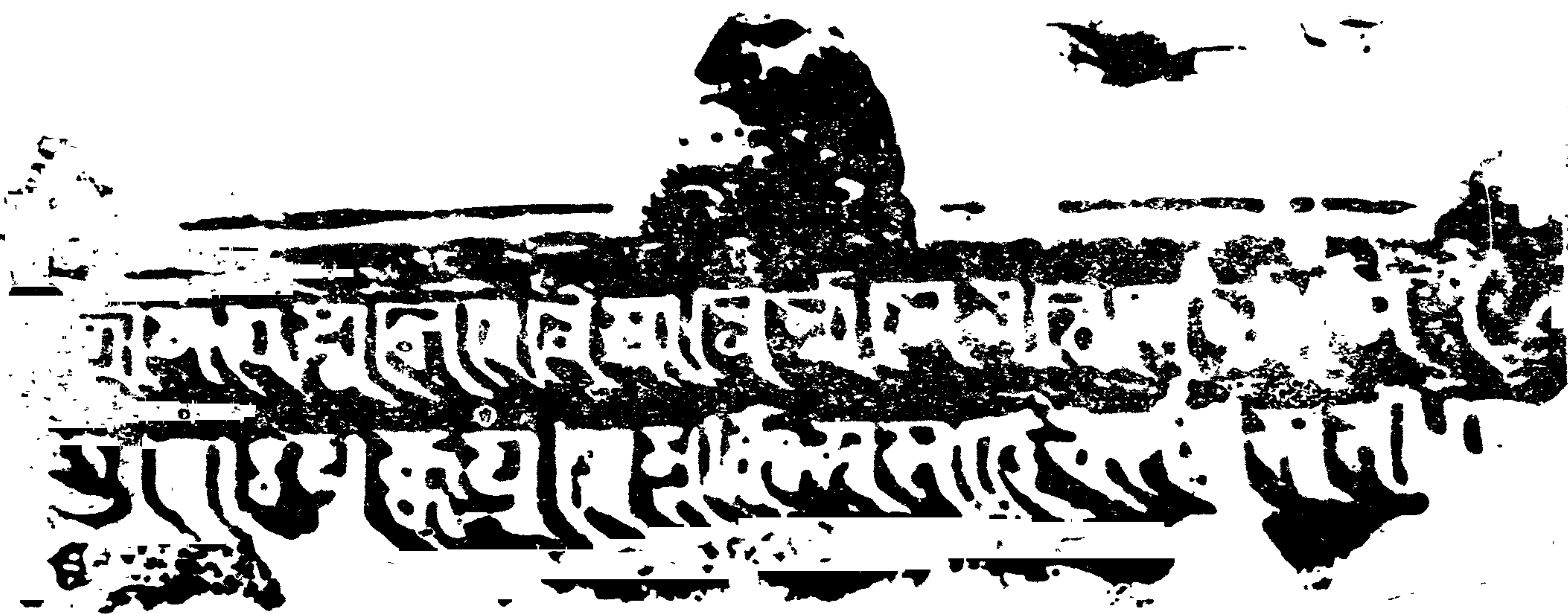
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[1] There is a floral motif here within an oblong border.

[2] [See below, p. 183.—Ed.]



(from Photograph)



Size : Actual

No. 24—NOTE ON INSCRIPTION FROM WARI

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(*Received on 18.1.1961*)

The Wari inscription of Śaka 1467 (1545-46 A.D.) has been edited in the foregoing pages (pp. 179-82) by Mrs. D. Mitra. The second of the two stanzas contained in the inscription runs as follows :

Nīl-ōpalēna ghaṭitō maṭha ēsha yasya
saṁgharshaṇād-upachitā kila nīla-mūrttiḥ |
ātanvatī vata vṛith=aiva kalaṅka-vādaṁ
vimbē vidhōr=vvimala-bhāsi vibhāti rēkhā ||

We are inclined to translate it into English in the following words : " This temple is built of blue stone, owing verily to the rubbing against which, the blue-coloured line developed in the spotlessly shining orb of the moon appears —oh wonder! spreading the story of a stain [in it] wrongly indeed." The reference here is really to the great height of the temple and we have the same idea also elsewhere in the works of Sanskrit literature. One such stanza occurs in Ananta-bhaṭṭa's *Bhāratachampū* to which my attention was drawn by Mr. S. Sankaranarayanan. The verse reads :

Yasyām=udagra-nṛipa-mandira-chandra-śālā-
vātāyanē gati-vaśād=vapushi prasaktām |
dīp-āgra-dhūma-mashikāṁ śiśirāṁśu-bimbē
mōhāt=kuraṅga iti mugdha-janā vadanti ||[1]

Mrs. Mitra has referred to a damaged stone sculpture representing 'an eight- or ten-armed goddess' now lying in the office of the Block Development Officer at Wari about ten miles from the Harishchandrapur Police Station in the Malda District. She observes, "Though it is tempting to identify the figure with that of Śailaputrī (i.e. Pārvatī) of the inscription [of 1545 A.D.], the image, as evident from the characters of the inscription on its pedestal, seems to be earlier than the temple-complex." She is right. On an examination of an impression of the image inscription in question, I find that its characters are about six or seven centuries earlier than the epigraph of 1545 A.D. Moreover, the contents of the epigraph, as read by us, show that the image on which it is engraved is that of the goddess Sarasvatī.

The **Wari Sarasvatī image inscription** is written in two lines which cover an area about 6·7 inches in length and 1·1 inches in height. Its **characters** belong to the transitional stage when Gauḍī was developing out of Siddhamātṛikā. It may be noticed that the top of the letters *p*, *m*, etc., is open in some cases (e.g. *p* in *pakka* and *m* in *mūrttiḥ* in line 2) but closed in others (e.g. *p* in *śrīmat-Padma*° and *m* in *nirmmamēna* in line 1 and *p* in *purē* and *s* in *sa-sārē* in line 2). We know that the top of such letters is only rarely open in the Pāla and Chandra inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries A. D. The inscription may thus be assigned on palaeographical

[1] Ed. G. C. Deo, Bombay, p. 1, verse 3.

grounds to a date before the close of the tenth century. The record, which is written in the Sanskrit language, contains a single stanza in the *Anushṭubh* metre, the two halves of which are engraved in the two lines of writing. There are orthographical errors; cf. °*girin=aishā* for °*giriṇ=aishā* in line 1 and *pakka* for *pakva* in line 2. Of lexical interest is the expression *pakva-pura* in line 2, which appears to be the Sanskrit rendering of Bengali *pākā-bāḍī*, 'a brick-built house'.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of an image of the goddess Sarasvatī by a person named Padmagiri. The image is stated to have been made [for installation] in the brick-built house of Padmagiri's preceptor whose name is not mentioned in the epigraph. The *pakva-pura* or brick-built house seems actually to have been a temple built by the person in question.[1] The special mention of the shrine as brick-built is due to the fact that, as is the case even now, many deities were worshipped in thatched houses in the area in question. Padmagiri's name ending with the word *giri* is interesting. Whether this indicates that he was an ascetic of a particular order cannot be definitely determined since personal names like Nandagiri and Mahēndragiri occur in very early inscriptions[2] while we have no such early reference to ascetics bearing names ending in *giri*. But Padmagiri's epithet *nirmama*, 'one who has renounced all wordly ties', seems to support such a conjecture.

If Padmagiri was a Brahmanical ascetic, the goddess was the Brahmanical Sarasvatī and not the Buddhist or Jain deity of that name. But it may be noted in this connection that the early medieval images of the goddess Sarasvatī found in Bengal, whether Brahmanical or otherwise, are generally represented with two or four arms, and not with eight arms.[3] Since the image in question is known to be that of Sarasvatī from the inscription it bears, we get here a unique instance of the eight-armed Sarasvatī, even though such a conception of the deity is sometimes met with in Puranic literature. The *Durgāsaptaśatī*,[4] e.g. speaks of an aspect of Sarasvatī with eight arms holding respectively arrow, pestle or club, trident or lance, discus, conch, bell, plough and bow. But what Mrs. Mitra describes as a water-pot on the lap of the deity seems to be the lower end of the lute which is one of the common attributes of several forms of the deity. If the image had really ten arms as alternatively suggested by Mrs. Mitra, the additional two arms may have held the lute.

TEXT[5]

1 Śrīmat-Padmagirinai(ṇ=ai)shā nirmmamēna vi[nirmmamē] |

2 gurōḥ pakka(kva)-purē mūr[ttiḥ] sa-sārē cha [Sara]s[v]atī [||]

TRANSLATION

This image—this Sarasvatī—was constructed by the illustrious Padmagiri, who is free from connection with the outer world, (*for installation*) in the strong brick-built house (i.e. a temple) of (i.e. raised by) (*his*) preceptor.

[1] The word *bhavana*, which is a synonym of *pura*, is sometimes used in the sense of 'a temple' (Lüders' List, No. 952).

[2] The name Nandagiri occurs in two inscriptions from Barhut (cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 58) and king Mahēndragiri of Pishṭapura is known from the Allahabad pillar inscription (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 256, text line 29, and p. 257, note).

[3] Bhattasali, *Icon. Bud. Brahm. Sculp. Dacca Mus.*, pp. 181-90. For the Buddhist Sarasvatī with two or six arms, see Bhattacharya, *Ind. Bud. Icon.*, 1958, pp. 249-52; cf. Getty, *G. N. B.*, p. 113.

[4] Veṅkatēśvara ed. 1916, p. 283, verses 14-15:

Gaurī-dēhāt-samudbhūtā yā sattv-aika-guṇ-āśrayā |
sākshāt-Sarasvatī prōktā Śumbh-āsura-nibarhiṇī ||
Dadhau ch=āshṭa-bhujā bāṇa-musalē śūla-chakra-bhṛit |
śaṅkhaṁ ghaṇṭāṁ lāṅgalaṁ cha kārmukaṁ vasudhādhipa ||

[5] From an impression.

No. 25—THREE PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 28.8.1960*)

1. Bhōjpur Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Bhōja I

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a colossal image of a Jain Tīrthaṅkara in the old Jain temple at **Bhōjpur** in the Goharganj Tahsil of the Raisen District, Madhya Pradesh. The village lies about 16 miles from Bhopal. There are only two lines of writing in the epigraph, the first of which is bigger than the second and contains letters of a slightly bigger size. The *aksharas* in line 1, which is about 21 inches long, are about ⅝ inch in height, while those of line 2 (about 5½ inches shorter than line 1) are a little less than ½ an inch high.

The inscription is **fragmentary**, the extant part containing about ¾ of the original writing. About ¼ of the inscription is broken away from the beginning. Several *aksharas* have also broken away from a few other places in line 1.

The **characters** of the inscription are Nāgarī of about the eleventh century A.D. They resemble the alphabet of the records of the time of Paramāra Bhōja I (c. 1000-55 A.D.), to whose age the inscription under study also refers itself. *T* and *n* have been written alike. The ornamentation of the *anusvāra* in *Chaṁdrārdha°* in line 1 is interesting. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is written in two stanzas. The extant part of the record **does not bear any date**. But it can be referred to a date about the **middle of the eleventh century A.D.**

There is a verse in the *Vasantatilaka* metre in line 1. Its first half refers to Chandrārdhamauli (i.e. the god Śiva) and the second half to [*Rājādhi*]*rāja-Paramēśvara* **Bhōjadēva**. The deity and the reigning monarch may have been introduced by a word like *jayati*; but no verb can be traced in the extant part of the stanza. The palaeography and findspot of the inscription suggest that this Bhōjadēva is no other than **Paramāra Bhōja I.**

Line 2 contains another stanza in the *Upajāti* metre in the first half of which we can read the passages *Sāgaranaṁdi-nāmā*, while the second half has *sa Nēmichaṁdrō vidadhē pratishṭhāṁ*.... *Śā*(*Śāṁ*)*ti-jinasya mū*(*sū*)*riḥ*. It is thus clear that the **object of the inscription** is to record the installation of an image of **Śānti-jina**, i.e. the Jain Tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha, on the pedestal of which it is engraved. The person responsible for its installation was apparently a Jain householder named Sāgaranandin, while the ceremony of installing the image was performed by a Jain monk named Nēmichandra-sūri. Although it is a Jain epigraph. the invocation of Chandrārdhamauli or Śiva in verse 1 seems to suggest that the author of the two stanzas, in which the record was composed, was a Śaiva. The said god may have also been mentioned in connection with king Bhōja who is known to have been a devotee of Śiva.

The **importance** of the inscription lies in the fact that it associates Paramāra Bhōja I with Bhōjpur or Bhōjapura, 'the city of Bhōja'. It appears that Bhōjpur was named after the said Paramāra king. Recently the Government of Madhya Pradesh published a small book in Hindī on the antiquities of Bhōjpur. Its learned author, Muni Kāṇtisāgarjī, had to satisfy himself with some speculation on the origin of the name of the village. This is because he does not appear to have succeeded in deciphering the inscription under study.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verse 1 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 2 *Upajāti.*]

1 [2]— —⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑[kā]rē Chaṁdrārddhamaulir=asamaḥ sama—⏑— — [|*] — —⏑—⏑⏑⏑ m=adbhuta-kī[rtti]— —[3]— —⏑[4] rājaparamēśvara-Bhōjadēvaḥ || [1*]

2 — —⏑— — — —⏑— —⏑— — — —⏑ ra[ḥ] Sā[ga]ranaṁdi-nāmā | sa Nē[m]ichaṁ[d]r[ō] v[i]-dadhē pratishṭhāṁ sudurllabhaḥ Sā(Śāṁ)ti-jinasya mū(sū)[riḥ] || [2*]

2. Bhōjpur Inscription of the time of Naravarman, Vikrama 1157

This small inscription is engraved on the pedestal of an image of the Jain Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha installed in the Jain temple at the village of **Bhōjpur** lying, as we have seen, in the Goharganj Tahsil of the Raisen District of Madhya Pradesh, which has yielded the inscription of the time of Paramāra Bhōja I, edited above. There are only four lines of writing in the present record, the space covered being about three inches in height. The length of the inscribed area is about ten inches at the top and about seven and a half inches at the bottom. Individual *aksharas* are about half an inch in height.

The **characters** of the inscription are Nāgarī of the eleventh or twelfth century. Its **language** is Sanskrit; but the orthography is full of errors. The record is written in prose and verse, there being only one stanza in the *Anushṭubh* metre. The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Naravarman**, no doubt the Paramāra king of that name, whose known dates range between Vikrama 1151 (1094 A.D.) and 1190 (1133 A.D.). It is dated in **Vikrama 1157 (1100-01 A.D.).**

The inscription begins with the date, **Saṁvat 1157**, without further details. Line 1 refers to the *sāmrājya* (i.e. the sovereignty or dominions) of **Naravarman.** Next is mentioned the *Vēmak-ānvaya* (i.e. the Vēmaka family) to which the person responsible for the epigraph belonged. This is followed by a stanza in *Anushṭubh*, which records the object of the inscription. It is stated that two Jina (i.e. Tīrthaṅkara) images were installed by a person named Chillaṇa who was the son of *Śrēshṭhin* Rāma and the grandson of Nēmichandra. Chillaṇa, who belonged to the mercantile community, was probably a resident of Bhōjpur.

There is no geographical name in the inscription.

TEXT[1]

1 **Sam[v]at[5] 1157** |[6] [śr]ī-**Naravarmma**-svā(sā)mrājyē Vēma-

2 k-ānvaya(yē) | Nēmicha[ṁ]dhu(dra)-sa(su)taḥ srē(śrē)shṭhī Rām-ākhyō nū-

3 ṇi-sutiyaḥ[7] [|*] tat-putra-Chillaṇ-ākhyēna Ji[na]-

4 yugmaṁ pratishṭhitaṁ(tam) ||

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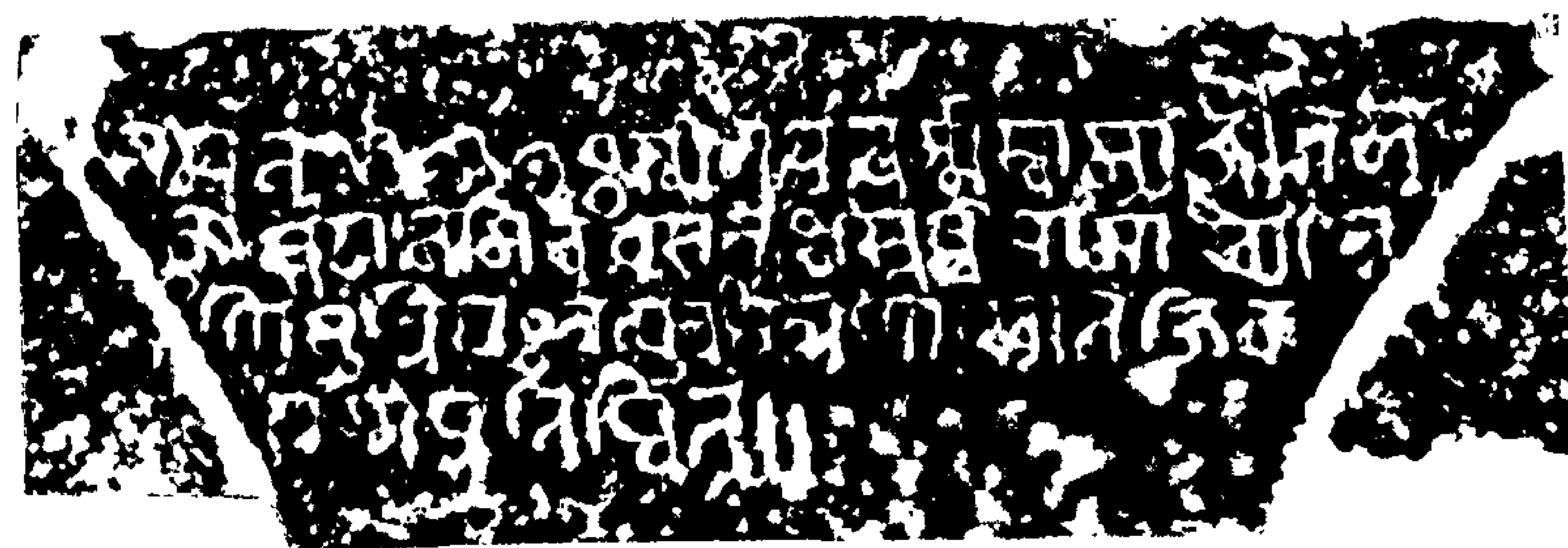
[1] From impressions.
[2] It is expected that the *Siddham* symbol was engraved at the beginning.
[3] The letters lost here may have been *rāśi°*.
[4] The first three syllables at the beginning of this foot appear to have been *rājādhi*.
[5] Read *Saṁvat*.
[6] This mark of punctuation is indicated by a *visarga*-like sign.
[7] The intended reading may be *muni-supriyaḥ*.

THREE PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS

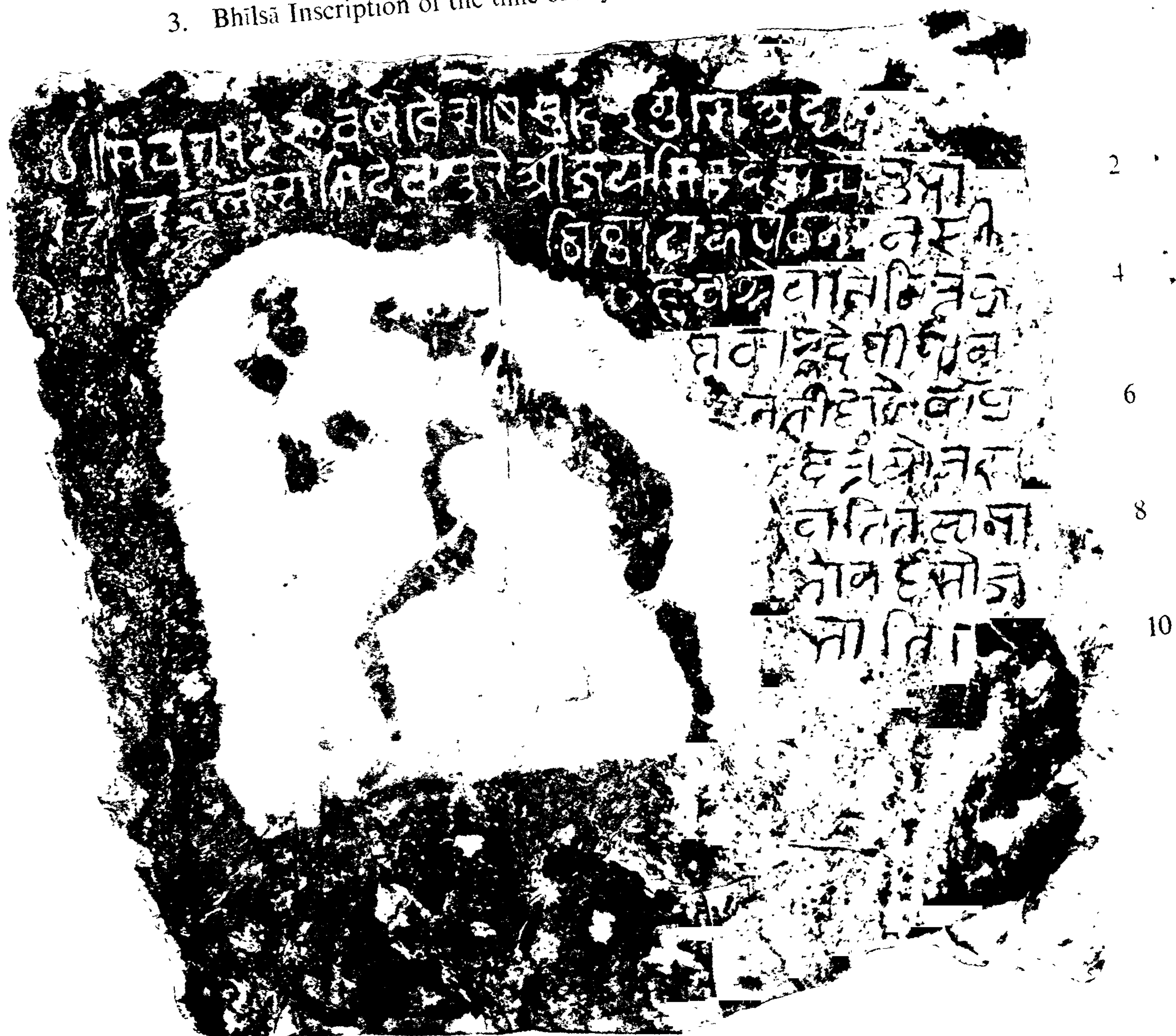
1. Bhōjpur Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Bhōja I



2. Bhōjpur Inscription of the time of Naravarman, Vikrama 1157



3. Bhilsā Inscription of the time of Jayasiṁha, Vikrama 1320



Size : One-third

3. Bhīlsā Inscription of the time of Jayasiṁha, Vikrama 1320

This small inscription engraved on a stone slab, bearing the representation of the donkey-and-woman motif, was copied by me in October 1958 in the Archaeological Museum at **Bhīlsā** on the Central Railway. The name of this well-known place is now sought to be changed to **Vidiśā**, although Vidiśā is really modern Besnagar opposite Bhīlsā, on the other side of the Betwa. Such wanton change of geographical names has been the fashion of the day, though in the present case the correction seems to be unwarranted since, not only was the heart of the ancient city of Vidiśā situated outside modern Bhīlsā, the early name of Bhīlsā was Bhāillasvāmin or Bhailasvāmin which was really the name of the Sun-god worshipped at the place. This name, as we have seen elsewhere,[1] can be traced as early as the ninth century A.D. Of course, the name Vidiśā, capital of the ancient Ākara or Daśārṇa country, is much earlier.

The inscription contains ten lines of writing which covers an area about 19 inches in length and about 11 inches in height. But only the first two lines of the record have the full length, lines 3-10 being much shorter since they are engraved towards the right of the space (about 11 inches by 11 inches) occupied by the donkey-and-woman motif referred to above. Individual *aksharas* are roughly about an inch in height. The engraving is careless and the preservation of the writing not quite satisfactory.

The **characters** of the record are Nāgarī of about the thirteenth century. The top of the double *daṇḍa* is joined in one case. The **language** is corrupt Sanskrit and its **orthography** full of errors. *Kh* and *y* have been represented by *sh* and *j* respectively. The inscription refers itself to the reign of king **Jayasiṁha** apparently of the Paramāra dynasty. It bears the date: **Vikrama 1320, Vaiśākha-sudi 3, Thursday.** The date corresponds regularly to the **12th April 1263 A.D.** The year was Kārttikādi current.

The inscription begins with a *Siddham* symbol which looks like the numeral 6 and is not usually found in inscriptions. Line 1 quotes the date referred to while line 2 speaks of the reign of Jayasiṁha as well as of **Bhailasvāmidēvapura** (i.e. modern Bhīlsā) where a pious act was performed by a lady. The **object of the inscription** is to record this pious deed. Lines 2-7 contain a sentence stating that *Dēvī* Sānumatī dedicated an object at Bhaïlasvāmidēvapura for the *śrēyas* of *Paṁ Ṭha.* (i.e. *Paṇḍita Ṭhakkura*) **Madanasiṁhadēva** while lines 7-10 contain the *gardabha* curse. The said Madanasiṁha seems to be called *Pubhāni-nāyaka* probably meaning 'the ruling chief of a territory called **Pubhāni**'. *Dēvī* (i.e. queen) Sānumatī was probably one of his wives. The queen appears to be described as *Kuptakāstha* meaning, 'resident of a locality called **Kuptakā**'. The name of the object granted by Sānumatī seems to read *dvōrmēla* which appears to be the name of a locality. The donee is not mentioned probably because it was a deity in whose temple the inscribed slab was set up. It is difficult to say whether this deity was the god Bhaïlasvāmin himself, though that is quite probable.

The **importance** of the inscription lies in its reference to Bhaïlasvāmidēvapura in the dominions of king Jayasiṁha in 1263 A.D. since this king is undoubtedly the Paramāra monarch Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman for whose reign we have records of Vikrama 1312 (1256 A.D.), 1314 (1258 A.D.), 1317 (1261 A.D.) and 1331 (1274 A.D.).[2] According to Muslim historians, Sulṭān Iltutmish (1212-36 A.D.) of Delhi captured the fort of Bhīlsā in A.H. 632 (1233-34 A.D.) and demolished the temple of Bhailasvāmin while Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman's Māndhātā plates of Vikrama 1331 (1274 A.D.) state that his father Dēvapāla (known dates between Vikrama 1275 and 1289, i.e. 1218-32

[1] Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 210 ff.

[2] Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 140, 146.

A.D.) killed an *adhipa* of the Mlēchchhas (i.e. a chief of the Muhammadans) near the city of Bhāillasvāmin.[1] This *Mlēchchh-ādhipa* was probably the Muslim governor in whose charge Bhīlsā was placed by Sulṭān Iltutmish and the reconquest of Bhīlsā by the Paramāra king Dēvapāla, whose rule seems to have ended in 1236 A.D., seems to have taken place shortly after its capture by the Muhammadans. The reconquest of Bhīlsā by the Hindus is further suggested by the fact that the Khaljī Sulṭāns of Delhi had again to conquer the city about half a century later.[2] The present inscription shows that Bhīlsā continued to be under the Paramāra kings for several decades after its re-conquest by Dēvapāla before his death about 1236 A.D. at least down to 1263 A.D.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription, besides Bhaïlasvāmidēvapura, are Pubhāni, Kuptakā and Dvōrmēla. I am not sure about their location.

TEXT[3]

1 Siddham[4] || saṁvat 1320 varshē Vaiśāsha(kha)-sudi [3][5] Gur[au] ady=ē[ha]

2 [śrī-Bhaï]lasvāmidēva-purē śrī-Jayasiṁhadē[va*]-rājyē Pubhā-

3 [ni]-nnā(nā)yaka-paṁ-ṭha-Madanasī(siṁ)-

4 ha[dē*]va-śrēya(yō)-nimitta[ṁ] Ku-

5 ptakā[stha]-dēvī Sānu-

6 matī[6] Dvōrmēla[ṁ][7] pra-

7 dattaṁ(ttam |) yō na da-[8]

8 dāti tasya mā-

9 tā[9] garddabhō ja-

10 bhāti[10] ||

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[1] Ibid., p. 145.

[2] Loc. cit. Reference is sometimes made to Balban's invasion of Malwa about 1250 A.D. (*The Struggle for Empire*, p. 192). But this was an attack on the Jajapellas of Narwar (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 68).

[3] From impression.

[4] Expressed by symbol.

[5] The reading of the numeral may be 2 also.

[6] Read *dēvyā Sānumatyā*.

[7] This seems to be the name of a locality.

[8] There is an unnecessary *daṇḍa* ofter this *akshara*.

[9] Read *mātaraṁ*.

[10] Read *yabhati*.

No. 26—MORE BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 27.1.1961)

1. Three Barhut Inscriptions in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Vārāṇasī

Eight Barhut inscriptions have recently been published by us in the pages of this journal, one[1] secured for the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan attached to the Hindu University, Vārāṇasī, and seven[2] for the Allahabad Municipal Museum. When we visited the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan at Vārāṇasī in the month of December 1960, we were glad to find there three more inscribed stone slabs from **Barhut** in addition to the one previously noticed by us.

The texts of the three inscriptions published in the following lines are already known to us from the works of Cunningham,[3] Luders[4] and Barua and Sinha[5]. Hoernle and Hultzsch did not deal with these epigraphs in their articles on the Barhut inscriptions.[6] As in the case with other inscriptions from Barhut, the **characters** of the epigraphs under study are Early Brāhmī of about the second century B. C. and their **language** is Prakrit.

No. 1

This inscription in one line (8·7 inches long), having individual letters a little less than an inch in height, reads :

Pa[7]ḍelakasa[8] *Pu[sa]kasa s[u]chi dāna[ṁ* [9]]

"[This] rail-bar is the gift of Pusaka (Pushyaka), the Paḍelaka (inhabitant of **Paḍela**)."

No. 2

The inscription is written in a single line 9·7 inches in length. Individual letters have the same height as in No. 1. It reads :

[A]sitamasāya Valimitasa dāna[ṁ] [|*]

"[This is] the gift of Valimita (Valimitra) [hailing] from **Asitamasā**."

The personal name *Valimita* was read by Cunningham and others as *Valamita*. The geographical name Asitamasā seems to suggest that it was a locality situated near the confluence of two rivers called **Asi** and **Tamasā**, the latter being the modern Tons running about two miles from Barhut.

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[1] Above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 206.

[2] Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 57 ff. and Plate.

[3] *Stūpa of Bharhut*, p. 142, Nos. 61-63 and Plate LVI.

[4] Lüders' List, Nos. 876-78.

[5] *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 32, Nos. 60-62.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 118 ff., 255 ff.; Vol. XXI, pp. 225 ff.

[7] The *akshara* may be read as *pi* also.

[8] Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

[9] The mark of punctuation is indicated by a *svastika* sign.

No. 3

The length of the single line in which this inscription has been written is 7·8 inches and individual letters in it are of the same height as in Nos. 1-2. The line reads :

[*Paraka*]*ṭik*[*ā*]*y*[*ā*] *Sirimāyā dānaṁ* [|*]

"[This is] the gift of Sirimā (Śrīmatī), the Parakaṭikā (inhabitant of **Parakaṭa**)."

The reading of the first *akshara* is doubtful and it is uncertain whether there is another *akshara* before what has been read as *pa*. *Parakaṭikāya* may also mean '[hailing] from Parakaṭikā.'

2. Durā Inscription of the time of Kanishka, Year 16

This small inscription is incised on a pillar which was discovered in the village of **Durā** in the Kiraoli Tahsil of the Agra District, U. P., by an Exploration Assistant of the Archaeological Survey of India, attached to the Northern Circle, Agra. The inscribed pillar is now lying at the office of the Superintendent of the Department of Archaeology at Agra. The inscription was copied by me about the end of August 1960.

There are only seven lines of writing in the inscription, the inscribed space covering about 8⅛ inches in breadth and 7½ inches in height and individual *aksharas* being a little above ½ inch high. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory, many letters being damaged especially in the lower half of the record.

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the Brāhmī alphabet of the middle stage. The initial vowel *e* and the **numerical symbols** for 10 and 6 occur in line 2. The **language** is an admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit as in many other inscriptions of the age of the Kushāṇas. The record is **dated** in the **year 16** of the reign of *Mahārāja* **Kanishka** [I], the name of the king being spelt as *Kāṇishka* as in some other epigraphs.[1] The date of our inscription is thus the year 16 of the Kanishka era, which is now generally identified with the Śaka-kāla of 78 A.D., and corresponds to **94-95 A.D.** There are no other details of the date quoted in the record.

Lines 1-3 quote the year 16 of [the reign of] *Mahārāja* **Kanishka.** But the passage *etaya pūvaye* (*etasyāṁ pūrvāyām*) follows *Maharajasya Kāṇishkasya savachhare 16* (*Mahārājasya Kāṇishkasya saṁvatsare shoḍaśe*), without actually mentioning the *tithi* to which it refers. Lines 3-5 speak of a lady named Vardhantikā belonging to a family of village-headmen of the Āti clan and the Rishṭisheṇa (Ārshṭisheṇa) *gotra* (*grāmikanāṁ Ātināṁ Rishṭisheṇa-sagotrāna Vasudatu-puttryā Vadhatikaya*, i.e. *grāmikāṇām=Ātīnām= Ārshṭisheṇa-sagotrāṇāṁ Vasudatta-puttryā Vardhantikayā*). Lines 6-7 state that the said lady dedicated a house in favour of a community the name of which cannot be read (. . . *tikahi griho datto*. i.e. . . . *tikebhyaḥ gṛihaṁ dattam*). The record appears to conclude with a prayer to the effect that the meritorious deed might be for the welfare of the people (*lokānāṁ śreyase=stu*).

TEXT[2]

1 [Maha]rajasya **Kāṇishkasya** [saṁ]-

2 [va]**chhare 10 6** eta[ya pū]-

3 [vaye grā]mikanāṁ Āti[naṁ Ri]-

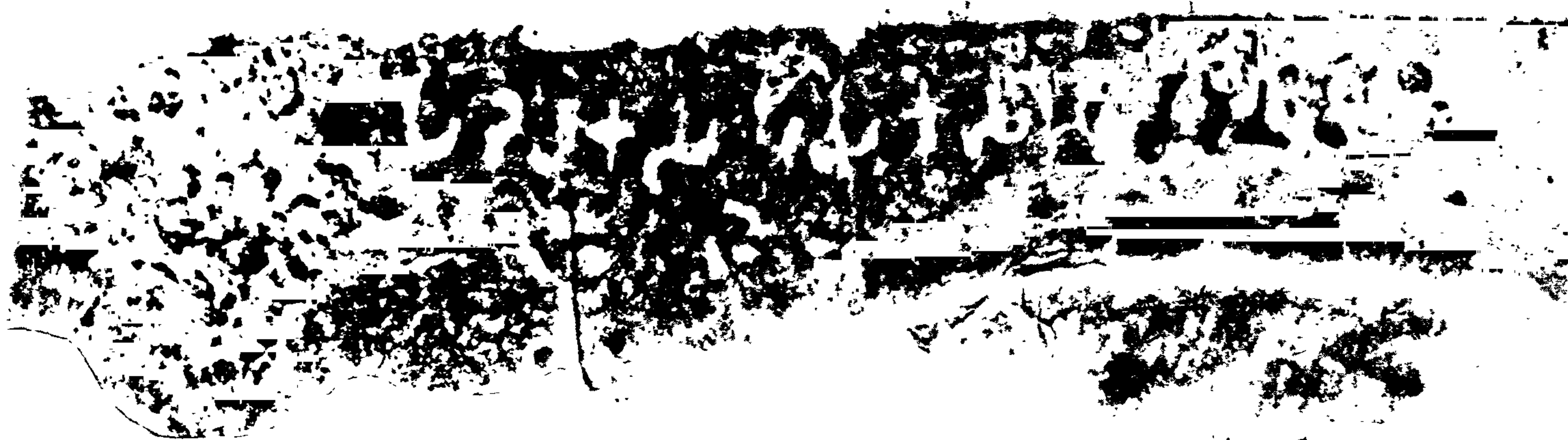
4 shṭisheṇa-[sa]gotrāna

[1] See *Select Inscriptions*, p. 134.

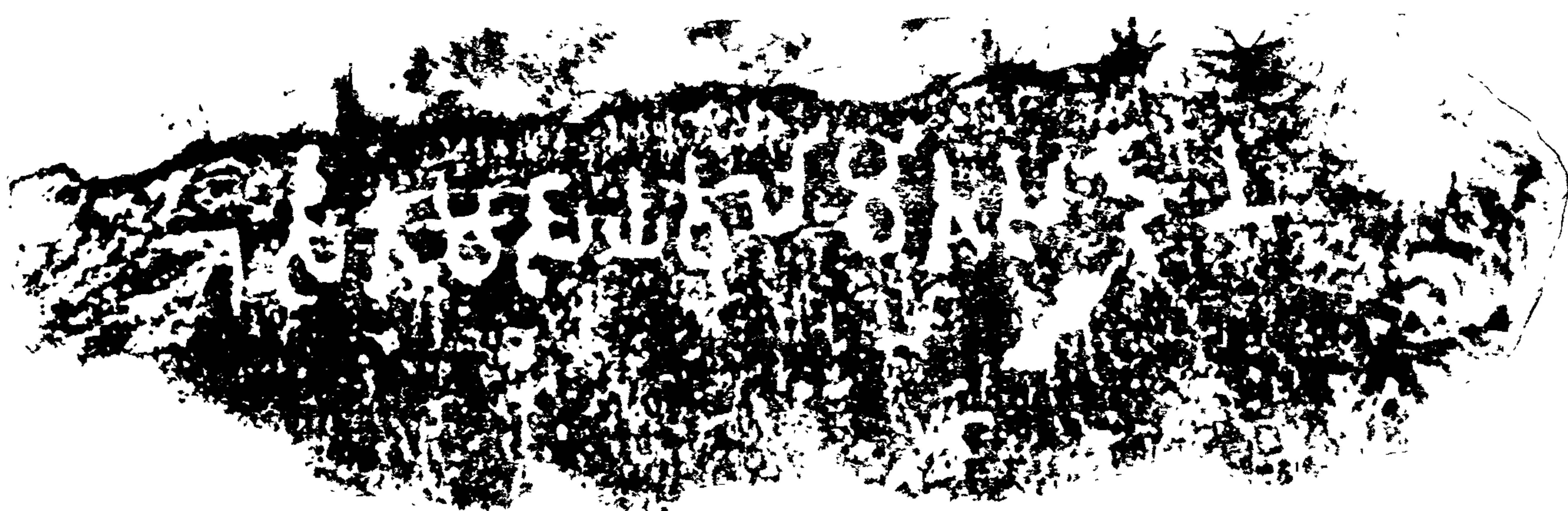
[2] From impressions.

1. Three Barhut Inscriptions in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Vārāṇasī

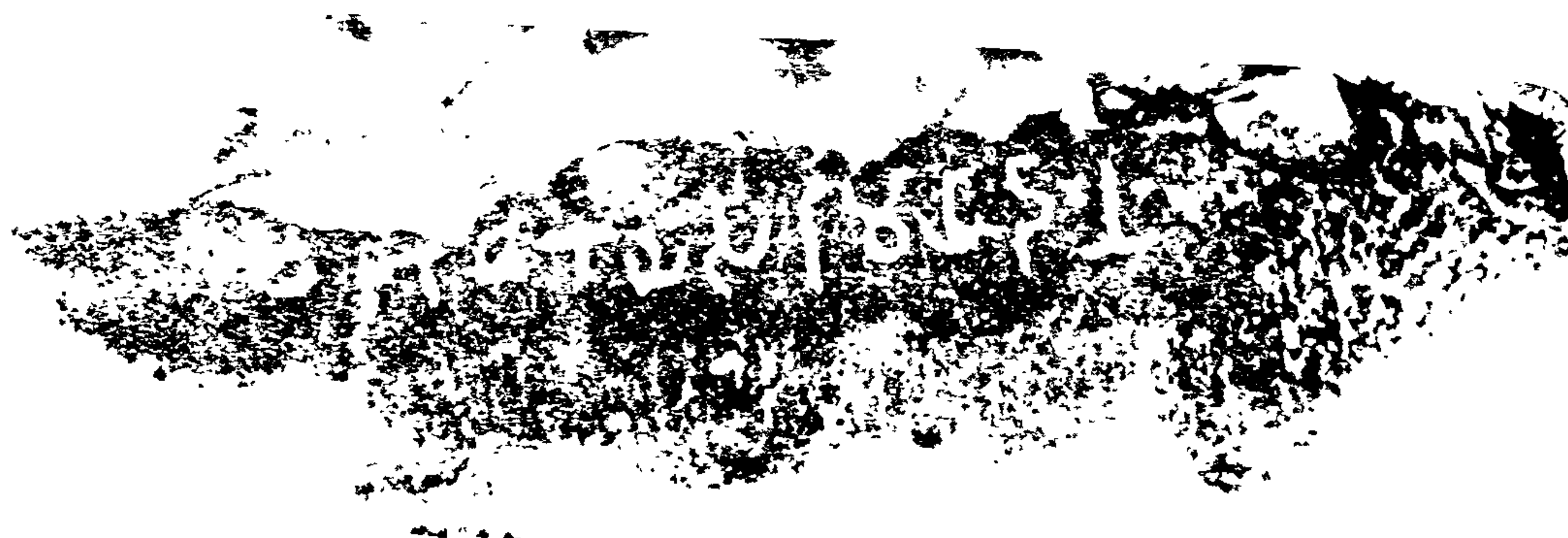
1



2

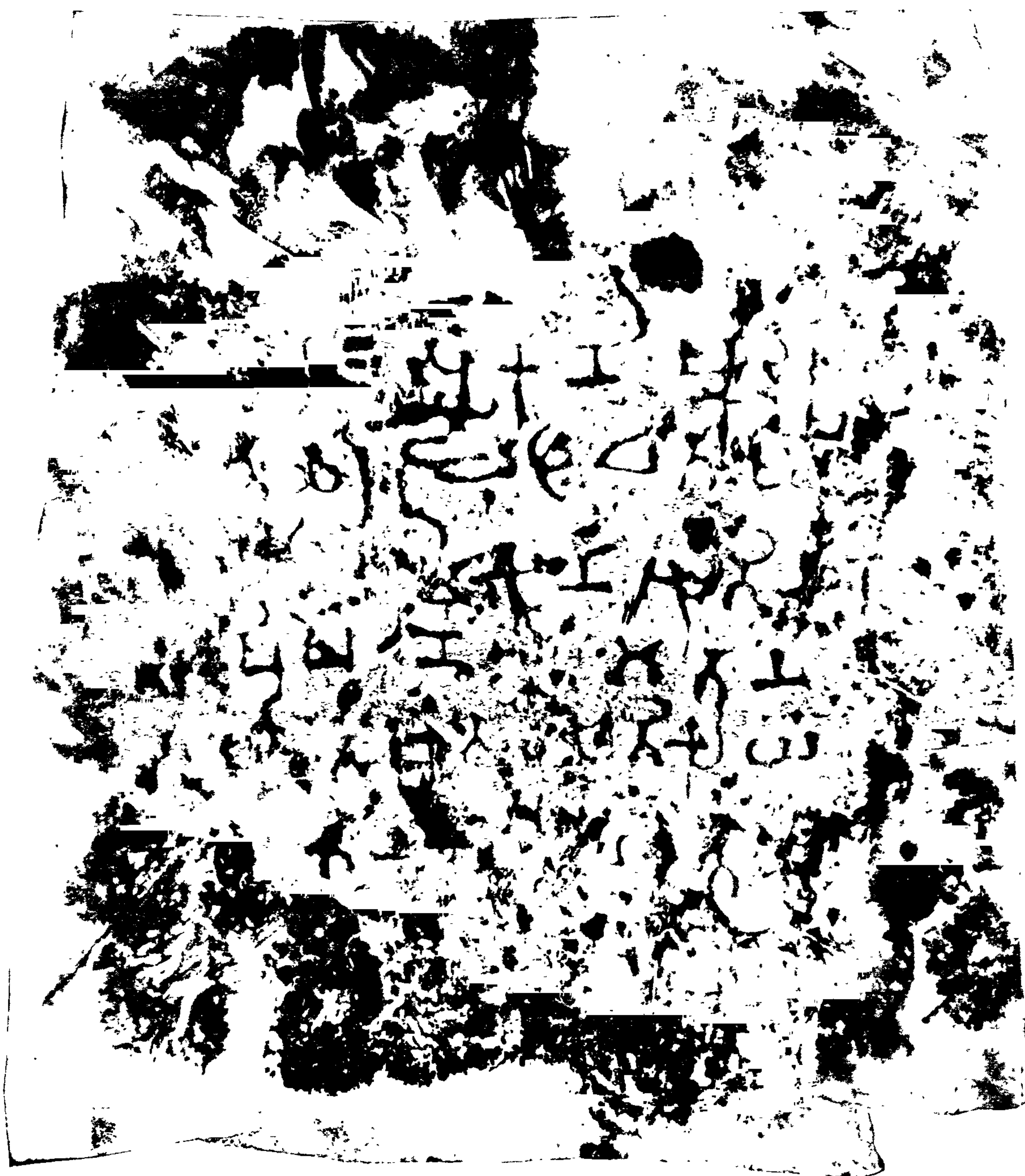


3



Scale : One-half

2. Durā Inscription of the time of Kanishka, Year 16



Scale : One-half

5 [Vasuda]ta-[puttryā Vadha]tikaya
6 . . [1]tika[hi gṛi]ho datto [lo]-
7 . . [2][śreyase=stu ,]

TRANSLATION

In the year 16 (*of the reign*) of *Mahārāja* Kāṇishka—on this date, a house is dedicated in favour of the . . . tikas by Vardhantikā who is the daughter of Vasudatta and belongs to (*the family of*) village-headmen of the Āti (*clan*) and the Ārshṭisheṇa *gotra*. May (*this*) be for the welfare of the people.

3. Gondal Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Rudrasena [III], [Śaka] 272

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab which was discovered sometime ago at **Gondal,** 20 miles from Rajkot, in Kathiawar, and is now preserved in the Rajkot Museum. I copied it in January 1960. The slab measures 22 inches in length, 10 inches in breadth and 6 inches in depth while the writing covers a space about seventeen inches in length and five and half inches in height on the face which is six inches wide. There are only three lines of writing, individual *aksharas* being approximately half an inch in height. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory. A number of letters have broken away from the end of all the lines. The *aksharas* thus lost appear to be about four in number. The slab was apparently fixed into a structure with the inscribed face exposed to view.

The **characters** belong to the Brāhmī alphabet of the middle stage as found in other inscriptions of the Śakas of Western India. The use of initial *ā* and the **numerical symbols** for 200, 70 and 2 is noticed in line 2. The **language** of the inscription is an admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit. Its **orthography** exhibits more influence of Sanskrit than of Prakrit. The **date** of the inscription is the **year 272, Phālguna sudi 2.** This year should of course be referred to the **Śaka** era of 78 A.D. The year 272 would thus correspond to **350-51 A. D.** This date is referred to [the reign of] a *Rājan Mahākshatrapa*, the *aksharas* of whose name are very considerably damaged though the traces of their lower part suggest its restoration as *Rudrasena*. This king is no doubt Śaka **Rudrasena III**, the dates of whose coins issued as *Mahākshatrapa* range between Śaka 270 (348-49 A.D.) to Śaka 300 (378-79 A.D.). There is a break in the series of the coins of this ruler, no issues of the period Śaka 274-85 (352-63 A.D.) being known. This break has been attributed to a political disturbance during the period in question and it seems very likely that Rudrasena III was defeated by the Gupta emperor Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.) and was compelled to accept the latter's vassalage for about thirteen years. It is only during Samudragupta's old age that he appears to have succeeded in reasserting his independence.[3] The present inscription is the only epigraphic record of the time of Śaka Rudrasena III so far known.

The inscription begins with a damaged *Siddham* symbol followed by a reference to its date falling in the reign of *Rājan Mahākshatrapa* [**Rudrasena**]. The year referred to is quoted in a passage (lines 1-2) reading *dvi-savatara*...... *śatame* in words and *200 70* [*2*] (i.e. *272*) in numerical symbols. The year given in words was probably written as *dvi-savatar-ādhike dvi-śatame* standing for Sanskrit *dvi-saptaty-adhike dvi-śatatame.* If such was the case, as it seems to be, Sanskrit *saptati* has been written in our record as *savatara* which is somewhat different from Pali *sattati* and Prakrit *sattari* (found as *satari* in inscriptions).[4] The form *savatara* seems to be derived through the intermediate forms *sapatati* and *savatari*.

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[1] These two *aksharas* are damaged beyond recognition.
[2] The damaged word seems to be *lokānāṁ*.
[3] See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 305.
[4] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 159 (text line 5); p. 222 (No. 2, text line 6).

After the year of the date discussed above, line 2 reads : [.Ī]*bhīra-*[*kasi*]*bala-Siṁhasena-pūtra-Sya*.., in which *kasibala* stands for Sanskrit *kṛishīvala* meaning, 'a cultivator'. The mention of the Ābhīra farmer Siṁhasena reminds us of the Ābhīra general Bāpaka's son general Rudrabhūti known from the Gunda inscription[1] (181 A.D.) of the reign of Śaka Rudrasiṁha I. Unfortunately, only the first *akshara* (*Sya*) of the name of Siṁhasena's son, the recording of one of whose pious deeds appears to have been the object of the inscription, is preserved and the latter part of it is lost at the end of the line. If the said *akshara* (*sya*) is taken to be the sixth case-ending attached to the previous word (*pūtra*), the name of the person has to be regarded as totally lost.

Line 3 of our record reads : *sarva-satva-hita-s*[*u*]*khārt*[*tha*] *ved*[*i*] [*prati*]*shṭhāvita Phalgū*[*na*]-*śudhe dvi*[*tī*] standing for Sanskrit *sarva-sattva-hita-sukh-ārthaṁ vedī pratishṭhāpitā Phālguna-śuddhe dvitīye* [*divase*]. The *vedī* or a raised platform was sometimes made in honour of a deity as a place of worship.[2] It thus appears that the son of Siṁhasena raised the *vedī* in question in honour of some deity for the welfare and happiness of all creatures. Since expressions like *sarva-sattva-hita-sukh-ārthaṁ* are generally found in Buddhist epigraphs, it is not impossible that the person responsible for our record was a Buddhist. It should, however, be pointed out that, in case the reading *pūtrasya* [*amukasya*] is preferred at the end of line 2, the object of installation would be the *vedī* of the person in question. This may mean that a platform was raised in his memory after his death or that his friends helped him in raising it (i.e. he raised it with the help of others).

There is no geographical name in the record.

TEXT[3]

1 [Siddham] [*] r[ā]jño mah[ā]kshatrapa[s]ya] [**Rudrase**]**nasya va**[**rshye**][4] **dvi-savatara** . . . .[5]

2 **śatame 200 70** [2] [Ā]bhīra-[kasi]bala-Siṁhasena-pūtra[6]-Sya.. .. ..[7]

3 sarva-satva[8]-hita-s[u]kh-ārttha[ṁ*] ve[dī] [prati]shṭhāvita Phalgū[na]-śudhe[9] dvi[ti] . . . . . .[10] [*].

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[1] Ibid., p. 176

[2] See *JBRS*, Vol. XXXIX, Parts 1-2, pp. 43-44, 47.

[3] From impressions.

[4] Correctly, *varshe*

[5] The lost *aksharas* were probably *°dhike dvi.°*

[6] Correctly *putra*.

[7] This was probably a name like *Syandaka*, so that the expression here was something like *Syandakena*. The intended reading may also be *putrasya* [*amukasya*].

[8] Correctly, *sattva*.

[9] Correctly, *Phālguna-śuddhe*.

[10] The intended word is no doubt *dvitīye* which may have been followed by the word *divase*.

MORE BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS—PLATE II

3. Gondal Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Rudrasena [III], [Śaka] 272



Scale : One-half

No. 27—MEHUNABARE PLATES OF SENDRAKA VAIRADEVA, SAKA 624

(*1 Plate*)

G. S. Gai, Ootacamund

(*Received on 26.7.1960*)

A set of impressions of the copper-plate inscription edited below was secured for the office of the Government Epigraphist for India by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra during the year 1957-58 from the Bhārat Itihās Saṁśōdhak Maṇḍal, Poona.[1] The plates are reported to have been discovered at **Mēhuṇabare,** a village in the Chalisgaon Taluk of the East Khandesh District, Bombay State. The set consists of two plates, each measuring about 12″ by 6·5″ with a hole at the top middle portion of each plate through which passed a ring. The whereabouts of the ring and the seal, if any, as well as the weight of the set are not known to me. Both the plates are engraved on the inner sides only. Each plate contains 12 lines of writing so that there are 24 lines in all. The last but one line of the second plate occupies only half the space to the right side while the last line consists of only six letters which have been engraved towards the end of the line. The writing is well preserved.

The **characters** belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and generally resemble those in the other Sēndraka grants found in Khandesh and Gujarat.[2] Of the initial vowels, *a* is found in lines 18 and 23; *ā* in line 22; *i* in line 6 and *u* in line 23. While medial *i* is shown by a complete circle above the letter, medial *ī* is indicated by a loop inside the circular stroke with the right limb left open. Medial *ā* has generally a sort of a hook-like stroke. In the case of *jā* both this hook-like stroke and the straight one attached to the middle of the prong and turned upwards have been used: cf. lines 2, 5 and 17. Subscript *r* has sometimes a flourish carrying it left and right over the letter and even circling it; cf. lines 3, 8, 9, etc. Sometimes subscripts *r* and *ṛi* cannot be distinguished: cf. *śrī* in line 2 and *pṛithivyām* in line 9. Class nasal has been generally employed. Punctuation is indicated by two dots, generally followed by a single or double *daṇḍa* (cf. lines 1, 12, 17, 18 and 24). But where a *visarga* is required the two dots serve that purpose and in such cases only the *daṇḍa* should be regarded as a punctuation mark (cf. lines 2, 6 and 10).

The **language** is Sanskrit and except two verses in lines 2-6 and two more benedictory and imprecatory verses in lines 20-22, the remaining text of the record is composed in prose. The interesting form *shaṭtsu*, which is according to Pāṇini's rule *ḍaḥ si dhuṭ* (VIII. 3. 29), occurs in line 23. *Sandhi* rules have not been observed in some cases and there are some errors in the composition which have been corrected in the text below. In respect of **orthography,** it may be observed that the consonant following as well as preceding *r* is sometimes doubled.

The charter is **dated** (lines 15 and 23-24) **Śaka 624** (expressed in words), **Śrāvaṇa ba. 11, saṅkrānti** and **vyatīpāta.** In the absence of the mention of the week-day, the date is not verifiable. However, according to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the said *tithi* corresponded to Tuesday, 25th July 702 A.D. But the *saṅkrānti* occurred on the previous day, i.e. Monday, the **24th July 702 A.D.** which seems to be the intended date of the record.

The inscription opens with the word *Siddham* expressed by a symbol and followed by the word *svasti*. Then follows the preamble *Mēru-mahā-mahīdhara*, etc., which introduces the **Sēndraka** dynasty and is also found in the other Sēndraka records referred to above. Verse 1 in lines 2-4

[1] This is *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, No. A 13.

[2] Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 195 ff. and Plates; ibid., Vol. XXIX, pp. 116 ff. and Plates; and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff. and Plates.

introduces *Rājan* **Dēvaśakti** of this dynasty. His valour and other qualities are compared to those of Indra and Vishṇu. His son *Rājan* **Daṇḍirāja,** whose strength is compared to that of Hari, Hara and Arjuna, is mentioned in verse 2 in lines 4-6. The following prose passage in lines 6-10 refers to Daṇḍirāja's son **Vairadēva,** the donor of the present grant, who is called the 'crest-jewel of the **Nikuṁbha** [family]'.

The charter was issued from **Bahalāpurī** (line 9) and records the gift, made by Vairadēva, of the village **Dēvīgrāma** which is stated to have been situated at a distance of two *gavyūtas* to the west of Bahalāpurī (lines 16-17). The donee was Nāgaśarman, son of *shaḍaṅgavit* Nandisvāmin and grandson of *chaturvvēdin* Bhaṭṭa-Rēvasvāmin who belonged to the Kāśyapa-*gōtra* and was a resident of **Kāñchīpurī.** The gift was for the performance of *bali, charu, vaiśvadēva* and *agnihōtra* for the increase of the religious merit and fame of his (i.e. Vairadēva's) parents and himself in this as well as in the other world (lines 11-15). Lines 17-18 refer to the privileges attached to the gift village. In lines 18-20, a request is made to the future kings of the family of the donor and others to endorse and protect the said gift and lines 20-22 quote some of the benedictory and imprecatory verses.

The charter was written by *Mahāsāndhivigrahādhikṛita* Sāuaka (lines 22-23) and the record ends with the mention of the date in lines 23-24, which has been discussed above.

The present record is important in that it introduces a hitherto unknown ruler of the Sēndraka-Nikumbha family in the person of Vairadēva who held sway in the Khandesh District about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. As we have seen, he was the son of Daṇḍirāja and grandson of Dēvaśakti. All the three rulers have been eulogised in general terms only and no historical information is given with regard to any of them. Except the epithet *rājan* in the case of Dēvaśakti and Daṇḍirāja, no other titles, imperial or feudatory, are associated with them. Since Vairadēva flourished in 702 A. D., his grandfather Dēvaśakti may be referred to the third quarter of the seventh century A. D. This period falls in the reign of Vikramāditya I (655-81 A. D.) of the Western Chālukya dynasty of Bādāmi. From the Karnul plates[1] dated in the tenth regnal year of Vikramāditya I corresponding to 664 A. D., we learn that the king made a gift at the request of a certain Dēvaśaktirāja of the Sēndraka family. It is not unlikely that this Dēvaśakti is identical with his namesake mentioned in the record under study. And since Vikramāditya's grandson Vijayāditya (696-733 A. D.) was the imperial ruler in 702 A. D., the date of the present charter, Vairadēva appears to have been his feudatory, though this fact is not mentioned in the inscription.

From the existence of four copper-plate grants[2] we know that a family of Sēndraka-Nikumbha chiefs was ruling in Southern Gujarat and Khandesh in the seventh century A. D. The records supply the following genealogy of the family :

Nikumbha or Bhānuśakti[3]
|
Ādityarāja or Ādityaśakti
|
Nikumbha Allaśakti (known dates 653, 655 A. D.)
|
Nikumbha Jayaśakti (known date 681 A. D.)

[1] *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 228 and 239.

[2] These are : (1) Bāgumrā plates, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XVIII, pp. 265 ff. ; (2 and 3) Nāgad and Kāsīre plates, above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 195 ff.; and (4) Mundkhēḍē plates, ibid., Vol. XXIX, pp. 116 ff.

[3] The family name Nikumbha, besides Sēndraka, was apparently due to its being another name of Bhānuśakti who, in all probability, was the founder of this Sēndraka branch in Gujarat and Khandesh. That it was a family name and not a *biruda* as assumed by Prof. Mirashi (above, Vol. XXIX, p. 117) is made clear from the fact tha Vairadēva, the donor of the charter under study, is called *Nikumbha-śikhāmaṇi*, 'a crest-jewel of the Nikumbha or Nikumbha family'.

No records of the first two rulers have been discovered so far. While the Bāgumrā, Nāgad and Kāsāre plates were issued by Allaśakti, the Mundkhēḍē plates were issued by the last ruler Jayaśakti. It has been suggested that Bhānuśakti, who may be referred to the first quarter of the seventh century A. D., was placed in charge of Gujarat and Khandesh by Pulakēśin II (610-42 A. D.) when the latter conquered this area from the Kalachuris.[1] It has also been suggested that from about 670 A.D. onwards, the Sēndraka rule was probably confined to Khandesh District only on account of the establishment of the Navsāri branch of the Chālukyas in Gujarat area.[2] This seems to have taken place during the time of Nikumbha Allaśakti who was the contemporary of Chālukya Vikramāditya I during whose reign the Navsāri branch of the Chālukyas was founded. Allaśakti may be referred to the period *circa* 650-675 A. D. and his son Jayaśakti, who issued the only known Mundkhēḍē plates in 681 A. D., may be placed in *circa* 675-700 A. D. No descendants of Jayaśakti are known to us so far.

Now the discovery of the present charter dated in 702 A. D. issued by Vairadēva who also belonged to the Sēndraka-Nikumbha family shows that he was the immediate successor of Jayaśakti as a ruler in the Khandesh District. The relation of this family to that of Bhānuśakti, though both belonged to the Sēndraka-Nikumbha lineage, is not known to us. It is, therefore, difficult to understand the circumstances under which Vairadēva succeeded Jayaśakti. It may be pointed out, in this connection, that Dēvaśakti, who has been sought to be identified with his namesake mentioned in the Karnul plates of Vikramāditya I, was ruling in the Karnul area about 664 A. D. Probably his son Daṇḍirāja also continued to rule the territory of his father while his son Vairadēva was transferred to the Khandesh District. This might have been due to the fact that Jayaśakti died without leaving any heir to succeed him. As for the relationship between the two families, it may be suggested that since Allaśakti and Dēvaśakti were contemporaries, both being feudatory chiefs of Vikramāditya I, they might have been brothers or cousins. And this relationship might have given Vairadēva a right to succeed Jayaśakti who seems to belong to the elder branch of the family.

As indicated above, the present charter was issued from Bahalāpurī which is no doubt modern Bāhal which is situated on the bank of the Girna river at a distance of 6 miles to the north-east of Mēhuṇabare, the findspot of the plates. It is stated that the chief Vairadēva was residing at Bahalāpurī at the time of the gift. Recent excavations conducted at Bāhal show that it was a flourishing town in ancient times, its antiquities going back to the chalcolithic period.[3] It has been suggested, on the evidence of these excavations, that Bāhal was affected by severe floods about 100 A. D. and that the site was re-occupied, after a long gap of 1200 years, during the Yādava and Muslim times (1300-1700 A. D.).[4] But the discovery of the present plates shows that Bāhal was a flourishing town in the beginning of the eighth century A. D. and was probably the capital of the

[1] Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 118.

[2] Ibid. This view of Prof. Mirashi is based on the dates of the Navsāri plates (*CII*, Vol IV, pp. 123 ff., No. 27) of Śryāśraya Śīlāditya dated in the Kalachuri year 421 (670-71 A. D. according to Mirashi) and the Manor plates (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17 ff.) of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa dated Śaka 613 or 691-92 A.D. corresponding to the twenty-first regnal year of the king. Both Mr. Krishna Deva, who has edited the Manor plates, and Prof. Mirashi take this regnal year as referring to Maṅgalarasa's father Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha which has led them to assume that the latter founded the Navsāri branch in 669-70 or 670-71 A. D. But, as pointed out by Dr. D. C. Sircar (above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 118-19), the twenty-first regnal year should be referred to Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa's reign and not to that of his father. The recently discovered Mudgapadra grant (loc. cit.) of Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya dated probably in the Kalachuri year 420 (668-69 A. D. according to Sircar) shows that the Navsāri branch was holding sway in Gujarat as early as that year.

[3] *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1956-57, p. 17

[4] Ibid., p. 18.

Sēndraka ruler Vairadēva.[1] It is also interesting to note that Bāhal was known as Bahalāpurī in early times.

Of the other **geographical names** mentioned in the record, Kāñchīpurī, which is mentioned as the place of residence of the donee's grandfather is the well-known Kāñchīpuram near Madras. The donated village Dēvīgrāma is stated to have been situated at a distance of two *gavyūtas* to the west of Bahalāpurī. It may be identified with modern Dēvgaon which is about six miles[2] to the west of Bāhal and three miles to the north of Mēhuṇabare.

TEXT[3]

First Plate

1 Siddham[4] [|*] Svasti | Mēru-mahā-mahīdhara-śikhara-sthira-ruchira-ssa(sa)munnatē |[5] vikasita-yaśasi mahati śrī-**Sē-**

2 **ndraka**-rājñām[6]=anvayē [|*] Rāj=āsīd=**Dēvaśaktiḥ** |[5] Śatamakha-sadri(dṛi)śaḥ śrīmatāṁ-(tā)m=ēkanāthaḥ śatru-śrī-

3 kēśa-pāśa-ṅgra(gra)haṇa-sukha-ras-āsvāda-labdha-pramōdaḥ | yēnē(n=ai)kēna prachaṇḍa-sva-bhuja-bala-

4 kṛit-ārāti-paksha-kshayēn=[ā]krāntā vīrēṇa pṛithvī hata-kali-tamasā vikkramair=Vvishṇun=aiva [|*1*] Tasy=ā-

5 tmajō Hari-Har-Ārjuna-tulya-vīryya[ḥ*] [5] ślāghya-svayaṁvara-pati[ḥ*] prathitaḥ pṛithivyāṁ(vyām |) rājā samasta-

6 vasudh-ādhipat-īśvarāṇāṁ śrī-**Daṇḍirāja** iti daṇḍita-vairi-varggaḥ |[|2*] tasya sutas=tat-pād-ānudhyā-

7 tō=nēka-chāturddanta-gaja-ghaṭ-āṭōpa-bhāsura-mahā-samara-sāhas-āvyāpta-nirmala-yaśō(śā)

8 naya-vinaya-tyāga-gāmbhīryya-dhairyya-parākram-ōtsāha-śakti-satva[7]-ssa(sa)ṁpannō nija-kula-kama-

9 la-vana-sahasraraśmi[ḥ*] prathita[ḥ*] pṛithivyāṁ(vyā)m=asādhāraṇa-guṇa-gaṇ-ōdayō **Bahalāpuryyā**(ryy-a)-

10 vasthitō **Nikumbha**-śikhāmaṇi-śrī-**Vairadēvaḥ** |[5] sarvvān=ēva svān=anyā[ṁ*]ś=cha yath-ābhissaṁ(saṁ)badhyamā-

11 nakāṁ(kān) samanudarśayaty=astu vaḥ |[5] saṁviditam=asmābhi[ḥ*] Kāśyapa-sagōtrāya Vājasa-

12 nēya-sad-brahmachāriṇē Kāñchīpuryyā(rī)-vāstavya-chaturvvēda-Bhaṭṭa-Rēvasvāmi-pautrāyaḥ(ya)

Second Plate

13 Nandisvāmi-shaḍaṅgavit-sūnavē sāṅg-ōpanishada-vēda-vidē Nāgaśa-

14 rmmaṇē bali-charu-vaiśvadēv-āgnihōtra-kriy-ōtsarpaṇ-ārtthaṁ mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=ch=aihik-āmu-

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[1] This shows how epigraphical evidence may sometimes modify the evidence of archaeological excavations.

[2] One *gavyūta* is equal to two *krōśas* or 4000 *daṇḍas*. See Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. v.

[3] From impressions.

[4] Expressed by symbol.

[5] This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

[6] Read °*rājānām*°.

[7] Read *sattva*. There is an unnecessary *visarga*-like mark after *tva*.

MEHUNABARE PLATES OF SENDRAKA VAIRADEVA, SAKA 624

Scale : Three-fourths

15 shmika-puṇya-yaśō-bhivri(vṛi)ddhayē pravarttamāna-**Śrāvaṇa-bahulē(l-ai)kādaśyā[ṁ] saṁkrāntau sa-vyatī-**

16 **pātāyāṁ Bahalāpuryyā[ḥ*]** paśchimasyāṁ[1] diśi dvi-gavyūta-mātrakē bhū-bhāga-ssa(sa)-nnivēśē Dēvīgrāmō

17 nāma grāma[ḥ*] sa-sīm-ōpētaḥ |[2] s-ōdraṅga[ḥ*] sa-parikara[ḥ*] sakala-rāj-ābhāvyak-ānvitō |[3] chāṭa-bhaṭṭa(ṭa)-pra(prā)vē-

18 śyō |[2] bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēn=ā-chandr-ārk-ārṇṇava-kshiti-sthiti-sama-kālikō yathā-viddhi(dhi) pradattaḥ | atō=

19 smad-vaṁśyair=anyair=vv=āgāmi-nri(nṛi)pati-bhūmi-bhōgapatibhi[ḥ*] sāmānyaṁ bhūmi-dānam=av agachchhadbhir=ayam=asmadā(d-dā)yō=nu-

20 mantavyaḥ pratipālayitavyaś=ch=ōktañ=cha bhaga[va*]tā Vēdavyāsēna Vyāsēna [|*] Bahubhir=vvasuddhā(dhā) bhuktā rājabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-ā-

21 dibhi[ḥ |*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [|| 3*] Shashṭī-(shṭi)-varshi(rsha)-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati

22 bhūmidaḥ ||(|) āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā chcha(cha) taṁ(tā)ny=ēva narakē vasēd= iti | [4*] likhitam=idaṁ mahāsāndhivigrahādhi-

23 kri(kṛi)tēna Sāuakēna | **gatasya Śaka-kālasya shaṭtsu varsha-śatēshv=idaṁ**[4]

24 **sa-chatur-vvi[ṁ*]śēshu** ||

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[1] Read *paśchimāyāṁ.*

[2] This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

[3] This punctuation mark is unnecessary. Read °*tō=chāṭa*°.

[4] The words from *gatasya* to °*idaṁ* form half a verse in *Anushṭubh* metre.

No. 28—INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ISLAM SHAH, A.H. 960, VIKRAMA 1610

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 30.11.1960)

This small inscription is engraved on a brick fixed into the masonry work of a well at the village of **Ghōshīkuṇḍī** near the Kiul railway station in the Western part of the Monghyr District, Bihar.[1] There are five lines of writing in the inscription and they cover an area about 11 inches in length and 7½ inches in height. Individual *aksharas* are nearly two inches in height.

The **characters** belong to the Bengali-Maithili alphabet of the sixteenth century. They may be compared with those of the Patna District inscription of 1496 A. D. and the Barakar inscriptions of 1460 or 1461 A. D.[2] The *akshara śrī* has been written in a cursive fashion so as to look like a symbol. The medial vowel *u* in *su* (line 4) is written like subscript *v* as was usual in the late Gauḍīya and early Bengali-Maithili alphabets.[3] The **language** of the record may be regarded as the local dialect. The want of the third case-ending required for the subject of *kritā* (i.e. 'made') in the sentence in lines 4-5 is noteworthy in this connection. As for **orthography,** *sh* is represented by *kh* as is its pronunciation in Maithilī and some other dialects of Bihar. The **date** of the record as quoted in line 1 is *Sana 960 Sāmata 1610* in which **San 960** undoubtedly refers to the **Hijrī year 960** while **Sāmata** (a modification of *Saṁvat*) **1610** refers to the **year 1610 of the Vikrama era.** The year in question corresponds to **1553 A.D.** There are no other details of the date in the epigraph.

After the quotation of the date in line 1, *Pātisāha śrī-śrī*-**Ēsalēma Sāha** is mentioned in lines 2-3 and *Mēhitū śrī*-Rupapa-khōjā in lines 3-4. *Pātisāha* (i. e. *Pādshāh* or *Bādshāh*, ' an emperor ') Ēsalēma Sāha is no doubt the celebrated Afghan emperor **Islām Shāh (1545-56 A.D.)**, son of Shēr Shāh of the Sūr dynasty. The designation *Mēhitū* seems to be the same as *Mehtā* derived from the official designation *Mahattaka*, *Mahattara* or *Mahattama* found in earlier inscriptions. The words are often interpreted as ' the village headman ' though in some cases they may also mean a member or the head of the village council. The inscription under study means to say that a deed was performed when the emperor of the country was Islām Shāh and the head of the village or the village council was Khwaja Rupap. But the names of the persons have been used in the passage without any verb. Although such statements are generally quite clear in the corresponding passages in early Sanskrit inscriptions, the medieval epigraphs in that language often mention the king and his subordinates in the same way as the Ghōshīkuṇḍī record under study.[4] It is interesting to note that, while the honorific word *śrī* occurs twice as the prefix to the name of Islām Shāh, a single *śrī* has been prefixed to the name of Khwaja Rupap. As will be seen below, another personal name is mentioned in the record with a single *śrī*.

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[1] Some impressions of the inscription were supplied to me by Mr. A. N. Lahiri of my office. Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1959-60, No. C 413.

[2] *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XIV, pp. 114-16, and Plate ; ibid., Vol. II, pp. 21 ff. and Plates ; cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 241. It is now known that the Patna District inscription was discovered at Biharsharif and is housed at present in the Patna Museum.

[3] Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 52, note 1.

[4] See, e.g. above, Vol. XV, p. 130, text lines 1 ff.; etc.; also Vol. XXXI, p. 331, No. 3, text lines 2-5 ; etc.

INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ISLAM SHAH, A.H. 960, VIKRAMA 1610



Scale : One-half

The following sentence in lines 4-5 reads *śrī Nasurudhi vadhā kupi kritā* apparently meaning that a person named Nasurudhi (i.e. Nāṣīrud-dīn) made a *kūpī* (i.e. well) which was *bandhā* (i.e. endowed with masonry work). The *kūpī* or well referred to in the record must be the well in which the inscription has been found.

Another inscription of the time of Islām Shāh from Rajasthan was published by us in the pages of this journal, Vol. XXX, pp. 190 ff. It is dated in Vikrama 1604, Śaka 1469, Mārgaśira-badi 2, Thursday. The date was regarded by us as irregular, though the record was assigned to October-November 1547 A.D. This was because *Pūrṇimānta* Mārgaśira-badi 2 in the said year corresponds to the 30th October, which was a Sunday. But in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1952-53, No. B 413, the month has been regarded as *Amānta* and the year as current, so that the date is given as regularly corresponding to Thursday, the 9th December 1546 A.D. It is, however, doubtful whether we should expect the *Amānta* calculation of the month in the inscription which comes from Rajasthan.

There is no geographical name in the Ghōsīkuṇḍī inscription, although the name of the village where the well was excavated was expected to be mentioned.

TEXT[1]

1 **Sana 960 Sāmata 1610**

2 Pātisāha śrī-śrī-**Ēsa-**

3 **lēma-sāha** Mēhitū[2] śrī-

4 Rupapa-shō(khō)jā || śrī-[Na]su-

5 rudhi va[ṁ*]dhā [kupi] kṛitā [*]

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[1] From impressions.

[2] What has been read as *tū* may be *kta* also. But that does not offer any sense.

No. 29—NOTE ON INSCRIPTION OF NRIPAMITRA

D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

(*Received on 2.10.61*)

The Mathurā fragmentary inscription of king Nṛipamitra, edited by me above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 11-13, is engraved on the pedestal of a broken image in characters of about the fifth century A.D. It contains the concluding part of a *praśasti* in verse, which is followed by the sentence *kṛitir=Dinnasya*, "[This is] the work of Dinna." The endorsement does not make it clear whether Dinna was the author of the *praśasti* or the sculptor of the image. There is, however, evidence to show that Dinna was a famous sculptor of the Mathurā school, who flourished about the fifth century A.D.

Two inscriptions from Kasiā in North-Eastern U.P., assigned to the fifth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds, were noticed by J. Ph. Vogel in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1906-07, the first at pp. 49 and 62 and the second at pp. 49-50. The second inscription had been previously edited by J. F. Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp. 272-73. But Fleet's transcript was not accurate.

The first record is engraved on the base of an image of the standing Buddha and reads : *Dēya-dharmō=ya[ṁ Śā]kya-bhikshōḥ Bhadanta-Suvīrasya* [|*] *kṛiti*[*r*]*=Dinnasya* [||*], "This is the religious gift of the Buddhist monk, the Venerable Suvīra. [This image] is the work of Dinna."

The second epigraph, engraved on the colossal image of the reclining Buddha of the Parinirvāṇa shrine at Kasiā, reads : *Dēya-dharmō=yaṁ Mahāvihāra-svāminō Haribalasya* [|*] *pratimā ch=ēyaṁ ghaṭitā Dinnēna Māthurēṇa* [||*], "This is the religious gift of Haribala, the master of the Great Monastery. And this image is made by Dinna of Mathurā."

Dinna mentioned in the above records from Mathurā and Kasiā appears to be one and the same person. He was thus not a poet at king Nṛipamitra's court at Mathurā but was a master sculptor of the Mathurā school, who flourished during the age of the Imperial Guptas, regarded as the Golden Age in the history of Indian art. It is of course difficult to be sure whether the Kasiā images were made by Dinna at Kasiā or were made at Mathurā and transported to Kasiā.

MGIPC—S1—11 DGA/60—7-10-63—750.

The material for this Part was sent to the Press by Dr. Sircar before his retirement in June 1962.

G. S. GAI,
Government Epigraphist for India,

No. 30—SOME GAHADAVALA GRANTS

(*4 Plates*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 3.2.1961*)

It appears that, in the year 1948, the authorities of the Provincial Museum (now the Uttar Pradesh State Museum), Lucknow, purchased eight copper-plate charters of the Gāhaḍavāla kings from some dealers of Banāras (Vārāṇasī).[1] Mr. M. M. Nagar, who was in charge of the Museum till recently, did not allow anyone to examine the inscriptions since he himself wanted to publish them. But, whatever may be the reason, he failed to edit the inscriptions. Sometime ago, we published in the pages of this journal[2] an article by Mr. V. N. Srivastava on a copper-plate grant of the Gāhaḍavāla king Vijayachandra, which is one of the said inscriptions purchased for the Lucknow Museum in 1948.

In December 1960, I visited Lucknow and the present authorities of the Museum were kind enough to allow me to examine the unpublished Gāhaḍavāla copper-plate grants and to take their impressions. The remaining seven of the eight copper-plates (Nos. 2-8), purchased from the Banāras dealers in 1948, are published in the following pages together with one other charter of the family (No. 1). My thanks in this connection are due to Mr. M. Zaheer, Joint Secretary of the Cultural Affairs and Scientific Research Department, Government of U.P., and Mr. R. B. Mathur who is now in charge of the State Museum, Lucknow.

It is well known that the copper-plate grants of the **Gāhaḍavāla kings** begin with some stanzas describing the rulers of the family from Yaśōvigraha, its founder, to the donor of a particular charter and that the said introductory section in verse is followed by the introduction of the donor, in a passage in prose, as *vijayin* (not as *kuśalin* as found in the charters of most other ruling families) and as the successor of his ancestors beginning from Chandra who was the first imperial ruler of the family. But, as is known to have been the custom with many other ruling families,[3] a Gāhaḍavāla king merely copied the stanzas found in the charters of his predecessor and added a few verses describing himself, apparently composed by his own court poet. The earliest grants of the family belong to Chandra (c. 1090-1100 A.D.) who sometimes also called himself Chandrāditya. He was succeeded on the Gāhaḍavāla throne respectively by his son Madanapāla (c. 1100-14 A.D.), grandson Gōvindachandra (c. 1114-55 A.D.), great-grandson Vijayachandra (c. 1155-70 A.D.), grandson's grandson Jayachchandra (c. 1170-93 A.D.) and grandson's great-grandson Hariśchandra (c. 1193-97 A.D.). Thus the introductory stanzas found in the grants of Chandra are copied in the charters of Madanapāla with the addition of a few new verses describing the latter king, and so on.

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[1] Above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 223, where the number of the copper-plates purchased has been mentioned as six.

[2] Ibid., pp. 223-26.

[3] Cf. ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 238; Vol. XXIX, pp. 2-3.

12 DGA/60

The following verses are found in the records of **Chandra** who is the **first monarch** of the family to have issued copper-plate charters :

Akuṇṭh-ōtkaṇṭha-Vaikuṇṭha-kaṇṭha-pīṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ |
saṁrambhaḥ surat-ārambhē sa Śriyaḥ śrēyasē=stu vaḥ || 1
Āsīd=**Aśītadyuti-vaṁśa**-jāta-
kshmāpāla-mālāsu divaṁ gatāsu |
sākshād=Vivasvān=iva bhūri-dhāmnā
nāmnā **Yaśōvigraha** ity=udāraḥ || 2
Tat-sutō=bhūn=**Mahīchandraś**=chandra-dhāma-nibhaṁ nijam |
yēn=āpāram=akūpāra-pārē vyāpāritaṁ yaśaḥ || 3
Tasy=ābhūt=tanayō nay-aika-rasikaḥ krānta-dvishan-maṇḍalō
vidhvast-ōddhata-vīra[1]-yōdha-timiraḥ śrī-**Chandradēvō** nṛipaḥ |
yēn=ōdāratara-pratāpa-śamit-āśēsha-praj-ōpadravaṁ
śrīmad-**Gādhipur**-ādhirājyam=asamaṁ dōr-vikramēṇ=ārjitam || 4
Tīrthāni **Kāśi-Kuśik-Ōttarakōsal-Ēndra-**
sthānīyakāni paripālayat=ābhigamya[2] |
hēm=ātma-tulyam=aniśaṁ dadatā dvijēbhyō
yēn=āṅkitā vasumatī śataśas=tulābhiḥ || 5[3]

It was apparently the court poet of Gāhaḍavāla Chandra, who composed these verses which were copied in the later records of the family. But there is an **interesting point** to which attention may be drawn in this connection. The five stanzas quoted above are found in the two Chandravati plates[4] of Chandra, dated respectively Vikrama 1148 and 1154, and were copied by his successors, though the two other Chandravati plates[5] issued by the same monarch (therein also called Chandrāditya) respectively in Vikrama 1150 and 1156 contain only four of these five stanzas (verses 1, 3, 4 and 5) while the grant of Vikrama 1150 adds six new verses five of which are also found in the record of Vikrama 1156 in addition to the said four stanzas.[6]

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[1] Sometimes found as *dhīra*.

[2] Sometimes found as *adhigamya*.

[3] The metres of these stanzas are : verses 1 and 3 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 2 *Indravajrā* ; verse 4 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 5 *Vasantatilakā*.

[4] See above, Vol. IX, p. 304 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 11

[5] The stanzas were not read at all in the text published above, Vol. XIV, pp. 193-96, 197-200, while an inaccurate transcript of the verses appeared in *IHQ*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36-37.

[6] The grant of Vikrama 1150 has the following verses :
Akuṇṭh-ōtkaṇṭha-Vaikuṇṭha°, etc. || 1
Āsīd=aśēsha-naranātha-kirīṭa-kōṭi-
saṅghaṭṭa-ghaṭṭita-lasan-maṇi-pāda-pīṭhaḥ |
śrī-Dēvapāla-nṛipatis=tri-jagat-pragīta-
kund-ēndu-dhāma-hima-kairava-kānta-kīrtiḥ || 2

There is no doubt that the grants of Vikrama 1148 and 1154 used an earlier draft which was utilised in the revised draft found in the grants issued in Vikrama 1150 and 1156, even though it was this earlier draft that was popular with the successors of Chandra. King Chandra himself also did not use the revised draft in his record of Vikrama 1154, though the said draft had been prepared several years earlier and used in his grant of Vikrama 1150. This shows beyond doubt that the mere use of the earlier draft of the introductory parts of the charters of a king after the introduction of a revised draft of the said part hould not be regarded as proving the spuriousness of those documents as has often been wrongly contended by some scholars.[1]

Kālēna nāśam=atha tasya gatē=nvavāyē
dōr-daṇḍa-vikrama-haṭh-ārjjita-**Kanyakubjaḥ** |
kshātrō=yam=atra bahu-patrarath-ānugamya-
mān-ōnnatir=vijayatē bhuvi bhūpa-vaṁśaḥ || 3
Tasmin=vaṁśē samutpannō **Yaśōvigraha**-saṁjñakaḥ |
vigṛihya mēdinī yēna daṇḍa-praṇayinī kṛitā || 4
Tat-sutō=bhūn=Mahīchandra°, etc. || 5
Tasy=ābhūt=tanayō, etc. || 6
Tīrthāni Kāśi-Kuśik-Ōttarakōsal-Ēndrasthānīyakāni, etc. || 7
Haimāni yēna maṇibhiḥ khachitāny=anarghair=
dattāni Vishṇuharayē cha vibhūshaṇāni |
Kāśyāṁ vyabhūshayad=anēka-suvarṇa-ratnair=
yaś=ch=Ādikēśava-vibhōḥ pratimām nivēśya || 8
Kēśān=ākarsha harshād=apahara kuchayōr=ambaraṁ bhindhi sandhīn=
udgāḍhān=kañchukasya praṇama charaṇayōr=nūpur-āsakta-hastaḥ |
nīvīm=unmuñcha kāñchīm=apanaya na chirād=ittham=udvēla-rāgaś=
chakrē vai sankathānāṁ sva-patir=iva ratē yasya luṇṭan-bhaṭ-aughaḥ || 9
Dik-chakra-chumbi-ruchira-prasarat-karō yaḥ
padm-ākarān=asuhṛidō mukulīkarōti |
asmai kalaṅka-malināya jaḍ-ātmanē cha
vakrāya na spṛihayatē rajanīkarāya || 10
Prāchīm=anuprachalitāni balāni yasya
dhūlībhir=ambu ghana-paṅkam=akārshur=abdhēḥ |
kiṁ ch=aurva-rōchir-achir-ōshmabhir=antar=āsan=
yādāṁsi paṅka-putapāka-pachēlimāni || 11
Kshauṇītalam vipulam=adripatīn=udagrān=
ambhōnidhīn=atipṛithūn=kakubhāṁ mah-ēbhān |
ullaṅghya Śakrapura-sīmni yaśō=sti vṛiddhaṁ
yasya śrama-klama-bharād=iva saṁmumūrshu || 12
Ravi-śaśi-kulē guṇ-āḍhyā bhā-ravayō rāja-śēkharā rējuḥ |
jagati punar=ēka ēva svāmī yōg-īśvaraś=**Chandraḥ** || 13

Verses 7-10 and 12 of this section are not found in the grant of Vikrama 1154. The metres of these stanzas are: verses 1, 4-5 *Anushṭubh*; verses 2-3, 7-8, 10-12 *Vasantatilakā*; verse 6 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verse 9 *Sragdharā*. The author of these stanzas may have been Yōgīśvara. The indirect reference to the poets Guṇāḍhya, Bhāravi and Rājaśēkhara in these inscriptions (cf. verse 13 quoted above) is of exceptional interest. As will be seen below (p. 207, note 1), the prose section after this versified introduction is also different in these Chandravati plates.

[1] *Cf.* above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 330, note 2. See also the case of Gōvindachandra below, p. 204, note 2.

1

The charters of **Madanapāla,** son of Chandra, have the following two stanzas in addition to the five verses quoted above:

Tasy=ātmajō **Madanapāla** iti kshitīndra-
chūḍāmaṇir=vijayatē nija-gōtra-chandraḥ |
yasy=ābhishēka-kalaś-ōllasitaiḥ payōbhiḥ
prakshālitaṁ Kali-rajaḥ-paṭalaṁ dharitryāḥ || 6
Yasy=āsīd=vijaya-prayāṇa-samayē tuṅg-āchal-ōchchaiś-chalan-
mādyat-kumbhi-pada-kram-āsama-bhara-bhraśyan-mahī-maṇḍalē |
chūḍā-ratna-vibhinna-tālu-galita-styān-āsṛig-udbhāsitaḥ
Śēshaḥ pēsha-vaśād=iva kshaṇam=asau krōḍē nilīn-ānanaḥ || 7[1]

The copper-plate grants of **Gōvindachandra** add the following stanzas to the above-quoted seven verses:

Tasmād=ajāyata-nij-āyata-bāhu-vallī-
bandh-āvaruddha-nava-rājya-gajō narēndraḥ |
sāndr-āmṛita-drava-muchāṁ prabhavō gavāṁ yō
Gōvindachandra iti chandra iv=āmbu-rāśēḥ || 8
Na katham=apy=alabhanta raṇa-kshamāṁs=
tisṛishu dikshu gajān=atha Vajriṇaḥ |
kakubhi babhramur=Abhramuvallabha-
pratibhaṭā iva yasya ghaṭā-gajāḥ || 9[2]

The following stanzas are added to the above-quoted nine verses in the charters of **Vijaya-chandra:**

Ajani **Vijayachandrō** nāma tasmān=narēndraḥ
Surapatir=iva bhūbhṛit-paksha-vichchhēda-dakshaḥ |

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[1] See *JUPHS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 70-71. The metres of these stanzas are: verse 6 *Vasantatilakā*; verse 7 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[2] See, e.g., above, Vol. IV, p. 100, text lines 8-11. The metres of these verses are: verse 8 *Vasantatilakā*; verse 9 *Drutavilambita.* The Basahi (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.) and Kamauli (above, Vol. II, pp. 358 ff. plates, issued respectively in Vikrama 1161 and 1162 by Gōvindachandra during his father's reign, have some new stanzas not found in the later records of Gōvindachandra or his successors. The Basahi plate has:

Tam=ādyaṁ sarva-dēvānāṁ Dāmōdaram=upāsmahē |
trailōkyaṁ yasya vakt=īva krōḍ-ānta-sthaṁ vali-trayī || 1
Vaṁśē **Gāhaḍavāl-ākhyē** babhūva vijayī nṛipaḥ |
Mahīala-sutaḥ śrīmān=Nala-Nābhāga-sannibhaḥ || 2
Yātē śrī-**Bhōja**-bhūpē vibudha-vara-vadhū-nētra-sīm-ātithitvaṁ
śrī-**Karṇē** kīrti-śēshaṁ gatavati cha nṛipē kshm-ātyayē jāyamānē |
bhartāraṁ yaṁ dharitrī Tridivavibhu-nibhaṁ prīti-yōgād=upētā
trātā viśvāsa-pūrvaṁ samabhavad=iha sa kshmāpatiś=**Chandradēvaḥ** || 3
Dvishat-kshitibhṛitaḥ sarvān=vidhāya vivaśān=vaśē |
Kanyākubjē=karōd=rājā rājadhānīm=aninditām || 4
Tēn=ājani dvishad-ilāpati-danti-siṁhaḥ
kshōṇīpatir=**Madanapāla** iti prasiddhaḥ |
yēn=ākriyanta bahuśaḥ samara-prabandhāḥ
sannartita-prahata-śatru-kabandha-bandhāḥ || 5

bhuvana-dalana-hēlā-harmya-**Hammīra**-nārī-
nayana-jalada-dhārā-śānta-bhūlōka-tāpaḥ || 10
Lōka-tray-ākramaṇa-kēli-viśriṁkhalāni
prakhyāta-kīrti-kavi-varṇita-vaibhavāni |
yasya Trivikrama-pada-krama-bhāñji bhānti
prōjjṛimbhayanti Bali-rāja-bhayaṁ yaśāṁsi || 11[1]
Yasmiṁś=chalaty=udadhi-nēmi-mahī-jayāya
mādyat-karīndra-guru-bhāra-nipīḍit=ēva |
yāti Prajāpati-padaṁ śaraṇ-ārthinī bhūs=
tvaṅgat-turaṅga-nivah-ōttha-rajaś-chhalēna || 12[2]

Tasmād=ajāyata-narēśvara-vṛinda-vandya-
pād-āravinda-yugalō jvalita-pratāpah |
kshōṇīpatīndra-tilakō ripu-raṅga-bhaṅgī
Gōvindachandra iti viśruta-rājaputraḥ || 6

The Kamauli plate, which has *Tasmād=abhūd°* for *Tēn=ājani* in verse 5 and *nāma-kīrtiḥ* for *rājaputrah* in verse 6, omits the fourth stanza but adds the following verse at the end so that the number of verses is six in this case also :

Tishṭhatō yasya dōḥ-stambhē matta-śaury-aika-dantinah |
dhanur-guṇa-kiṇa-śrēṇī mada-rāj=īva lakshyatē || 7

The metres of these verses are : verses 1-2, 4 and 7 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 3 *Sragdharā* ; verses 5-6 *Vasantatilakā*.

The Rahan plate (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 14 ff.) of Vikrama 1166, also issued by Gōvindachandra during his father's reign, has again the following set of verses :

Akuṇṭh-ōtkaṇṭha-Vaikuṇṭha°, etc. || 1
Abhūn=nṛipō **Gāhaḍavāla**-vaṁśē
Mahītalō nāma jit-āri-chakrah |
sthitō dharā-bhāram=aśēsham=ēsha
Śēshaḥ sukhī yasya bhujē nidhāya || 2
Pradhvastē Sōma-Sūry-ōdbhava-vidita-mahā-kshatra-vaṁśa-dvayē=smiṁn=
utsannaprāya-vēda-dhvani jagad=akhilam manyamānah Svayambhūḥ |
kṛitvā dēha-grahāya pravaṇam=iha manah śuddha-buddhir=dharitryām=
uddhartuṁ dharma-mārgam prathitam=atha tathā kshatra-vaṁśa-dvayam cha || 3
Vaṁśē tatra tatah sa ēsha samabhūd=bhūpāla-chūḍāmaṇiḥ
prōdhvast-ōddhata-vairi-vīra-timirah śrī-**Chandradēvō** nṛipah |
yēn=ōdāratara-pratāpa-śamit-āśēsha-praj-ōpadravam
śrīmad-**Gādhipur**-ādhirājyam=asamam dōr-vikramēṇ=ārjitam || 4
Tīrthāni Kāśi-Kuśik-Ōttarakōsal-Ēndrasthānīyakāni, etc. || 5
Tasy=ātmajō Madanapāla iti, etc. || 6
Yasy=āsīd=vijaya-prayāṇa-samayē, etc. || 7
Jātas=tatō rajanijānir=iv=āmbu-rāśēr=
Gōvindachandra iti kānti-bhar-ābhirāmah |
rāj-ātmajēna bhavatā samupārjitāni
Rāmēṇa Dāśarathin=ēva yaśāṁsi yēna || 8
Durvāra-sphāra-**Gauḍa**-dvirada-vara-ghaṭā-kumbha-nirbhēda-bhīmō
Hammīraṁ nyasta-vairam muhur=asama-raṇa-krīḍayā yō vidhattē |
śaśvat-sañchāri-valgat-turaga-khura-puṭ-ōllēkha-mudrā-sanātha-
kshōṇī-svīkāra-dakshah sa iha vijayatē prārthanā-kalpa-vṛikshah || 9

The metres of the stanzas are : verse 1 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 2 *Upajāti* ; verses 3 and 9 *Sragdharā* ; verses 4-5 and 7 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 6 and 8 *Vasantatilakā*. The fourth stanza is a modification of verse 4 quoted above.

[1] This stanza is not found in some of the records of Vijayachandra (cf. ibid., Vol. IV, p. 119).

[2] See, e.g., above Vol. XXXIV, pp. 224-25. The metres of these stanzas are: verse 10 *Mālinī*; verses 11-12 *Vasantatilakā*.

Jayachchandra's copper-plate grants have the twelve stanzas quoted above and the following two verses in addition thereto:

Tasmād=adbhuta-vikramād=atha **Jayachchandr**-ābhidhānaḥ patir=

bhūpānām=avatīrṇa ēsha bhuvan-ōddhārāya Nārāyaṇaḥ |

dvaidhī-bhāvam=apāsya vigraha-ruchiṁ dhikkṛitya śānt-āśayāḥ

sēvantē yam=udagra-bandhana-bhaya-dhvaṁs-ārthinaḥ pārthivāḥ || 13

Gachchhēn=mūrchhām=atuchchhāṁ na yadi kavalayēt=kūrma-pṛishṭh-ābhighāta-

pratyāvṛittaṁ[1] śram-ārtō namad-akhila-phaṇa-śvāsa-vātyā-sahasram |

udyōgē yasya dhāvad-dharaṇidhara-dhunī-nirjhara-sphāra-dhāra-

bhraśyad-dāna-dvip-ālī-bahala-bhara-galad-dhairya-mudraḥ Phaṇīndraḥ || 14[2]

The following verses are added to the above quoted fourteen stanzas in the Machhlishahr plate (Vikrama 1253=1197 A.D.)[3] of **Hariśchandra,** son of Jayachchandra and the latest known member of the Imperial Gāhaḍavāla house:

Tasmād=āsīd=asīma-tvara-turaga-khura-kshōda-vikshipta-dhūli-

vyāpta-kshmā-chakravāla-krama-kalita-nabhō-ruddha-sūra-prakāśaḥ |

sēnā-saṁbhāra-saṁpad-daravidalad-ilāṁ dōr-gatāṁ nyasya chaṇḍaś=

chaṇḍ-ārka-bhrānti-dāyi-sphurad-asama-yaśāḥ śrī-**Hariśchandradēvaḥ** || 15

Yēna praṇāma-patita-kshitipāla-mauli-

ratna-prabhā-ruchira-chāru-pad-āmbujēna |

uddaṇḍa-śītakara-maṇḍala-puṇḍarīka-

ḍiṇḍīra-piṇḍam=iva śubhra-yaśō vitēnē || 16[4]

The above versified section is followed by a stereotyped introduction of the donor in prose. To illustrate this, we may quote the passage in question from the Machhlishahr plate referred to above:

sō=yaṁ samasta-rāja-chakra-saṁsēvita-charaṇaḥ sa cha paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-nija-bhuj-ōpārjita-śrī-**Kanyakubj**-ādhipatya-śrī-**Chandradēva**-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-śrī-**Madana-pāladēva**-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śrīmad-**Gōvinda-chandradēva**-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭā-

[1] Sometimes we have *pratyāvritta*°.

[2] See, e.g., *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 130 ff. The metres of the stanzas are: verse 13 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verse 14 *Sragdharā*.

[3] Above, Vol. X, p. 97. Verse 15 was not properly deciphered.

[4] The metres of the stanzas are: verse 15 *Sragdharā* verse 16 *Vasantatilakā*.

raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śrī-**Vijayachan-dradēva**-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śrī-**Jayachchan-dradēva**-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śrīmad-**Hari- śchndradēvō** vijayī.[1]

The list of subordinates and officers addressed by the king in respect of grants, the description of the ceremonial offering of the gift land and the privileges of the donee as found in the Gāhaḍavāla charters are couched in practically the same language. The imprecatory and benedictory ve ıs‹ › quoted about the end of the said records are also almost the same.

No. 1—Grant of Gōvindachandra, Vıkrama 1196

This inscription was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1952-53, No. A 29. It is a **single** thick plate measuring nineteen inches in length and thirteen inches in height. There is a circular hole (about 2 cm. in diameter) about the centre of the top part, but no seal. The plate is engraved only on one side and there are in all 24 lines of writing. Its ends are raised for the protection of the writing. The weight of the plate is 465·6 gm.

The **date** of the grant is quoted in lines 15-16, both in words and figures. as **Vikrama 1195, Phālguna-vadi 15, Tuesday.** This date corresponds to the **31st January 1139 A. D.**, the said *tithi* having begun on that day and ended on the next.

The Gāhaḍavāla king **Gōvindachandra** is stated to have granted, on the date indicated above, the village called **Vasēvā-grāma** situated in the *pattalā* of **Asamaka.** A *pattalā* was a territorial unit of the type of the Pargana of today. The identification of the localities is uncertain. The gift was made by the king after having taken a bath in the waters of the **Ganges** at **Vārāṇasī.**

The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Rālhaṇaśarman who belonged to the Sāṅkṛitya *gōtra* and the Sāṅkṛitya, Āṅgirasa and Gauruvīta *pravaras*. He was the son of Vālhaṇa and grandson of Bhīma. All the three persons are called Tivāḍī which was apparently their family name derived from Sanskrit *Tripāṭhin* meaning 'familiar with the three *pāṭhas*, (viz. *saṁhitā*, *pada* and *krama*.' The same family name is even now current among the Brāhmaṇas of U. P. The honorific *śrī* is prefixed to the names of Rālhaṇaśarman and his father Vālhaṇa. Its absence with the name of Rālhaṇa's grandfather Bhīma probably suggests that he was dead at the time of the grant.

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[1] As indicated above (p. 202, note 6), like the versified introductory part, the prose section introducing the donor is different in the two Chandravati plates of Vikrama 1150 and 1156. The grant of Vikrama 1150 reads :

sō=yaṁ narapati-mukuṭa-makarikā-marakata-prabhā-paṭala-pallavita-pāda-pīthō gajapati-gala-garjita-pralaya-pañchānanas=triśaṅkupati-kapaṭa-pāṭana-krakacha-pātaś=chapala-pañchāla-chūla-chumbana-chaṇa-cha-ndrahāsō giripati-pichu-piṇḍa-chaṇḍa-mārutaḥ kavalita-kali-kāla-kapaṭa-pēṭakō nirvāṇa-pathika-lōpāka-darśanaḥ samadhigata-sakala-darśana-svara-sapēśala-jñāna-sampad-vijita-muni-manōvṛittir=āśrayaḥ śrēyasām=ākaraḥ sarva-vidyānām=ālayaḥ kalānām=ādhāraḥ svāmi-sampadāṁ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-nija-bhuj-ōpārjita-śrī-**Kanyakubj**-ādhipatya-śrīmach-**Chandrādityadēvō** vijayī.

The grant of Vikrama 1156, which omits four verses in the versified introduction as already noted above, has °*krakacha-pātō nirvāṇa*° and °*lōpāka-darśanaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka*° and thus omits a number of passages. This record exhibits an attempt to shorten the rather lengthy introduction in both the sections in verse and prose as found in the charter of Vikrama 1150.

The gift was permanent and the donee was entitled to enjoy all taxes including *bhāga* (share of crops), *bhōga* (periodical offerings), *kara* (taxes in general) and the special taxes known as *pravaṇikara* and *turushkadaṇḍa*, which have been variously explained. Of these two levies, *pravaṇikara* was probably a tax on foreign merchants and *turushkadaṇḍa* either a tax to meet the expenses of defence against the Turkish Musalmans or a levy from Musalman subjects or traders.

The charter was written by *Ṭhakkura* Viśvarūpa who is already known from a large number of Gōvindachandra's records.[1]

TEXT[2]

12 ....[3]śrīmad-**Gōviṁdachaṁdradēvō** vijayī | **Asamaka-pattalāyāṁ Vasēvā-grāma**-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadā-

13 n=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarāja-maṁtri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāṁḍāgārik-**āksha**-paṭalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntaḥpurika-dūta-kari-turaga-patta-

14 n-ākarasthāna-gōkul-ādhikāri-purushān=ājñāpayati vō(bō)dhayaty=ādiśati cha [|*] **yathā** viditam=astu bhavatāṁ yath=ōpari-likhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ā-

15 karaḥ sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-gratt-ōsharaḥ sa-madhūk-āvra(mra)-vana-vāṭikā-viṭa**pa-tṛiṇa**-yūti-gā(gō)-chara-paryantaḥ s-ōrddh[v*]-ādhaś=chatur-āghāṭa-viśra(śu)ddhaḥ **sva-sīmā**-paryantaḥ **paṁcha-navaty-adhik-aikā-**

16 **daśa-śata-bhaṁ(saṁ)vatsarē Phālgunē māsi kṛishṇa-pakshē amāvāsyāyāṁ tithau Bhauma-dinē**=ṅkē=pi **saṁva(saṁva)t 1195 Phālguna-vadi 15 Bhaumē** śrīmad-**Vārāṇasyāṁ Gaṅgāyāṁ** snātvā vidhiva-

17 n=maṁtrā(tra)-da(dē)va-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitṛi-gaṇāṁs=tarppayitvā timira-paṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahasam=[U]shṇarōchisham=upa[sthā]y=Aushadhipatiśakalasē(śē)kharaṁ **sama**-bhyarchchya tri-bhuvana-trātur=Vvāsudēva-

18 sya pūjāṁ vidhāya prachura-pāyabhē(sē)na ha[vishā] Havibhuṁ(rbhu)jaṁ **hut[v]ā mātā**-pi[tr]ōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē=smābhir=ggōkarṇṇa-kusa(śa)-latā-**pūta-kara**-tal-ōdaka-pūrvva[ṁ] Sāṁkṛitya-gō-

19 trāya Sāṁkṛitya[4]-Āṅgirasa-Gaurīchit[5]-triḥ(tri)-pravarāya Tivāḍī-Bhīma-pautrāya **Tivāḍī**-śrī-Vālhaṇa-putrāya [T]ivāḍī-śrī-Rālhaṇaśarmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāy=ā-**chaṁdr-ā[r]kka**-[ṁ] sā(śā)sanīkṛitya

20 **pradattō** matvā yathā-dīyamāna-bhā[ga]-bhōga-kara-pravaṇikara-**su(tu)rushkaṭa(da)ṇḍa**-**prabhṛiti**-sa[r*]vv-ādāyān ājñā-vidhēyībhūya dāsyath=ēti |[6] | bhavanti **ch=ātra ślōkāḥ** | ....[7]

24 .... likhitaṁ ch=ēdaṁ ṭhakkura-śrī-Viśvarū[p]ēṇ=ēt[i] [||*]

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[1] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 214, 215, 217, 222, 225.

[2] From inked impressions.

[3] Verses 1-9 quoted in our introductory discussion, followed by a passage in prose also discussed there, are found in lines 1-12.

[4] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[5] The correct form of the name is *Gaurivīta*.

[6] There is a floral design between the two *daṇḍas*.

[7] The following imprecatory and benedictory verses occur in lines 20-24: *Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti*, etc. *Śaṁkhaṁ bhadrāsanaṁ*, etc.; *Sarvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ* etc.; *Svarṇam=ēkaṁ gām=ēkāṁ cha*, etc.; *Na vishaṁ visham=ity=āhu*, etc.; *Yān=īha dattāni* etc.

SOME GAHADAVALA GRANTS—PLATE I

No. 1—Grant of Govindachandra, Vikrama 1196

No. 2—Grant of Vijayachandra, Vikrama 1217

Scale : Two-fifths

No. 2—Grant of Vijayachandra, Vikrama 1217

This is a **single plate**[1] having writing only on one side. It measures 48 cm. in length and 38 cm. in height, though its weight is not recorded. There is a hole, disturbing the continuity of line 1, about the middle of the upper part of the plate near the top margin. But there is no seal, for the affixation of which the hole was no doubt made. There are only 30 lines of writing in the inscription.

The charter bears the **date**: **Vikrama 1217, Chaitra-vadi 11, Wednesday,** Mīna-saṅkrānti, both in words and figures (line 18). This date regularly corresponds to the **22nd February 1161 A. D.**

The inscription records the grant of a village made by the Gāhaḍavāla king **Vijayachandra** on the date mentioned above. The king is stated to have made the grant after having taken his bath in the **Ganges** at its confluence with the **Kālīnadī** at his camp-residence lying to the west of **Khōḍa** (*Khōḍa-paśchima-samāvāsa*). The Kālī-nadī joins the Ganges not far above Kanauj in the Farrukhabad District, U. P. The camp of the king was thus a place near Kanauj. The general belief that the name Kālī-nadī is modified from old *Kālindī* by Persian writers[2] is disproved by the inscription under study.

The gift village was **Kaṇḍiṇī-grāma** situated in the **Umbarahāra** *pattalā* (district). The village is stated to have been granted along with its *pāṭakas*. The word *pāṭaka* (modern *pāḍā*) means a group of houses in a village. The names of the *pāṭakas* or hamlets are given in the inscription as Kaśavalī, Vanaśrī(?), Ustarī and Paursavalī. I am not sure about the identification of the localities. The name of Umbarahāra-pattalā reminds us of Umbarāla-pattalā of an inscription of Gōvindachandra.[3]

The donee of the grant was the Brāhmaṇa *Ṭhakkura* Mālhaṇaśarman who was the son of *Ṭhakkura* Gaṅgādhara and grandson of *Ṭhakkura* Lakshmīdhara and belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra* and the five *pravaras*, viz. Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavāna, Aurva and Jāmadagnya. The nature of the gift was permanent and the donee was entitled to all regular and irregular taxes like *bhāga*, *bhōga*, *kara*, *pramaṇikara* and *yamalikāmbali*. Of these, *pramaṇikara* is the same as or a mistake for *pravaṇikara* discussed above. *Yamalikāmbali* seems to be a corruption of *yamala-kambalin* meaning the tax for the possession of a pair of choice bullocks and may be compared with the levy called *vara-balīvarda* mentioned in certain contemporary inscriptions.[4]

The charter was written by *Ṭhakkura* Śrīpatika (Śrīpati) who is known from many inscriptions of Gōvindachandra and Jayachchandra as well as from a spurious grant[5] of Vijayachandra himself. He is often endowed with the official designation *Mahākshapaṭalika*.

[1] It is No. A 90 of *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1960-61.

[2] *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIV, p. 309.

[3] Cf. above, Vol. VIII, p. 159, text line 11.

[4] See ibid., Vol. XXXIII, p. 267, text line 38.

[5] See above, pp. 153 ff. All the six charters of Jayachchandra edited below (Nos. 3-8) were written by the same person.

TEXT[1]

14 [2] ....śrīmad-**Vijayachandradēvō** vijayī || || **Umva(mba)rahāra-pa-**

15 **[tta]lāyāṁ** sa-pāṭaka-**Kaṁḍiṇī-grāma**-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarāja-mantri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishaṅnai-

16 mittik-āntaḥpurika-dūta-kari-turaga-pattan-ākarasthāna-gōkul-ādhikāri-purushān=ājñāpayati vō(bō)dhayaty=ādiśati cha yathā viditam=astu bhavatāṁ yath=ōpari-likhita-grāmaḥ Kaśavalī

17 [Vanaśrī ?] Ustarī [Pau]rsavalī ētaiḥ saha sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-matsyākaraḥ-sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-tṛiṇa-yūti-gōchara-paryantaḥ s-ōrddhā(rddhv-ā)dhaś=chatur-āghāṭa-

18 visu(śu)ddhaḥ sva-sīmā-paryantaḥ **saptadasō(śa-ō)ttara-dvādasa(śa)-[śa*]ta-saṁvatsarē Chaitra-māsa-kṛishṇa-pakshē ēkādasyāṁ(śyāṁ) tithau Vu(Bu)-dha-dina(nē)** aṅkatō=pi **saṁvat 1217 Chaitra-vadi 11 Vū(Bu)dhē mīna-gatē savitari** ady=ēha **Khōḍa**-paśchima-samāvāsē

19 **Kālī-nadī-sa[ṁ]gamē Gaṅgāyāṁ** snātvā vidhivan=maṁtra-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitṛi-gaṇāṁs=tarppayitvā timira-paṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushṇarōchisham=upasthāyō-(y=Au)shadhipatiśakalasēsha(śēkha)raṁ

20 sa[ma]bhār[ch]chyā(bhyarchchya) tri-bhuvana-trātu[r]=Vvāsudēvasya pūjāṁ vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā Havirbhujaṁ hutvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddha-yē='smābhir=ggōkarṇṇa-kuśa-latā-pūta-kara-

21 tal-ōdaka-pūrvvakaṁ Vatsa-gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavana[3]-Āpnavāna-[3][Au]r[v]va-Jāmada-gnya-paṁcha-pravarāya ṭhakkura-śrī-Lakshmīdhara-pautrāya ṭhakkura-śrī-Gaṁgādhara-pu-trāya ṭhakkura-śrī-Mālhaṇasa(śa)rmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya chandr-ārkkaṁ

22 yāvach=chhāsanīkṛitya pradattō matvā yathā-dīyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-pramaṇikara[4]-yama-likāmva(mba)li-prabhṛiti-niyat-āniyata-samast-ādāyān= ājñā-vidhēyībhūya dāsyath=ēti || || bhavasti(nti) [ch]=ātra

23 ślōkāḥ ....[5]

30 .... || chha[6] || likhitaṁ ch=ēdaṁ tāvra(mra)kaṁ ṭhakkura-śrī-Śrīpatikēn=ēti ||chha[6]|| maṅgala[ṁ] mahā-śrīḥ ||

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[1] From inked impressions.

[2] Verses 1-12 discussed in our introductory remarks, followed by a passage in prose also discussed there, are engraved in lines 1-14.

[3] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[4] This is generally found elsewhere as *pravaṇikara*.

[5] The following imprecatory and benedictory verses are quoted in lines 23-30: *Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti*, etc.; *Śaṁkhaṁ bhadr-āsanaṁ*, etc.; *Sarvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ*, etc.; *Asmad-vaṁśē parikshīṇē*, etc.; *Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā*, etc.; *Gām=ēkāṁ svarṇam=ēkañ=cha*, etc.; *Taḍāgānāṁ sahasrēṇa*, etc.; *Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā*, etc.; *Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi*, etc.; *Vāri-hīnēshv=araṇyēshu*, etc.; *Yān=īha dattāni*, etc.; *Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam=idaṁ*, etc.

[6] This is a symbol indicating the completion of a section of the composition.

No. 3—Grant of Jayachchandra, Vikrama 1232

This is a **single plate**[1] measuring 62 cm. in length and 39 cm. in height and having writing on one side only. There is a hole (about 2·5 cm. in diameter) about the middle of the upper part of the plate near the top margin. This disturbs the continuity of the writing of lines 1-3. The weight of the plate has not been recorded. There are altogether 33 lines of writing in the inscription. The seal is missing.

The **date** of the charter is quoted in line 22 in both words and figures. It is **Vikrama 1232, Áśvina-sudi 14, Monday.** The year has to be regarded as current and the date apparently corresponds to **Monday the 29th September 1175 A.D.**, though the *tithi* in question really fell on the following day. As will be seen below, several other charters were issued by the king on the same day in favour of the donee of the grant under study.

It is stated that the Gāhaḍavāla king **Jayachchandra** granted a village on the above date on the occasion of the *jāt-ōtsava* of *Mahārājaputra* **Hariśchandradēva.** The gift village was **Chandavaka,** though the *pattalā* or Pargana in which it was situated is not mentioned. But reference has been made to certain *pāṭakas* or hamlets of the village. Their names appear to be Kēśavaka, Payanīyī, Rātu and Gudērāra. These places cannot be located with precision.

The donee of the grant was *Mahāsāndhivigrahika Bhāṇḍāgārika* Ravidhara of the Vatsa *gōtra*, who was the son of Mālādharaśarman and the grandson of Gaṅgādharaśarman.[2] He was therefore an officer of the king in charge of foreign relations as well as of the royal treasury or store-house. It will be seen below that all the grants of Jayachchandra edited here (Nos. 3-8) were made in favour of this person, though the records of the following year (V. S. 1233 ; cf. Nos. 5-8) call him *Rāuta* instead of *Mahāsāndhivigrahika Bhāṇḍāgārika.* The donee was entitled to collect all the regular and irregular taxes including *bhāga, bhōga, kara, pravaṇikara* and *yamali.* Of these, *yamali* is of course the same as *yamalikāmbali* explained above.

The charter was written by *Mahākshapaṭalika Ṭhakkura* Śrīpati who was also the writer of No. 2 edited above, Nos. 4-7 edited below and a number of other Gāhaḍavāla charters.

The **importance** of the inscription lies in the mention of the *jāt-ōtsava* of king Jayachchandra's son *Mahārājaputra* Hariśchandra, as the occasion of the grant. The expression *jāt-ōtsava* no doubt means the festival relating to the prince's birth. This reminds us of two other grants made by Jayachchandra on the occasion of the *jāta-karman* (ceremony at birth) and *nāma-karaṇa* (naming ceremony) of the same Hariśchandra.

It is well known that the Kamauli plate[3] of Vikrama 1232, Bhādra-vadi 8, Sunday (the 10th August 1175 A.D.) records a grant made by Jayachchandra on the occasion of the *jāta-karman* of *Rājaputra* Hariśchandradēva after the donor had taken a bath in the waters of the Ganges at Kāśī (i.e. Vārāṇasī) in favour of *Purōhita* Praharājaśarman who was apparently the priest

[1] It is No. A 91 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61.

[2] This Gaṅgādhara seems to be identical with the Brāhmaṇa of the same name mentioned in No. 2.

[3] Above, Vol. IV, p. 127, text lines 20-24 : *Saṁvat* 1232 *Bhādra-vadi 8 Ravau Kāśyāṁ rājaputra-śrī-Hariśchandradēva-jātakarmaṇi Gaṅgāyāṁ snātvā......asmābhiḥ purōhita-śrī-Praharājaśarmaṇē Brāhmaṇāya...... pradattaḥ.* The expression *ady=ēha* seems to have been omitted from the context through oversight.

officiating in the prince's birth-rite.[1] The Sihvar plate[2] of Vikrama 1232, Bhādra-sudi 13, Sunday (the 31st August 1175 A. D.), likewise records a grant on the occasion of the *nāma-karaṇa* of *Rāja-putra* Hariśchandra made by the king after taking a bath in the waters of the Ganges at Vārāṇasī in avour of *Mahāpaṇḍita* Hṛishīkēśaśarman. Hṛishīkēśa was no doubt a scholar patronised by the Gāhaḍavāla king and officiated in the naming ceremony and suggested the name of the prince.

It is generally believed, on the basis of these two records, that Hariśchandra was born on the 10th August 1175 A.D. and that his *nāma-karaṇa* or naming ceremony was performed after three weeks on the 31st August. Of course there is a good deal of discrepancy in the views of ancient Indian authorities as regards the time when the *nāma-karaṇa* should be performed.' Some of them favour the date of the birth of a child for the purpose and some others prefer the 10th or 12th day after the birth or any auspicious day, *tithi* or *nakshatra* thereafter, i.e. on a later date, while another group of writers prescribe for the *nāma-karaṇa* the 16th or 18th day after the birth though there are also views that it should be done after the passing of a hundred nights or a month or a year.[3] Thus the performance of *nāma-karaṇa* on the 21st day after the birth of prince Hariśchandra is not unjustifiable. But the mention of the name Hariśchandra in the grant issued on the 10th August on the occasion of the *jāta-karman* or birth-ceremony seems to suggest that the *nāma-karaṇa*, on the occasion of which a charter was issued on the 31st August, was really performed on the date of the prince's birth on an earlier date. This seems to be supported by the present grant which has the passage : *Saṁvat* 1232 *Āśvina-sudi 14 Sōmē ady=ēha mahārājaputra-śrī-Hariśchandra-dēva-jāt-ōtsavē......asmābhiḥ........mahāsāndhivigrahika-bhāṇḍāgārika-śrī-Ravidharāya........ pradattaḥ.*[4] Since the date falls on the 29th September 1175 A.D., i.e. 50 days after the 10th August and 29 days after the 31st August, it cannot be regarded as a celebration performed a month or several months or a year after the birth of Hariśchandra. Thus the *jāt-ōtsava* seems to indicate the festival held on the occasion of the prince's birth, though the grant was made several weeks after the date. This makes it doubtful whether the prince's birth took place on the 10th August 1175 A.D. or on an earlier date.

It will be seen that while the grant on the occasion of the *jāta-karman* was made in favour of the *Purōhita* (i.e. the priest of the king) and that in connection with the *nāma-karaṇa* to a *Mahāpaṇḍita* (learned Brāhmaṇa of the royal court), who no doubt officiated in the respective rites, the present grant was made in connection with the birth festival in favour of a royal officer who apparently did not take part in the *jāta-karman* and *nāma-karaṇa* rites. But, as will be seen below, No. 4 seems to suggest that Ravidhara, the donee of the present charter, presented three bejewelled amulets to the newly born prince.

Ravidhara may have been a favourite of the king since all the six grants of Jayachchandra published here (Nos. 3-8) were issued in his favour on two different dates, Nos. 3-4 on one date and Nos. 5-8 on another. It is, however, interesting to note that the *jāt-ōtsava* of Hariśchandra is mentioned as the occasion of the grant only in the present record (No. 3) and not even in No. 4 though Nos. 3 and 4 were issued on the same date. Whether this means that the villages granted by means of some of these records were really purchased by Ravidhara from the Gāhaḍavāla monarch cannot be determined without further evidence.

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[1] Another grant made by the king in a priest's favour is recorded in a Kamauli plate (above, Vol. IV, pp. 120-21), according to which he gave a village to *Rājaguru Mahāpurōhita* Prahlādaśarman on the 21st June 1270 A.D. after performing *mantra-snāna* for his *abhishēka* at his camp at Vaḍavīha-grāma.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 131, text lines 24-28 : *Saṁvat* 1232 *Bhādra-sudi* 13 *Ravau ady=ēha śrīmad-vijaya-Vārāṇasyāṁ Gaṅg-ōdakēna snātvā......asmābhiḥ......mahāpaṇḍita-śrī-Hṛishīkēśaśarmaṇē Brāhmaṇāya rāja-putra-śrī-Hariśchandra-nāma-karaṇē........pradattaḥ.*

[3] Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Part i, pp. 234, 238 ff.

[4] The expression *śrīmad=Ēdakūṇḍyāṁ snātvā* seems to have been omitted through oversight. Cf. No. 4 (text line 23) issued in favour of the same donee on the same date, though it does not mention any occasion like Hariśchandra's *jāt-ōtsava* as in the present grant.

SOME GAHADAVALA GRANTS—PLATE II

No. 3—Grant of Jayachchandra, Vikrama 1232

No. 4—Grant of Jayachchandra, Vikrama 1232

Scale : Two-fifths

TEXT[1]

18 ....[2]śrīmaj-**Jayachchandradēvō** vijayī ||

19 || || [Kēśavaka-Payanīyī-Rātu-Gudērāra][3] sa-pāṭaka-**Chaṁdavaka-grāma** nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarāja-maṁtri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāṁḍāgā-

20 rik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntaḥpurika-dūta-kari-turaga-pattan-ākarasthāna-gōkul-ādhikāri-purushān=ā[jñ]āpaya[ti] vō(bō)dha[ya]ty=ādiśati cha viditam=a[stu] bhavatāṁ yath=ōpari-

21 likhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lauha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sama[t*]sy-ākara[ḥ] sā(sa)-gattēkhi (rtt-ōsha)raḥ sa-gi[ri-ga]hana-nidhānaḥ sa-ma[dhū]k-[ā]mra-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-tṛiṇa-yūti-gōchara-paryantaḥ s-ōrddhā(rdhv-ā)dha[ś*]=chatu-

22 [r-āghā]ṭa-visu(śu)ddhaḥ sva-sīmā-paryantaḥ || **dayastrisavadhika[4]-dvādaśa-[sa(śa)]-ta-sa[ṁ*]vatsa[r]ē Āśvina-māsē śukla-paksha-chatu[rddasyāṁ(śyāṁ)] ti[thau Sō]ma-dinē** a[ṁ]kē=pi **saṁvat 1232 Āśvina-sudi 14 Sōmē** ||

23 ady=ēha mahārājaputra-śrī-**Hariśchandraida(ndradē)va**-jāt-ō[tsavē] vidhi[va*]n=ma[ṁ*]-tra-dēva-muni-manuja-[bhū]ta-pitṛi-gaṇā[ṁs=ta][r*][ppa]yitvā t[i]m[i]ra-pa[ṭa]la-pāṭana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushurā(shṇarō)chishamasha(m=upa)s[th]āyāṁ(y=Au)shadhipa-

24 [ti]śakalaśapa(śēkha)raṁ samabhyarchya tri-bhuva[na]-trātu[r]=Vābhu(su)dēvasya pūjā-[ṁ*] vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā Havirbhujaṁ hutvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē asmābhir=ggō[ka]rṇṇa-kuśa-la-

25 tā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvvakaṁ ||[5] Vatsa-gōtrāya Gaṁgādharasa(śa)rmmaṇa[ḥ*] pautrāya Māládharasa(śa)rmmaṇa[ḥ*] putrāya [mahā]sāṁdhivigrahika-bhāṁ[ḍā]gārika-śrī-Ravidharāya chaṁdr-ārkka[ṁ*] yāvach=chhāsanī[kṛitya]

26 pradattō matvā yathā-dīyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-pravaṇikara-ja(ya)mali-prabhṛiti-niyat-āniyata-samast-ādāyān=ājñā-vidhēyībhūya dāsyath=ēti || || bhavanti ch=ātra ślōkāḥ ||....[6]

33 ....likhitaṁ ch=ēdaṁ tāmra-paṭṭakaṁ mahākshapaṭalika-ṭhakkura-śrī-Śrīpatibhiḥ ||[7] ||[8] ||[9]

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[1] From inked impressions.

[2] Verses 1-14 quoted in our introductory discussion, followed by a passage in prose also discussed there, are found in lines 1-18.

[3] These appear to be the names of the *pāṭakas* of Chandavaka-grāma. The intended reading was probably °*rār-ākhya-pāṭakaiḥ saha*.

[4] Read *dvātriṁśad-adhika*.

[5] The mark of punctuation is redundant.

[6] The imprecatory and benedictory verses quoted in lines 26-33 are : *Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti*, etc. ; *Śaṁkhaṁ bhadr-āsanaṁ*, etc. ; *Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi* , etc. ; *Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā*, etc. ; *Gām=ēkāṁ svarṇam=ēkaṁ cha*, etc. ; *Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā*, etc. ; *Taḍāgānāṁ sahasrēṇa*, etc. ; *Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam=idaṁ*, etc., *Sarvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ*, etc. ; *Yān=īha dattāni*, etc.

[7] There is the figure of a conch-shell here.

[8] A floral design is engraved here.

[9] There is a lotus engraved at this place.

No. 4—Grant of Jayachchandra, Vikrama 1232

This is a **single plate**[1] measuring 48 cm. in length and 39 cm. in height. It has writing only on one side. In general appearance, the plate looks like Nos. 1-3 edited above. There is no seal, though there is a hole (2·15 cm. in diameter) about the centre of the upper part near the top margin and it disturbs the continuity of the writing of lines 1-2. The inscription contains 34 lines of writing.

The **date** of the charter, quoted in both words and figures in lines 22-23, is the same as that of No. 3, viz. **Vikrama 1232, Āśvina-sudi 14, Monday**, corresponding to the **29th September 1175 A.D.**

The grant is stated to have been made by the Gāhaḍavāla king **Jayachchandra** after having taken a bath at a locality or in a tank called **Ēdakuṇḍī.** The gift village, viz. **Avālu-grāma,** was given together with its *pāṭakas* though the *paṭṭalā* in which it was situated is not mentioned. I am not sure about the location of the village or the place whence the charter was issued.

The donee is the same as in No. 3, viz. *Mahāsāndhivigrahika Bhāṇḍāgārika* Ravidhara (written wrongly as *Rēdhara*) of the Vatsa gōtra, who was the son of Māladharaśarman and grandson of Gaṅgādharaśarman. The nature of the grant was permanent and the donee was entitled to realise such regular and irregular taxes as *bhāga, bhōga, kara, pravaṇikara* and *yamali* (i.e. *yamalikāmbali* explained above).

There is a passage in line 26, which seems to suggest that Ravidhara offered three *mudrīs* decked with diamonds and rubies and that the grant was made in his favour in that connection (i.e. in response to that act). The word *mudrī* is apparently used in the sense of *mudrikā* or *mudrā* meaning 'signet ring', 'a coin', 'a medal', etc. It is not impossible that Ravidhara presented three amulets to the newly born prince Hariśchandra and received the village from the king in return.

The charter was written by Śrīpati already known from Nos. 2-3 above and a number of other records of Gāhaḍavāla kings including Nos. 5-7 below.

TEXT[2]

18 .... [3]śrīmaj-**Jayachchandradēvō** vijayī || || sa cha [sa]-

19 [masta-mā][4]........ [5]sa-pāṭaka-[6]**Avālu-grāma**-nivāsinō nikhila-janapaddā(dā)n=upagatān =api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarāja-maṁ(ma)ntri-purā(rō)[hi]ta-pratīhāra-sēnāpa-

20 ti-bhāṁḍāgārik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntaḥpurika-d[ū]ta-kari-turaga-pattan-ākara-sthāna-g[ō]kul-ādhikāri-purushān=ājñāpayati vō(bō)dhayaty=ādiśati cha vidi-

21 tam=astu bhavatāṁ yath=[ō]pari-likhita-grāmaḥ sa-ja[la-sthalaḥ] sa-l[ōha]-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-ga[r*]tt-ōśva(sha)[raḥ] sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-[ma]dhūk-āmra-vana-vāṭikā-vi-

[1] It is No. A 92 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61.

[2] From inked impressions.

[3] Lines 1-18 contain verses 1-14 followed by a passage in prose, both discussed in our introductory remarks.

[4] These six redundant *aksharas* were wrongly incised. The intended expression here seems to be *samasta-rāja-chakra-saṁsēvita-charaṇaḥ*.

[5] The *aksharas* wrongly engraved here are completely rubbed off.

[6] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

SOME GAHADAVALA GRANTS—PLATE III

No. 5—Grant of Jayachchandra, Vikrama 1233

No. 6—Grant of Jayachchandra, Vikrama 1233

Scale : Two-fifths

22 tapa-[tṛi]ṇa-yūti-gōchara-paryantaḥ s-ō[rdhv-ādhaś=chatu]rāghāṭa-viśuddhaḥ s[v]a-sīmā-paryantaḥ **dvaya[tr]iṁśad**[1]**-adhika-dvādaśa-śata-saṁvatsarē** |[2] **Āśvinē māsē** | **[ś]ukla-pakshē** | **chaturddaśyāṁ**

23 **tithau** | **Sōma-dinē** | aṁkē=pi **sa[ṁ]vat 1[2]3[2 Ā]śvina-sudi 14 Sōmē** || ady=ēha śrīmad-**Ēda[kuṁḍyāṁ]** snātvā vidhivan=ma[ṁ*]tra-dēva-muni-manuja-bh[ū]ta-pitṛi-gaṇāṁs=tarppayityā(tvā) timira-paṭala-

24 pāṭana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushṇarōchipa(sha)m=u[pasthāy=Au]shadhipatiśakalaśasha(śēkha)-ra[ṁ] samabhya[rchchya] tri[bhuva]na-trātur=Vvāsudēvasya pūjāṁ vidhāya prachura-pāyasa(sē)na havipā(shā) Havir[bhujaṁ]

25 hutvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha pu[ṇya]-ya[śō]-bhitṛi(vṛi)ddhay[ē] [a]smābhir=gg[ō]-karṇṇa-kuśa-latā-pūta-karatal-[ō]da[ka]-pūrvvakaṁ || Vatsa-gōtrāya Gagrā(ṅgā)-dharasa(śa)rmmalē(ṇaḥ) pautrāya Ma(Mā)lā[dharasa(śa)]-

26 rmmaṇē(naḥ) putrāya mahāsāṁdhivigra[h]ika-bhāṁḍāgā[rika]-śrī-Rēdharāya[3] hīrē[4]-māṇikya-lagna-muddhī[5]-traya-datta[6]-saṁvadha(ndhē) chaṁdr-ārkka[ṁ] yāvach=chhāsanīkṛitya pracha(da)ttō matyā(tvā) [yathā-dīya]-

27 māta(na)-bhāga-bhōga-kara-pravaṇikara-ja(ya)mali-prabhṛiti-niyat-āniyata-samast-ādāyān=ājñā-vidhēyībhūya dāsyath=ēti || bhavanti ch=ātra ślōkā[ḥ ||]......[7]

34 .... likhitaṁ ch=ēdaṁ......pa[ṭṭa]kaṁ mah[ākshapaṭalika]......[Śrīpatibhi]....

No. 5—Grant of Jayachchandra, Vikrama 1233

The inscription[8] is written on one side of a **single plate** measuring 51 cm. in length and 41 cm. in height. There is a hole in the centre of the top part of the inscription near the upper margin, though there is no seal. The hole (2·28 cm. in diameter) has disturbed the continuity of writing in lines 1-2. There are altogether 34 lines of writing on the plate.

The **date** of the grant, quoted in words and figures in lines 24-25, is **Vikrama 1233, Āshāḍha-vadi 15, Sunday.** This date regularly corresponds to the **29th May 1177 A.D.**

The Gāhaḍavāla king **Jayachchandra** is stated to have granted the village called **Khavaḍayī-grāma,** situated in the **Dīrghōdaya** *pattalā*, together with its hamlets, on the date indicated above, after taking a bath in the waters of the **Ganges** at **Vārāṇasī.** The identification of both the district and the village is uncertain, though the name Dīrghōdaya reminds us of Dighwa-Dubauli in the Saran District of Bihar.

The donee was the same as in Nos. 3-4, viz. Ravidhara who was the son of *Ṭhakkura* Mālādhara and grandson of *Ṭhakkura* Gaṅgādhara and belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra* and the five *pravaras*, viz. Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavāna, Aurva and Jāmadagnya. He was entitled to all the regular and irregular taxes such as *bhāga*, *bhōga*, *kara* and *pravaṇikara*.

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[1] Read *dvātriṁśad°*.

[2] The punctuation mark here as well as elsewhere in this line and the following one is unnecessary.

[3] Possibly the scribe intended to write *Raidharāya* for Sanskrit *Ravidharāya*.

[4] The correct word is *hīraka* meaning 'a diamond'. Cf. *hīrā* in Hindi, etc.

[5] The intended word is *mudrī* used in the sense of *mudrikā* or *mudrā*.

[6] The word more suitable to the context here is *datti* or *dāna*.

[7] Lines 27-34 contain the following benedictory and imprecatory verses: *Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti*, etc.; *Śaṁkhaṁ bhadr-āsanaṁ*, etc.; *Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi*, etc.; *Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā*, etc.; *Gām=ēkāṁ svarṇam=ēkaṁ cha*, etc.; *Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā*, etc.; *Taḍāgānāṁ sahasrēṇa*, etc.; *Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam=idam*, etc.; *Sarvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ*, etc.; *Yān=īha dattāni*, etc.

[8] This is No. A'93 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61.

It is interesting to note that the same Ravidhara is called *Mahāsāndhivigrahika Bhāṇḍāgārika* in Nos. 3-4, but a *Rāuta* in the present record as well as in Nos. 6-7. *Rāuta* is merely a title of nobility and it is not improbable that Ravidhara retired before the date of the present charter and was no longer an officer of the king.

Like most of the other charters of Jayachchandra edited here, the present grant was written by *Mahākshapaṭalika Ṭhakkura* Śrīpati.

TEXT[1]

20 ....[2] śrīmaj-**Jayachchandradēvō** vijayī || || **Dīrghōdaya-pattalāyāṁ** |[3] **sa-pāṭaka-Khavaḍayī-grāma**-nivāsinō

21 nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarāja-maṁtri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāṁḍāgārik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntaḥpurika-

22 dūta-kari-turaga-pattan-ākarasthāna-gōkul-ādhikāri-purushān=ājñāpayati vō(bō)dhayaty=ādiśati [cha] viditam=astu bhavatāṁ yath=ōpari-likhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ

23 sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-madh[ū]-k-āmra-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-tṛiṇa-yūti-gō[cha]ra-paryantaḥ s-ōrdhv-ādhaś=chatur-āghāṭa-

24 visu(śu)ddhaḥ sva-sīmā-paryantaḥ |[4] **traya[s*]triṁsa(śa)d-adhika-dvādaśa-śata-saṁva(saṁva)tsarē Āshāḍhē māsi kṛishṇa-pakshē amāvāsyāyāṁ tithau Ravi-dinē** aṅkatō=pi **saṁva(saṁva)t 1233 Āshā-**

25 **ḍha-vadi 15 Ravau** ady=ēha śrīmad-vijaya-**Vārāṇasvā(syāṁ) Gaṁgāyā[ṁ]** snātvā vidhivan=maṁtra-dēva-muni-manuja-bh[ū]ta-pi[tṛi]-gaṇāṁs=tarppayitvā timira-paṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-

26 mahasam=Ushṇarōchisham=upasthāy=Aushadhipatiśakalasē(śē)kharaṁ samabhyarchchya tri-bhuvana-trātur=bhagavatō Vāsudēvasya pūjāṁ vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā Havirbhu-

27 jaṁ hutvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaso(śō)-bhivṛiddhayē asmābhir=ggōkarṇṇa-kuśa-latā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvvakaṁ Vatsa-gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavan-Āpnavān-Aurvva-Yā(Jā)mada-

28 gny-ēti-pa[ṁ*]cha-pravarāya ṭhakkura-śrī-Gaṁgādhara-pautrāya ṭhakkura-śrī-Mālādhara-putrāya rāuta-śrī-Ravidharāya ā-chaṁdr-ārkkaṁ yāvach[5]=chhāsanīkṛitya pradattō matvā yathā-dīyamā-

29 na-bhāga - bhōga-kara - pravaṇikara - prabhṛiti-niyat-āniyata-samast - ādāyān=ājñā-vidhēyībhūya dāsyath=ēti || || bhavanti ch=ātra ślōkāḥ | ....[6]

34 .... likhitaṁ ch=ēdaṁ tāmra-paṭṭakaṁ mahākshapaṭalika-ṭhakkura-śrī-Śrīpatibhir=iti ||

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[1] From inked impressions.

[2] Verses 1-14 discussed in our introductory remarks followed by the usual passage in prose occur in lines 1-20.

[3] The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

[4] The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[5] The word *yāvat* is redundant.

[6] The following imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are found in lines 29-34 : *Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti*, etc. *Śaṁkham bhadr-āsanaṁ*, etc. ; *Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi*, etc. ; *Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā*, etc. ; *Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā*, etc. ; *Gām=ēkāṁ svarṇam=ēkam cha*, etc.; *Vāri-hīnēshv=araṇyēshu*, etc.; *Yān=īha dattāni*, etc.

No. 6—Grant of Jayachchandra, Vikrama 1233

This is a **single plate**[1] measuring 52 cm. in length and 41 cm. in height and bearing writing on one side only. There is no seal; but a hole (2·28 cm. in diameter) is there about the centre of the upper part near the top margin. The hole disturbs the continuity of the writing in lines 1-2. There are in all 34 lines of writing on the plate.

The **date** of the charter, quoted in words and figures in lines 22-23, is the same as in No. 5, viz. **Vikrama 1233, Āshāḍha-vadi 15, Sunday,** corresponding to the **29th May 1177 A.D.**

The inscription records the grant of the village called **Saratavāḍa-grāma,** together with its hamlets such as Tēṭu and Āmī (or Tēṭuāmī), situated in the **Dīrghōdaya** *pattalā,* already known from No. 5. The location of the village is uncertain.

It is stated that the Gāhaḍavāla king **Jayachchandra** made the grant after having taken a bath in the **Ganges** at **Vārāṇasī,** on the date indicated above, in favour of the donee of Nos. 3-5, viz. *Rāuta* Ravidhara who was the son of *Ṭhakkura* Mālādhara and grandson of *Ṭhakkura* Gaṅgādhara and belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra* and the Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavāna, Aurva and Jāmadagnya *pravaras.* As in No. 5, the donee was entitled to all the regular and irregular taxes including *bhāga, bhōga, kara* and *pravaṇikara.*

As will be seen, Nos. 5 and 7-8 also record grants issued by Jayachchandra in favour of the same donee on the same date. We know that often a king recorded the gift of several villages in favour of a particular person in a single charter.[2] It is therefore difficult to explain why the donation of the three villages in favour of *Rāuta* Ravidhara was not registered in one copper-plate grant. It may, however, be conjectured that the gift of three villages was recorded in this case in three different plates as a mark of favour to the donee who could then send a charter separately to the gift village concerned for taking possession of it for the realisation of taxes, as otherwise he would have to take possession of the villages one after the other.

The grant was written by *Mahākshapaṭalika Ṭhakkura* Śrīpati as is the case with most of the other inscriptions published in this paper.

TEXT[3]

18[4] .... śrīmaj-**Jayachchandradēvō**

19 vijayī || || **Dīrghōdaya-pattalāyāṁ** |[5] rtē(Tē)ṭu-Āmī-[6]prabhṛiti-pāṭakēḥ(kaiḥ) saha[7] **Saratavāḍa-grāma**-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarāja-maṁtri-purō-

20 hita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāṁḍāgārik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntaḥpurika - dūta-kari-turaga-pattan-ākarasthāna-gōkul-ādhikā[r]i-purushān=ājñāpayati vō(bō)dha[ya*]ty=ādiśa-

21 ti cha viditam=astu bhavatāṁ yath=ōpari-likhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-vāṭikā-

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[1] It is No. A 94 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61.

[2] For grants made on different dates in favour of different persons but recorded in a single charter, cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 244-45.

[3] From inked impressions.

[4] Verses 1-14 quoted in our introductory discussion, followed by the usual passage in prose, are found in lines 1-18.

[5] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[6] There may also be a single name here, viz. *Tēṭuāmī*.

[7] Read °*pāṭaka-yukta*°.

22 viṭapa-tṛiṇa-yūti-gōchara-paryantaḥ s-ōrddhā(rddhv-ā)dhaś=chatur-āghāṭa-viśuddhaḥ sva-sīmā-paryantaḥ | **traya[s*]tri[ṁ]sa(śa)d-adhika-dvādasa(śa)-śata-samva(saṁva)-tsarē Āshāḍhē māsi kṛishṇa-pakshē ā(a)māvāsyāyāṁ ti-**

23 **thau Ravi-dinē** aṅkatō=pi **samvata(saṁvat) 1233 Āshāḍha-vadi 15 Ravau** ady=ēha śrīmad-vijaya-**Vārāṇasyāṁ Gaṁgāyāṁ** snātvā vidhivanmaṁ(n=ma)ntra-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūtṛi(ta)-pitṛi-gaṇāṁs=tarppayitvā

24 timira-paṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushṇarōchisham=upasthāy=Aushadhipatiśakalaśēkha-raṁ samabhyarchchya tri-bhuvana-trātur=bhagavatō Vāsudēvasya pūjā[ṁ*] vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna ha-

25 vishā Havirbhujaṁ hutvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē asmābhir=ggōkarṇṇa-kuśa-latā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvvakaṁ Vatsa-gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavan-Āpnavān-Aurvva-Yā(Jā)-

26 madagny-ēti-paṁcha-pravarāya ṭhakkura-śrī-Ga[ṁ]gādhara-pautrāya ṭhakkura-śrī-Mālā-dhara-putrāya rāuta-śrī-Ravidharāya ā-chaṁdr-ārkka[ṁ] yāvach[1]=chhāsanīkṛitya pradattō matvā yathā-dīya-

27 māna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-pravaṇikara-prabhṛiti-niyat-āniyata-samast-ādāyān=ājñā-vidhēyī-bhūya dāsyath=ēti || || bhavanti ch=ātra ślōkāḥ || ....[2]

34 .... likhitaṁ ch=ēdaṁ tāmra-paṭṭakaṁ mahākshapaṭalika-ṭhakkura-śrī-Śripati-bhir=iti ||

No. 7—Grant of Jayachchandra, Vikrama 1233

This is a **single plate**[3] measuring 55 cm. in length and 41 cm. in height. The inscription is written on one side of the plate and there are only 34 lines of writing. There is no seal attached to the plate, though there is a hole in the central part of the upper section near the top margin. The hole (2·41 cm. in diameter) disturbs the continuity of the writing in lines 1-3.

The **date** of the grant, as quoted in lines 22-23 in both words and figures, is the same as in Nos. 5-6. It is **Vikrama 1233, Āshāḍha-vadi 15, Sunday**, corresponding to the **29th May 1177 A.D.** On the said date, the Gāhaḍavāla king **Jayachchandra** is stated to have made a grant after taking a bath in the waters of the **Ganges** at **Vārāṇasī.**

The gift village was **Vaḍahōsa-grāma**, *Vaḍa-Hōsa* literally meaning 'the bigger Hōsa' which reminds us of Mañjhi-hōsa or 'the middle Hōsa' of No. 8. The village, which was given along with its *pāṭakas*, was situated in the **Mañjhōha** *pattalā*. I am uncertain about the location of the village ; but Mañjhōha-pattalā may be the present Majhwa Taluk of the Mirzapur District, U. P.

The grant was made in favour of the donee of Nos. 3-6, viz. *Rāuta* Ravidhara who was the son of *Ṭhakkura* Mālādhara and grandson of *Ṭhakkura* Gaṅgādhara and belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra* and the Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavāna, Aurva and Jāmadagnya *pravaras*. As in the other grants, he was entitled to enjoy all the fixed and unfixed taxes including *bhāga*, *bhōga*, *kara*, *pravaṇikara*, etc.

The charter was written by *Mahākshapaṭalika Ṭhakkura* Śrīpati who was also the writer of Nos. 2-6 and many other Gāhaḍavāla records.

[1] The word *yāvat* is unnecessary.

[2] The following imprecatory and beneditory stanzas are quoted in lines 27-34 : *Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti*, etc. ; *Śaṁkhaṁ bhadr-āsanaṁ*, etc. ; *Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi*, etc.; *Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā*, etc. ; *Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā*, etc.; *Gām=ēkāṁ svarṇam=ēkaṁ cha*, etc.; *Vāri-hīnēshv=araṇyēshu*, etc.; *Na vishaṁ visham=ity=āhuḥ*, etc.; *Taḍāgānāṁ sahasrēṇa*, etc.; *Sarvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ*, etc.; *Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam=idaṁ*, etc.

[3] It is No. A 95 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61.

SOME GAHADAVALA GRANTS—PLATE IV

No. 7—Grant of Jayachchandra, Vikrama 1233

No. 8 – Grant of Jayachchandra, Vikrama 1233

Scale : Two-fifths

TEXT[1]

19 .... [2] śrīmaj-**Jayachchandradēvō** vijayī | || **Maṁjhōha-pattalāyāṁ** |[3] sa-pāṭaka-**Vaḍahōsa-grāma**-nivāsinō nikhila-jana-

20 padān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarāja-maṁtri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāṁḍāgārik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntaḥpurika-dūta-kari-turaga-pattan-ākarasthā-

21 na-gōkul-ādhikāri-purushān=ājñāpayati vō(bō)dha[ya*]ty=ādiśati cha viditam=astu bhavatāṁ yath=ōpari-likhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-[garttōsha]-

22 raḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-tṛiṇa-yūti-gōchara-paryantaḥ s-ōrddhv-ādhaś=chatur-āghāṭa-viśuddhaḥ sva-sīmā-paryantaḥ | **trayartisa-(striṁśa)d-adhika-dvā[daśa-śata-sa]-**

23 **mva(ṁva)tsarē Āshāḍhē māsi su(śu)kla-pakshē amāvāsyāryā(yāṁ) tithau Ravi-dinē** aṅkatō=pi **saṁvat 1233 Āshāḍa(ḍha)-vadi 15 Ravau** ady=ēha śrīmad-vijaya **Vārāṇasyāṁ Ga[ṁgā]yāṁ** snātvā [vidhiva]-

24 n=maṁtra-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitṛi-gaṇāṁs=tarppayitvā timira-paṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushṇarōchisham=upasthāy=Aushadhipatiśakalaśēkharaṁ samabhyarchchya tri-bhuvana-trātu[r=bhagavatō]

25 Vāsudēvasya pūjāṁ vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā Havirbhujaṁ hutvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē asmābhir=ggōkarṇṇa-kuśa-latā-pūtta(ta)-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvvakaṁ Vatsa-

26 gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavan-Āpnavān-Aurvva-Yā(Jā)madagny-ēti-paṁcha-pravarāya ṭhakkura-śrī-Gaṁgādhara-pautrāya ṭhakkura-śrī-Mālādhara-putrāya rāuta-śrī-Ravidharāya ā-chaṁdr-ārkka[ṁ] yāvach[4]=chhāsanīkṛitya

27 [prada]ttō matvā yathā-dīyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-pravaṇikara-prabhṛiti-niyat-āniyata-samast-ādāyān=ājñā-vidhēyībhūya dāsva(sya)th=ēti || || bhavanti ch=ātra ślōkāḥ ||.........[5]

34 .... likhitaṁ ch=ēdaṁ tāmra-paṭṭakaṁ mahāksha[paṭali]ka-[ṭhakkura-śrī]-Śrīpatibhir=i[ti ||]

No. 8—Grant of Jayachchandra, Vikrama 1233

This inscription[6] is written on a **single plate** containing writing only on one side and measuring 54 cm. in length and 44 cm. in height. There is no seal, though there is a hole at the central region of the top part near the upper margin of the plate. The hole (2·15 cm. in diameter) disturbs the continuity of writing in lines 1-3. The number of lines in the inscription is 33.

The **date** of the grant is recorded, in both words and figures, in lines 23-24. It is the same as in Nos. 6-7, viz. **Vikrama 1233, Āshāḍha-vadi 15, Sunday.** As already indicated, it corresponds to the **29th May 1177 A.D.**

On the above date, the Gāhaḍavāla king **Jayachchandra** is stated to have granted the village called **Mañjhihōsa-grāma,** *Mañjhi-Hōsa* literally meaning 'the middle Hōsa', i.e. the middle one of the three villages called Hōsa, the two others being 'the big' and 'the small'. The village was given along with its *pāṭakas,* one of which was called Rōhiṇī. It was situated in the *pattalā*

[1] From inked impressions.

[2] Verses 1-14 followed by a prose passage, both discussed in our introductory remarks, occupy lines 1-19.

[3] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[4] The word *yāvat* is not necessary.

[5] The imprecatory and benedictory verses quoted in lines 27-34 are : *Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti*, etc. ; *Śaṁkhaṁ bhadr-āsanaṁ*, etc. ; *Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi*, etc. ; *Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā*, etc. ; *Gām=ēkāṁ svarṇam=ēkaṁ cha*, etc. ; *Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā*, etc. ; *Vāri-hīnēshv=araṇyēshu* etc. ; *Na vishaṁ visham=ity=āhu°*, etc. ; *Taḍāgānāṁ sahasrēṇa*, etc. ; *Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam=idaṁ*, etc. ; *Sravān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ*, etc. ; *Yān=iha dattāni*, etc.

[6] It is No. A 96 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61.

of Jāruha. The location of the village and the district is unknown. It seems that Jāruha *pattalā* is the same as Jārutha or Jāruttha *pattalā* known from another record of Jayachchandra.[1] Vaḍahōsa mentioned in No. 7 and Mañjhihōsa of the present record may have been near about each other, even though they were situated in different *pattalās.*

The king made the grant after having taken a bath in the **Ganges** at **Vārāṇasī** in favour of the donee of Nos. 3-7, viz. *Rāuta* Ravidhara who was the son of *Ṭhakkura* Mālādhara and grandson of *Ṭhakkura* Gaṅgādhara and belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra* and the Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavāna, Aurva and Jāmadagnya *pravaras.* As in the other cases, the donee enjoyed all the regular and irregular taxes such as *bhāga, bhōga, kara* and *pravaṇikara.*

The charter was no doubt written by Śrīpati, the writer of the other grants (cf. Nos. 5-7) issued on the same day in favour of the same donee. But his name is not mentioned in the inscription, even though there was no want of space.

TEXT[2]

19[3] ....śrīmaj-**Jayachchandradēvō** vijayī || || **Jāruha-pattalāy[āṁ]**

20 Rōhiṇī-prabhṛiti-pāṭakaiḥ saha[4] **Maṁjhihōsa-grāma**-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājī(jñī)-yuvarāja-maṁtri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhā[ṁ]ḍā-

21 gārik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntaḥpurika-dūta-kari-turaga-pattan-ākarasvā(sthā)-na-gōkul-ādhikāri-pu[rushā]n=ājñāpayati vō(bō)dhayaty=ādiśati cha viditam=astu bhavatāṁ ya-

22 th=ōpari-likhita-grānaḥ(maḥ) sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-tṛiṇa-yūti-gōchara-

23 [pa]ryantaḥ s-ōrddhv-ādhaś=chatur-ā[ghā]ṭa-viśuddhaḥ sva-s[ī]nā(mā)-parya[ntaḥ] **traya-[s*]triṁsa(śa)d-adhika-dvādaśa-śata-saṁva(saṁva)tsarē Āshāḍha-māsi kṛishṇa-pakshē amāvāsyāyāṁ tithau [Ra]vi-dinē aṅkatō=pi saṁ-**

24 **[va]t 1233 Āshāḍha-vadi 15 Ravau** ady=ēha śrīmad-vijaya-**Vārāṇasyāṁ Gaṁgāyāṁ** snātvā vidhivan=maṁtra-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitṛi-gaṇ[āṁ]s=tarppayitvā timira-paṭala-pāṭa-

25 [na]-paṭu-mahasam=ushṇarōchisham=upasthāy=Aushadhipatiśakalaśēkharaṁ samabhyarchchya tri-bhuvana-trātu[r=bhaga]vatō Vāsudēvasya pūjāṁ vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhuja[ṁ*]

26 hutvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē asmābhir=ggōkarṇṇa-kuśa-latā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūr[vva]kaṁ Vatsa-gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavan-Āpnavān-Aurvva-Jāmadagny-ēti-

27 paṁcha-pravarāya ṭhakkura-śrī-Gaṁgādhara-pautrāya ṭhakkura-śrī-Mālādhara-putrāya rāuta-śrī-Ravidharāya ā-chaṁdr-ārkkaṁ yāvach[5]=chhāsanīkṛitya pradattō matvā yathā-dīyamāna-bhāga-

28 bhōga-kara-pravaṇikara-prabhṛiti-niyat-āniyata-sama[st-ā]dāyān=ājñā-vidhēyībhūya dāsyath=ēti || || bhavanti ch=ātra ślōkāḥ || ......[6]

[1] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 141, text line 18 and note 4.

[2] From impressions.

[3] Lines 1-19 contain verses 1-14 quoted in our introductory discussion, which are followed by the usual passage in prose.

[4] Read °*pāṭaka-sahita*°.

[5] The word *yāvat* is redundant.

[6] Lines 28-32 contain the following imprecatory and benedictory stanzas: *Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti*, etc.; *Śaṁkhaṁ bhadr-āsanaṁ*, etc.; *Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi*, etc.; *Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā*, etc.; *Gām=ēkāṁ svarṇam=ēkaṁ cha*, etc.; *Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā*, etc.; *Vāri-hīnēshv=araṇyēshu*, etc.; *Na vishaṁ visham=ity=āhr*°, etc. The name of the writer is not mentioned.

No. 31—GOLLAVALLI GRANT OF PRITHIVI-MAHARAJA, YEAR 49

(*1 Plate*)

S. C. De, Bhubaneswar

(*Received on 25.11.1959*)

This **set** of copper plates[1] was received by me from the Principal, K. C. G. College, Parlakimedi, who is also the President of the District Regional Survey Committee, Ganjam. The find-spot of the set is not known. It was in the possession of Sri Balaram Patra who is now living at Parlakimedi, though he was a resident of **Tekkali** about 45 years ago. He had three sets of copper plates with him, two of which were made over to the late Raja Saheb Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadeb of Tekkali. The present set has recently been purchased by the Permanent Regional Survey Committee, Orissa.

The set consists of three plates, the first and third of which are engraved on the inner side only. The right half of the third plate is broken and missing. The plates measure 7·5″ by 2·3″ each. The engraved surfaces of the plates have slightly raised rims. They were held together by a ring which is now broken. A **seal** seems to have been attached to it originally, though there is no trace of it at present. The diameter of the ring-hole in the plates is ½″.

The charter was issued by king **Pṛithivī-mahārāja** already known to us from his Tāṇḍivāḍa grant[2] issued from Pishṭapura in his 46th regnal year. R. S. Panchamukhi, who edited the inscription, assigned it to the beginning of the 7th century A. D. and suggested that Pṛithivī-mahārāja was ousted from Pishṭapura by Pulakēśin II (610-42 A. D.). On **palaeographical** considerations, however, we are inclined to assign the charter under study as well as the Taṇḍivāḍa grant of the same king to the **last quarter of the sixth century A.D.**[3] The characters of the inscription bear close resemblance to those of the Srungavarapukota plates which were published above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff., and belong to another king of Pishṭapura named Anantavarman.[3]

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit with very few mistakes. The text of the grant is in prose excepting the three verses at the end (lines 16-20).

The grant was issued from the victorious camp at **Virajō-nagara** by king **Pṛithivī-mahārāja** who belonged to the Kāsyapa *gōtra*[4] and was the dear son of **Vikramēndra** and grandson of *Mahārāja* **Raṇadurjjaya.** The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Padmaśarman who was the son of Dāmōdaraśarman and grandson of Mātṛiśarman of the Bhṛigu *gōtra* and was a student of the Taittirīya *śākhā*. The gift village was **Gōllāvallī** situated in the **Kudrāvatī** *vishaya*.[5] He was well-versed in Vēda, Vēdāṅga, Purāṇa, Rāmāyaṇa and other scriptures, applied himself constantly to the *shaṭ-karmman* and was engaged in *yama* and *niyama*. The grant was made on the

[1] [This is No. A 58 of *A. R. Ep.* 1955-56. It was published by Mr. S. N. Rajaguru in his *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 54-56 and Plates.—Ed.]

[2] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 95-96.

[3] [We find it dfficult to agree fully with this view.—Ed.]

[4] [The name of the *gōtra* appears to be Śrīrāma-Kāśyapa.—Ed.]

[5] [See below, p. 223, note 3.—Ed.]

8th day of the **bright fortnight** of the month of **Jyēshṭha** in the **49th year** of the king's reign (line 14). The *ājñapti* of the grant was Lēnthurāja.[1]

Virajō-nagara, whence the grant was issued, may be identified with Virajā in Orissa, i.e. modern Jājpur in the Cuttack District. It is mentioned as Virañjā in the Sōrō plate[2] of Bhānudatta (7th century) and as Virajas in the Dhauli cave inscription[3] of the time of Śāntikara of the Bhauma dynasty. In the Ganjam plates[4] of the time of Unmaṭṭakēśarin, the same place is mentioned as Virajas. It is now generally believed that the capital of the Bhauma kings of Orissa was situated at Jājpur known in early times as Virañjā, Virajas or Virajā.

As regards the long distance between Jājpur in Orissa and Pishṭapura (modern Pithapuram) in the East Godavari District, it may be pointed out that the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya IV of the latter region is known to have captured Virajāpurī which has been identified with Jājpur.[5]

The following historical facts pertaining to the period and region may be noted. Anantavarman of the Vāsishṭha dynasty whose reign may be assigned to about the middle of the 6th century A.D. was ruling from Pishṭapura. Pṛithivīvigraha was ruling in Kaliṅga in the year 250 of the Gupta era. Lōkavigraha of the Kanas plate[6] of the Gupta year 280 was probably the successor of Pṛithivīvigraha; but he does not mention Kaliṅga in his grant. He claims to be ruling in Dakshiṇa-Tōsalī. Absence of any reference to his paternal kingdom is probably due to the fact that he had been dispossessed of it by 600 A.D. The Uttara and Daksiṇa Tōsalīs were under Māna rule between the years 260 and 283 of what is assumed to be the Gupta era. Pṛithivī-mahārāja, who is assigned to the close of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century A.D., was ruling at Pishṭapura in his 46th year and was at Virajā in his 49th year. Evidently he led an expedition to Virajā. In the light of the above facts, it can be assumed that Pishṭapura was conquered by Pṛithivī-mahārāja from Anantavarman or his successors and that he led an expedition to the north in his 49th year which may be towards the close of the 6th century or the beginning of the 7th century A.D. Since he had to pass through the Vigraha kingdom on his way, he would have conquered it. That accounts for the absence of any mention of Kaliṅga in the Kanas plate of Lōkavigraha. As Pṛithivī-mahārāja is assumed to be a contemporary of Śambhuyaśas of the Māna dynasty who was the master of both the Tōsalīs, he is quite likely to have come in conflict with him. It is probable, in view of any absence of further information about Pṛithivī-mahārāja or his descendants, that it ended disastrously for him. Māna rule in northern Orissa comprising the two Tōsalīs probably continued till 605 A.D. when it was ended by the conquest of Orissa by Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa.[7]

I am not sure about the **location** of the village of Gōllāvallī and the district in which it was situated.

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[1] [The correct reading is Śrīrāmalēnrurāja.—Ed.]

[2] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 203. [What N. G. Majumdar read as *Virañjā°* is really *Virajō°*.—Ed.]

[3] Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 264.

[4] *IHQ*, Vol. XII, p. 492.

[5] Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 227.

[6] Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 328.

[7] [The argument that Kaliṅga is not mentioned as the kingdom of Lōkavigraha of the Kanas plate of 599 A.D., even though it is mentioned as the territory of his predecessor Prithivīvigraha in the Sumandala plates of 569 A.D., does not take into account a well-known fact of the history of Kaliṅga. It is that, from about 497 A.D., the Eastern Gaṅgas were ruling from Kaliṅganagara with the title *Trikaliṅg-ādhipati*. This was apparently the reason underlying the change in the name of the Vigraha kingdom from Kaliṅga to Tōsali, the city of Tōsalī probably being their capital. Cf. Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 141 ff.—Ed.]

GOLLAVALLI GRANT OF PRITHIVI-MAHARAJA, YEAR 49

i

ii a

ii b

iii

Size : Actual

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 स्वस्ति[2] [।।*] श्रीविजयस्कन्धावारात् विरजोनगराधिवासकात्सकलजगदवनसमुद्भू-

2 तकीत्ति(र्त्ति)चारुचन्द्रिकासमुद्यो(द्द्यो)तितदिगन्तरस्य महाराजरणदुर्ज्जयस्य

3 सूनोस्समतिशयितशक्रविभूतेर्व्विक्रमेन्द्रस्य प्रियतन-

4 यः प्रवर्द्धमानप्रतापोपनतसमस्तसामन्तमण्डलः निज-

5 भुजविजयोदयाधिगतयशोविशेषभूषणः श्रीरामः[3]

Second Plate: First Side

6 काश्यप[सगो]त्रः परमब्रह्मण्यो मातापितृपादानुद्धयातः श्री[पृथिवी]-

7 महाराजः कुद्रावती[4] विषये गोल्लावल्लीग्राममधिवसतः सर्व्वंस-

8 मवेतां(ता)न्कुटुम्बिनः समाज्ञ[ा*]पयति यथा मातृशर्म्मणः पौत्रा-

9 य दामोदरशर्म्मण≍ पुत्राय वेदवेद[ा*]ङ्गप[ा*]रगाय षट्कर्म्मनिर-

10 ताय यमनियमपरायणाय पुराणरामायणधर्म्मशास्त्रा-

Second Plate: Second Side

11 द्यनेकविद्यापारदर्श(र्शि)ने भृगुसगोत्राय तैत्तिरि(री)य[सब्रह्मचारिणे]

12 पद्मशर्म्मणे ग्रामोयमस्मत्पुण्यायुरारोग्यजययशोभिवृद्धये

13 सर्व्वकरपरिहारेणाग्रहारीकृत्य दत्तः [।*] न कैश्चिदपि बाधा क-

14 रण(णी)या [।*] प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यस(सं)वत्सरे नवाधिकच[त्वारिं]श्र(शे)

15 जेष्ट(ज्येष्ठ)मासशुक्लपक्षाष्टम्यां धर्म्मप्रदानमेतदाज्ञप्तिः श्रीराम[:]

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[1] From the original plates.

[2] This word is engraved in the margin to the left of the ring hole near the beginning of the third line of the text.

[3] [See above, p. 221, note 4.—Ed.]

[4] The reading of the name may also be *Kuddhavatī*. [The correct reading is *Kuḍ'āvaḷi*.—Ed.]

Third Plate

16 लेन्थुराजः[1] [।*] अत्र व्यासगीताः श्लो[का]ः [।*] [बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता बहु][2]-

17 भिश्चानुपालिता [।*] यस्य [यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य]

18 तदा फलं(लम्) [।। १*] आस्फोटय[न्ति पितरो प्रवल्गन्ति पितामहाः ।]

19 भूमिजा(दा)ता कुले जातस्स नस्त्राता भ[विष्यति [।। २*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे]

20 मोदति भूमिदः [।*] आक्षेप्ता चानुम[न्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत ।।३*]

[1] [See above, p. 222, note 1.—Ed.]

[2] The portion of the plate containing the words shown in brackets in lines 16-20 is broken away and lost.

No. 32—THREE PALA INSCRIPTIONS

(*2 Plates*)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

(*Received on 7-2-1961*)

1. Gayā Inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla, Year 7

The **stone slab** bearing this epigraph is built into the wall of the Mahādēva shrine in the compound of the Vishṇupāda temple at **Gayā** in Bihar.[1] There are only sixteen lines in the inscription, covering an area about two feet five and there-fourths inches in length and one foot three inches in height.

The record was briefly noticed by Cunningham in his *Arch. Surv. Ind. Reports,* Vol. III, pp. 120-21 (No. 6) with an eye-copy in Plate XXXVI. A rough transcript of it, with an inaccurate notice of its contents, appeared in R. D. Banerji's *Pālas of Bengal*, published in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. V, No. 3 (pp. 60-61 and Plate XXIV). But the inscription was never properly edited.

The record refers itself to the reign of king **Nārāyaṇapāla** (c. 857-911 A. D.) of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar and resembles other epigraphs of the same monarch as regards **palaeography** and **orthography.**[2] The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and, barring a passage in prose at the beginning, it is written entirely in verse. It contains a *praśasti* or eulogy composed in thirteen stanzas.

The inscription is **dated** the **Vaiśākhī-pūrṇimā day** in the **seventh regnal year of Nārāyaṇapāla** (verse 13). The date falls somewhere about the **seventh decade of the ninth century A.D.**

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the passage *Ōṁ namaḥ Purushōttamāya namaḥ Ōṁ* in prose. In this, *Purushōttamāya namaḥ* (' obeisance to Purushōttama, i. e. Vishṇu ') is preceded by *Ōṁ namaḥ* which is sometimes found at the beginning of insriptions and may be translated as 'obeisance to *Ōm*'.[3]

The first half of verse 1 is in adoration of the god Murāri (i. e. Visuṇu) while its second half adores the *muni-jana* or the community of saints or sages. Verse 2 is in adoration of the Narasiṁha or man-lion form of Vishṇu described as *Lōkaikanātha.* These two stanzas remind us of the first two verses of the Mallasārul plate,[4] which run as follows :

Jayati śri-Lōkanāthō yaḥ puṁsāṁ sukṛita-karma-phala-hētuḥ |
satya-tapō-maya-mūrtir=lōka-dvaya-sādhanō Dharmaḥ ||
Tad=anu jita-dambha-lōbhā jayanti chirāya para-hit-ārthāḥ |
nirmatsarāḥ sucharitaiḥ para-lōka-jigīshavaḥ santaḥ ||

[1] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1616, wrongly speaks of Bōdhgayā as the findspot of the inscription.

[2] See, e.g., the Badal pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla, published above, Vol. II, pp. 161 ff. and Plate.

[3] Cf. ibid., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 81 and 85.

[4] Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 159 ff.; cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 360.

There is a controversy about the meaning of these stanzas. Some scholars think that these are in adoration of Lōkanātha (the Buddha), Dharma and *santaḥ* (the monks forming the Saṅgha or Buddhist Church),[1] while there is another view that the adoration here is to Lōkanātha (Vishṇu), *dharma* (law or piety) and the good folk.[2] In favour of the first view explaining *santaḥ* as the Buddhist Church, the following Buddhist *maṅgala* at the beginning of Purushōttama's *Trikāṇḍa-śēsha* has been quoted : *Jayanti santaḥ kuśalaṁ prajānāṁ namō Munīndrāya surāḥ smṛitāḥ stha*, etc.[3] The second interpretation has been supposed to be supported by the representation of the Chakrapurusha on the seal attached to the Mallasārul plate.[4]

It will be seen that, while the Mallasārul plate adores Lōkanātha, Dharma and *santaḥ*, our inscription praises *Lōkaikanātha* Murāri and the *muni-jana*. The similarity is remarkable, although Dharma is not mentioned in the latter. Since, in the age of the Mallasārul plate which has been assigned to the sixth century A. D., the identification of the Buddha with Vishṇu as one of the latter's incarnations was fast taking shape,[5] it is not impossible to trace a rapprochement of Buddhism and Vaishnavism in the *maṅgala* verses in that inscription. We may possibly also trace in the Chakrapurusha represented on the seal of the Mallasārul plate a sort of compromise between the concepts of the *Dharma-chakra* associated with the Buddha and the *Sudarśana-chakra* of Vishṇu.[6]

Verse 3 of our inscription speaks of *Bhaṭṭa* Vāmadēva while the following stanza (verse 4) mentions his son Sīhadēva and grandson Bappadēva. Verse 5 describes Vallabhadēvī who was the wife of Bappadēva. Bhānudēva, the son of Bappadēva from the said Vallabhadēvī, is then introduced in verse 6. His description is continued in the next stanza (verse 7) while verse 8 states that Bhānudēva dedicated a *vāsa* (house) at Gayā for housing the *yatis* or ascetics and also refers to the house as an *āśrama* of the *brahmachārins* (i. e. an abode of people committed to celibacy). Verse 9 contains a prayer of the *maunin* (one who has taken a vow of silence) apparently meaning Bhānudēva, in which people are requested to see to the well-being of the *nivāsa* or house. The real nature of this *vāsa* or *nivāsa* for housing ascetics, called an *āśrama* again in verse 11, is further indicated, as will be seen below, in the concluding verse of the *praśasti* which refers to it as a *maṭha* apparently to indicate a monastery.

Verse 10 is the oft-quoted *Sarvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pārthivēndrān*, etc., generally found at the end of copper-plate grants among imprecatory and benedictory stanzas, though the word *maunī* indicating Bhānudēva is inserted in it in place of the name of Rāma. Verse 11 states that, as ordained by the *vratachārins* (persons engaged in religious observances or austerities), only ascetics (*tapōdhana-jana*) who are not deformed and are respectable should stay in the *āśrama* (abode of ascetics) and that the Brāhmaṇas of Gayā should see that there is no transgression of this rule.

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[1] Loc. cit.

[2] Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 162-63.

[3] Ibid., p. 162, note 3.

[4] The representation has been regarded as a human figure standing against the background of a wheel. It, however, really appears to show the upper part of the body come out of the central hole in the wheel with its legs behind the lower section of the wheel. The figure has its left hand on the left side of the waist and the right hand holding the upper left corner of the wheel. For a late representation of the Chakra-purusha on the central part of a wheel, see T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part i, Plate LXXXV-A facing p. 291.

[5] A verse enumerating the ten *avatāras* of Vishṇu, including the Buddha, and found in a number of Purāṇas is quoted in an inscription of the eighth century A. D. The conception may be assigned to the Gupta age. See *The Classical Age*, ed. Majumdar, p. 416 and note 1

[6] The Pañcharātra text *Ahirbudhnyasaṁhitā*, assigned to a date about the eighth century A. D. (to the Gupta age by some), gives a long description of the Chakra-purusha, otherwise called Sudarśana Sudarśana-purusha and Chakravarti-purusha, and regards him as a manifestation of Vishṇu and, not only as identical with Brahman, Vishṇu and Śiva, but also as the Buddha of the Bauddhas, the Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas, the Yajña-purusha of the Yājñikas and Mīmāṁsakas and the Purusha of the followers of Kapila. See *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, pp. 97 ff.

Verse 12 contains a prayer for the long life of the *kīrti* or fame-producing work, of course, meaning the *vāsa* or *nivāsa* referred to above.

Verse 13, with which the *praśasti* ends, states that the *pratishṭhā* or installation of the *maṭha* took place on the **full-moon day** of the month of **Vaiśākha** in the **seventh year** of the reign of king **Nārāyaṇapāladēva.**

It is interesting to note that what has been called a *vāsa* in verse 8 and a *nivāsa* in verse 9 is called an *āśrama* in verses 8 and 11 and a *maṭha* in verse 13. The house was apparently a monastery, and probably not a *dharmaśālā*, for the stay of ascetics visiting Gayā. The inscribed stone slab must have been originally embedded into the wall of the building.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : verse 1 *Mālinī* ; verses 2, 9 *Sragdharā* ; verses 3-6 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 7-8 *Mandākrāntā* ; verse 10 *Śālinī* ; verses 11, 13 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 12 *Drutavilambita.*]

1 Siddham[2] [||*] Ōṁ namō[3] Purushōttamāya namaḥ || Ōṁ [||*] Jayati jagati[4]-[nā]thaḥ prasphurach-chāru-mūrttir=jagad-ari-vinihantā śrīmad-ekō Murārista(riḥ | ta)danu muni-janō=yaṁ sthi[ra][5]-saṁklēśa-rāśiḥ sphura-

2 d-amala-guṇāyāṁ[6] dhyāna-vṛittau sthir-ātmā || [1*] Prōdbhūt-ātidarppa-prava(ba)la-mana saṁ(sāṁ) trāsa-hētu-svabhāvāṁ(vaṁ) |[7] kṛitv=aitan=Nārasiṅghaṁ(siṁhaṁ) sphuṭa-vikaṭa-saṭaṁ rūpam=atyugra-raudraṁ(draṁ) [|*] yē-

3 n=ōdīrṇṇaḥ pṛithivyāṁ khara-nakhara-karair=bhēditō Daitya-rājaḥ śrīmān=lōkaikanāthō[8] bhuvana-hita-vidhātā[9] pātu yushmān=sa Vishṇuḥ || [2*] Śrīmān=aśēsha-śubha-saṁbhṛita-chāru-mū-

4 rttiḥ(rttir)=bhaṭṭaḥ sunirmmala-dhiyāṁ pravarō śrīgrāha[10] | prāpt-ōday-ādita[11]-kulē sukṛitī vabhu(babhū)va yō Vāmadēva iti sarvva-jagat-pratītaḥ || [3*] Tasy=ātmajaḥ priyatamō vidushā[ṁ*] samā-

5 sīt(sīd)=yaṁ Sīhadēvamiti[12] va(ba)ndhu-janō juhava [|*] tasy=ābhavat=sutavarō vara-dharmma-vṛittiḥ sanmā(mmā)nitō guru-janair=api Va(Ba)ppadēvaḥ || [4*] Sarvvārtha-siddhi-karaṇ-aika-nidhāna-bhūtā sau-

6 ndarya-garbha-ruchir-āmala-rūpa-saṁpata(pat |) patnī cha tasya Kamal=ēva sadā praśastā khyāt=ā'bhavaj=jagati Vallabhadēvy=atīshṭā || [5*] Tābhyāma[jā]nyāmajāyata[13] sutō='mala-

7 dharmma-vṛittir=vvāk-kāya-chitta-kṛita-saṁyamanō hi mānī [|*] Vra(Bra)hm-ōpanī(gī)ta-charitē(tō) vrata-saṅgata-śrīḥ(śrīr)-yō Bhāṇu(nu)dēva[14] iti pūrvvam=iha pratītaḥ [|| 6*] Vidyul-lōlāṁ kshaṇa-pariṇatīṁ(tir)

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[1] From impressions.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

[3] Read *namaḥ*.

[4] The word *jagatī* does not suit the metre.

[5] Read *dūra* or *chhinna*.

[6] Better read *guṇ-ādhyō*.

[7] The *daṇḍa* is redundant. The metre of this foot is defective. Better read *°ātyanta-darppa-prabala-suman-asāṁ*.

[8] Read *śrīmāl=lō°*.

[9] Read *hita-karaḥ-* for the sake of the metre.

[10] There is a mistake here. We may suggest *pravarō=timānī*.

[11] The intended reading may be *°ādima*. Otherwise *Ādita* has to be regarded as the name of the family to which the hero of the *praśasti* belonged.

[12] Read *°dēva iti*.

[13] Read *Tābhyām=ajāyata* or *°ajany=atha*.

[14] R. D. Banerji read the name as *Bhāṇḍadeva*.

8 saṁskṛitānāṁ viditvā janm-ōttrāsād=ama[la]-bhavana[ṁ*] prāptum=abhyudgatēna [|*] **yēn=** ātyarthaṁ sukṛita-matibhi[s=sē]vitē dhyāna-mārggē chētō nyastaṁ vimalam=alaṁ jñānam[1]= āsvādanā-

9 ya || [7*] Tēn=ānēka-dvija-jana-bhuvi prēma-vṛittyā **Gayāyāṁ** śrīmādēshō[2] yatishu **vihita-[ḥ*]** sad-guṇ-āvāsa-vāsaḥ [|*] jātaṁ śrēyō yad=amala-guṇaṁ vra(bra)hmachāry-āśramēṇa tēn=ā-

10 stv=ētaj=jagad=amalinaṁ kshīṇa-sa[ṁ*]klēśa-rāśiḥ(śi) || [8*] Chāturvidyaṁ samastaṁ prasaṁ-(śa)mita-kalusaṁ(shaṁ) Vra(Bra)hma-saṁnyastaṁ(sta)-vṛittiṁ śrīmantaṁ sat-kriy-ātmā(tma)-prathita-pṛithu-guṇaṁ prārthaya-

11 ty=ēsha mauni | bhūyāl=lōkō='mita-śrīḥ parakṛita-sva(su)kṛitēḥ pālanē rakshaṇē cha tat= karttavyaṁ bhavadbhiḥ sthira-va(vi)mala-guṇaḥ syān=nivā[sō*] yath=āyaṁ(yam) || [9*] Sad-vṛitt-āmala-vṛi-

12 ttibhiḥ sphuṭataraṁ jāt-ādaraiḥ sarvvataḥ[3] Sarvvān=ētā[n*]-bhāvina[ḥ*] pārthē(rthi)vēndrā'-(ndrān) bhūyō bhūyō jāchaty=ēsha[4] maunī [|*] sāmānyō=ya[ṁ*] dharmma-śē(sē)tur=narāṇaṁ-(nāṁ) kālē kālē pā-

13 lanē(nī)yō bhavadbhiḥ [|| 10*] [5]vyaṅg-ānārya-va(ba)his-tapōdhana-janai sthātavyam=atr= āśramē | ity=ētatad[6]=vrata-chāribhir=niyamitaṁ bhūyād=yathā n=ānyathā |[7] karttavyaṁ tad=ih=āmalēḥ(laiḥ) pri-

14 yatamair=viprair=**Gayā**-vāsibhiḥ || [11*] Sphuratu kīrttir=iyaṁ guṇa-śālinī sakala-satva(ttva)-hinō(t-ō)daya-hētavē [|*] tapati yāvad=ayaṁ bhuvi |[7] bhāskarō himaka-

15 rēṇa sah=āmala-dīdhitiḥ |[| 12*] Śrī-**Nārāyaṇapāladēva** iti yaḥ prāpt-ōdayō bhūpatiḥ(tir)= bhūtō bhūmibhū(bhu)jā[ṁ*] śirōbhir=amalaṁ yasy=ā[ṁ*]chitaṁ śāsanaṁ(nam |) rājñas=ta-

16 sya guṇ-āmalasya mahataḥ **samva(saṁva)tsarē saptamē Vaiśākhyāṁ** śubha-sambhṛitēna vidhinā lavdha(bdha)-pratīshṭhīta maṭha[8] [|| 13*]

2. Nimdīghi Inscription mentioning Gōpāla

The small **stone slab** bearing this inscription was originally found at **Nimdīghi** (also called **Jamalnagar**), about ten miles north-west-west of **Māndā** in the Rajshahi District of East Pakistan and about 8 miles to the north-east of the Nachole railway station on the Godagari-Katihar line of the former Eastern Bengal Railway. It is about 30 miles south-east of Gaur. Māndā, locally known as Ṭhākur Māndā, lies about thirty miles north of Rajshahi, chief town of the District of that name. It was once the headquarters of a Police Station which still retains its name. The inscribed slab was brought from Nimdīghi to Māndā where A. K. Maitreya found it in 1911. Maitreya considered the inscription hopeless for the purposes of study and presented it to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, for preservation.

[1] The intended reading seems to be °*amala-jñānak-ā*°.

[2] Read *śrīmān=ēkō* or *Gayāyām=ēsha śrīmān*.

[3] This is only one foot of a stanza to be read in line 13 before *vyaṅg-ā*°. Read *sarvvatō*.

[4] The intended reading is *yācha*° ; but read *bhūyah prārthaya*° or *bhūyō yāchatē ch=aisha*.

[5] Read here the first foot of the stanza misplaced in lines 11-12.

[6] Read °*ētad*°.

[7] The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

[8] Read *pratishṭhō maṭhaḥ*. The last five *aksharas* of the line are written in smaller characters. They may have been incised by a different person.

THREE PALA INSCRIPTIONS—PLATE I

1. Gayā Inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla, Year 7

Scale : One-fourth

2. Nimdīghi Inscription mentioning Gōpāla

Scale : One-half

The stone slab bearing the inscription measures a little above ten inches in length and slightly less than seven inches in height. There are in all eleven lines of writing, the last of which contains only three letters and is engraved below the concluding part of line 10. The inscribed area covers about 9 inches by 6 inches. The writing is neat and clear while the preservation of the inscription is satisfactory. But the engraving of the record was entrusted to one who could not follow the draft before him and therefore shaped the letters as he thought he saw them. The case is similar to that of such other inscriptions as the Sūnahar plate of Gāhaḍavāla Vijayachandra, recently edited in the pages of this journal.[1] It was for this reason that Maitreya regarded the study of the inscription as futile and, up till now, no less than four scholars have tried to emend the faulty text of the record without complete success. But we do not agree with the belief that the epigraph was 'manifestly incorrectly drafted and incised '.[2] In our opinion, it is only the engraver (or the person who wrote the document on the stone for facilitating the work of engraving) who is to be blamed and not the person who composed the five stanzas in the inscription. If the author of the stanzas had poor knowledge of Sanskrit, as in the case of the Chhōṭī-Saḍḍī inscription[3] of Gauri, the text of the epigraph would not have been full of meaningless passages as it actually is. A composition containing mistakes of language, grammar and prosody is one thing and gibberish is another and the two can be easily separated.

The inscription was first published in 1913 by B. B. Vidyāvinōd in the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, Vol. XIX, 1319 B.S., pp. 155 ff., and next by R. D. Banerji in his *Pālas of Bengal* appearing in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 3, 1915 (p. 102 and Plate XXX). These scholars totally failed to do any justice to the record. In 1916, R. G. Basak published an improved transcript of the inscription, together with a translation, in the *Pratibhā* (Bengali journal of the Dacca Sāhitya Parishad), Vol. V, 1322 B.S., pp. 387 ff. The last to edit the epigraph is N. K. Bhattasali whose article on the subject appeared in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVII, 1941, pp. 207 ff. and Plate.[4] We are, however, sorry to note that the emended transcript, published by this latest editor of the epigraphic record, very often ignores the rules of Sanskrit grammar and prosody and could hardly have been intended by the author of the verses. This may be illustrated by a few out of the many examples.

In the second foot of verse 2 in the *Sragdharā* metre, Bhattasali's emended text is : *pitr-ājñā-pratijñō niśita-śara-śataiḥ pūra-Sēna-śatruḥ s-āshṭau* which has been translated as " with fixed resolve to carry out his father's order . . . . . . with his eight associates, after having plied the enemy, namely the Sēna, with a hundred sharp arrows ". Apart from the fact that such nonsense is not expected from the pen of even a poor Sanskritist, it is impossible to think that even the poorest poet would insert such a foot in a stanza in *Sragdharā* against the requirements of the metre. Bhattasali interprets the expression *pūra-Sēna-śatru*, supposed to occur in the passage, as ' one who has filled or plied the enemy, viz. the Sēna, with '. Any student of Sanskrit would at once notice the difficulty in arriving at this awkward meaning of the expression which moreover violates the metre horribly. The expression *pitr-ājñā-pratijña* is equally unhappy and unsuitable to the metre. The author of the stanza must therefore have written something different. Such inaccuracies in Bhattasali's translation as of *śara-śataiḥ* as ' with a hundred arrows ' are of course negligible.

Bhattasali's emended text of the first foot of verse 3, which is in the *Rathōddhatā* metre, runs as follows : *svatattvatō=vadhūya saṅgarāt*. We have doubts whether a poet of any worth could have written it in so flagrant a violation of the metrical rules. As regards the interpretation of the

[1] Above, pp. 153 ff.

[2] *IHQ*, Vol. XVII, p. 209.

[3] Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 120 ff.

[4] Bhattasali also published an article on the inscription in the Bengali journal, *Māsik Vasumatī*, 1349 B.S., Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 433 ff.

expression *ardha-tad-anuja*, found in his emended transcript of the first foot of verse 4, as 'his half-brother', probably the less said the better.

The emendation of the faulty text of the Nimdīghi inscription being a very difficult job and no satisfactory reconstruction of the text being available, we are inclined to place our text and interpretation of the epigraph for the comments of scholars.

On palaeographical grounds, the Nimdīghi inscription has rightly been assigned to the time of **Gōpāla III** of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar. The rule of this king has been tentatively assigned to c. 1130 A.D.[1] or c. 1125-40 A.D.[2] Since, however, his successor Madanapāla ascended the throne about 1144 A.D.,[3] that must be the time when Gōpāla III ended his rule. The beginning of Gōpāla's reign depends on his identification with the Pāla king of the same name known from the Rājībpur Sadāśiva image inscription[4] of the 14th regnal year, which some scholars are inclined to assign to Gōpāla II (c. 935-92 A.D. or c. 940-60 A.D.).[5] We are in favour of the identification.

The inscription begins with a *siddham* symbol which is followed by five verses and an endorsement in prose giving the name of the writer of the record. Verse 1 is in adoration of the god Śambhu (Śiva). This is appropriate since the purpose of the inscription was probably to record the construction of a Śaiva shrine.

Verse 2 contains two sentences the first of which states that **Gōpāladēva** went to heaven after giving up his body at his own will. The second sentence says that the grateful Aiḍadēva also went to heaven consequently. Thinking that he was the prominent dust of Gōpāladēva's feet (i.e. a prominent servant of Gōpāladēva), Aiḍadēva died probably as a result of his body being pierced with hundreds of sharp arrows. Certain extremely corrupt passages appear to suggest that Aiḍadēva shook off the fear of his death, that he received his father's consent [in giving up his life in the cause of his master] and that he died on the back of his elephant which had fallen into a swoon.

This stanza suggests that, although Gōpāladēva is stated to have embraced death at his own will, he lost his life in a battle and that his grateful subordinate Aiḍadēva died on the battle-field fighting for his master. In the case of Gōpāla, the death at his own will probably means that he preferred to fight instead of leaving his forces on the battle-field to save his own life.

The second half of verse 3 says how the son of Śubhadēva sported as a god in the company of the celestial damsels after having obtained fame and, according to a defective passage, probably having died on the battle-field while fighting. There is no doubt that this 'son of Śubhadēva' is the same as Aiḍadēva described in verse 2. As suggested above, the father of Aiḍadēva seems also to be referred to in that stanza as having permitted his son to die in the cause of the latter's master.

Verse 4 praises a person named Bhāvakadāsa who was responsible for setting up the inscription as can be gathered from the following stanza. The second half of verse 5 speaks of a *kīrti* built by the said Bhāvakadāsa. The first half of the same stanza says that the *kīrti* was built at a place where certain great men had been burnt or, according to our emendation, where Bhāvakadāsa's brother had been burnt. Of course, our emendation would give the expected relationship of Bhāvakadāsa with the person mentioned in verses 2-3. But it has to be admitted that Śubhadēva and Aiḍadēva have names ending in *dēva* and may have belonged to a Dēva family while Bhāvakadāsa has a *dāsa*-ending name. Bhāvakadāsa, however, must have been related to Aiḍadēva and the relationship is expected to have been expressed somewhere in verses 4-5, probably in the latter. The difficulty indicated above is eliminated if the word *bhrātā* in our emended text is taken in the sense of a cousin (a son of one's paternal aunt or maternal uncle).

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[1] Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 385.

[2] *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, p. 177.

[3] Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 142.

[4] *IHQ*, Vol. XVII, pp. 217 ff. and Plate.

[5] See Ray, loc. cit; Majumdar, loc. cit. (cf. p. 167, note 4).

Since the word *kīrti* means any fame-producing work, it is not easy to guess the nature of the object built by Bhāvakadāsa. But considering the fact that the stone slab bearing the present inscription was probably fixed in the wall of a temple, it may have been a Śaiva shrine that was built by Bhāvakadāsa in memory presumably of his relative Aiḍadēva, though the faulty text may suggest that the *kīrti* was built to commemorate the death of many people including Aiḍadēva and his master.

The last sentence of the inscription in lines 10-11 is in prose. It states that Rātōka was the writer. It appears that the word *likhita*, ' written ', here refers not to the composition of the short *praśasti* contained in the epigraph but to its writing on the stone for facilitating the work of the engraver.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it mentions the Pāla king Gōpāla III as having died while fighting some enemies near about the findspot of the record. We have seen how he was followed to the other world by his trusted officer Aiḍadēva, son of Śubhadēva, and how another person named Bhāvakadāsa built a shrine at the place where the dead body of Aiḍadēva (or, less probably, the bodies of the persons who died in a great battle) was burnt. It appears that, even though the Pāla king died on the battle-field, ultimately the Pāla army succeeded in driving out the enemy, since, if the land around the battle-field had passed to the victorious enemies, it would have been difficult for a Pāla partisan to set up a record in memory of a Pāla general (or less probably, a Pāla king and his military officers). The temple in memory of Aiḍadēva (or certain deceased persons including Aiḍadēva and his master) was apparently constructed shortly after the battle referred to in the inscription probably at a time when the area was free from the enemies.

The fact that Gōpāla III died in an attempt to repulse his enemies, as indicated by the Nimdīghi inscription, seems to be supported by another evidence. Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmacharita* (IV, 12) has the following stanza in the description of Gōpāla III :

Api śatrughn-ōpāyād=Gōpālaḥ svar=jagāma tat-sūnuḥ |

hantuḥ kumbhīnasy=āsta-nayasy=aitasya sāmayikam=ētat ||

This has been translated as : " Even his (Kumārapāla's) son, Gōpāla by name, met with his death as the result of his effort to exterminate enemies. The [death] of this ill-disciplined person, who was the killer of the chief of the elephant force, occurred under the influence of time."[1] It has also been suggested that " Gōpāla met with a premature death while encountering either an elephant or a crocodile. "[2] The first of the two interpretations is of course preferable, though we are inclined to take *asta-naya* as an adjective of *Kumbhīna* which may be the same as *Gajapati* probably meaning a contemporary ruler of Orissa. It has, however, to be admitted that the title *Gajapati* appears to have become popular with the Gaṅgas of Orissa not long before the middle of the thirteenth century,[3] although that does not prove that the earlier Orissan rulers were not so called by their contemporaries. Whatever that may be, it is clear that the poet, in eulogising Gōpāla III, means to say that the royal hero, who even killed the powerful *Kumbhīna*, devoid of good conduct and therefore a particularly formidable enemy, lost his life while fighting certain enemies on the battle-field and that such a death was quite proper (*sāmayika*) for him since that led him directly to heaven.

[1] Ed. Majumdar, Basak and Banerji, Rajshahi, p. 123.

[2] Loc. cit., note 1.

[3] Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 43-44.

In this connection we may draw the attention of scholars to verse 17 of the Manahali plate[1] of Madanapāla which has the following passage in the description of Gōpāla III : *dhātrī-pālana-jṛimbhamāna-mahimā karpūra-pāṁś-ūtkarair=dēvaḥ kīrtimayō nijaṁ vitanutē yaḥ śaiśavē krīḍitam.* In this passage, the expression *dhātrī-pālana* is generally interpreted as 'the state of being brought up by a nurse' and it has been suggested on the basis of this and the occurrence of the word *śaiśava* in the same passage that the king died in his childhood.[2] But the real meaning of the expression *dhātrī-pālana* in this context is 'protection of the earth' so that, in our opinion, the stanza suggests that Gōpāla III ascended the throne or shouldered the burden of government even when he was a child.

TEXT[3]

[Metres : verse 1 *Mālinī* ; verse 2 *Sragdharā* ; verse 3 *Rathōddhatā* ; verse 4 *Pajjhaṭikā* ; verse 5 *Anushṭubh.*]

1 Siddham[4] [||*] Surasarid-uru-vīchīḥ(chī)-sīkaṛau(raiḥ) kunda-gaurau(rai)r=vvirachita-parabhāgō vā(bā)la-cha-

2 ndr-āvatansaḥ(taṁsaḥ ¦) diśatna(tu) si(śi)vam=ajatsrāṁ(sraṁ) Śambhū(mbhu)-kōṭīra-bhāra-[ḥ*] kalama-kaṇisa(śa)-rōchi-

3 rmmajaṁrī‚ijaṁrīstha[5] [|| 1*] Śrīmad-**Gōpāladēvas**=tridī(di)vam=usharātaḥ[6] sv-ēycha(chchha)-

4 yā tyakta-kāsa(ya)s=tasy=āhaṁ pāda-dhūli[ḥ*] praṁ(pra)thita iti mijñaṁ[7] nāḥ|vuddhāmasthīta[8] [¦*] prē-

5 trājñāpratijñōni[9] [ni*]si(śi)ta-sa(śa)ra-[śa]vai(taiḥ) pūrasēnasaktasāshṭhau[10] nisyajādantirā-

6 jā[11] tṛi(Tri)daśapuram=agād=Aiḍadēvaḥ kṛitajñaḥ || [2*] Svatatvatōvadhūya sadgarāt[12] prāpya

7 chandra-kiraṇ-āmalaṁ yaśaḥ [|*] krīḍati tṛi(tri)daśa-sundarī-vṛisō(tō) dēva ēva Śū(Śu)bhadēvananda-

8 naḥ || [3*] Artha(rthē) ta(sa)d-anuga-gīta-vilāsaḥ(sō) dharmma(rmmē)=dhvara-mastha(tsa)ra-gala-vāsaḥ[13] [|*] dānaśūra sasa-

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[1] A. K. Maitreya, *Gauḍalēkhamālā*, p. 152.

[2] Ibid., p. 158, note ; cf. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 167, note 4.

[3] From impressions.

[4] Expressed by symbol.

[5] Read °*r-mmaṁjarī-piṁjarō vaḥ.*

[6] Read *upagataḥ.*

[7] Read *nijaṁ.* It is an adjective of *gātram* (cf. foot 10 below).

[8] Read *nāśa-buddhāv=abhītaḥ* or °*buddhau na bhītaḥ.* The *visarga*-like sign followed by a *daṇḍa* has resemblance with the letter *ś*.

[9] Read *pitr=ājñaptō=timānī.*

[10] Read *pūrayan=gātram=ājau.*

[11] Read *nissaṁjñād=dantirājāt.* In this passage, *nti* was originally written as *nni.*

[12] Read *Svaṁ tu tattvam=avadhuya saṅgarāt.*

[13] In Bengal, *gala-vastra* (i.e. to have the *uttarīya* on the neck) indicates an attitude of submission.

9 **naṁvāhitavēśaḥ**[1] sa yayatē[2] śrīsāmbhāvakadāsaḥ[3] [|| 4*] **Dagdhā yatra mahad-bhūtāḥ śara-śa-**

10 **lyēna pūritā**[4] [|*] ya(ta)tra **Bhāvakadāsēna kṛitā kīrtta(rttir)=vvirājatēḥ(tē)** || [5*] **Rātōkēna li-**

11 khitam [|| *]

3. Gayā Inscription mentioning Gōvindapāla, Vikrama 1232

The **stone slab** bearing this inscription is embedded in the wall of a small shrine close to the Gadādhara temple below the courtyard of the Vishṇupāda temple at Gayā in Bihar. There is the figure of a Śiva-liṅga above the writing and another figure of a female deity below the inscription. This second figure reminds us of similar representations in the Gayā records of certain South Indian pilgrims edited above,[5] though we cannot be sure whether the persons responsible for setting up the present epigraph also hailed from the South. The incision of the Śiva-liṅga above the writing is interesting since the inscription was set up in the Vishṇupāda temple which is one of the most celebrated Vaishṇava shrines in the whole of India. The transaction recorded in the epigraph relates to the Gadādhara (Vishṇu) temple and it was conducted by people who appear to have been all devoted to the god Vishṇu. The representation of the Śiva-liṅga in our inscription may suggest that the engraver of the record was a Śaiva.

The inscription under study is well known for the importance of its date which has been discussed by most writers on the later history of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar, though the epigraph was never properly edited. A totally inaccurate account of the contents of the inscription given by Buchanan in his *Eastern India*, Vol. I, p. 61, was quoted in 1871-72 by Cunningham in his *Arch. Sur. Ind. Reports*, Vol. III, p. 125, No. 18. Cunningham also noticed the 'particularly valuable' date of the epigraph and published an eye-copy of it in the same work (Plate XXXVIII). In 1915 a rough transcript of the inscription was published by R.D. Banerji in his *Pālas of Bengal* appearing in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 3 (p. 109). A good facsimile of the record also appears in Banerji's work (Plate XXVIII).

The **importance** of the date of the present inscription lies in the fact that it quotes **Vikrama 1232** as corresponding to year 14 of the *gata-rājya* of **Gōvindapāla.** The dates of the records of the Pāla regime are generally quoted in the regnal years of individual kings without reference to any era. Of course, the recently published Valgudar inscription[6] of Madanapāla, dated in his 18th regnal year and Śaka 1083, has offered us the most important date in Pāla records while only the Sārnāth inscription[7] mentioning Mahīpāla I was known, since the close of the eighteenth century, as bearing the date Vikrama 1083 without the corresponding regnal year. Thus, before the discovery of the Valgudar inscription of Madanapāla, the Gayā inscription offered a date which was unique among Pāla records though, as will be seen below, the expression *gata-rājya* used in connection with the date was generally misunderstood.

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[1] Read *dāna-śūraś=cha suvihita-vēśaḥ*. The word *vēśa* seems to be original but does not satisfy the metrical requirement of *anty-ānuprāsa*. It may, however, be remembered that *s* is pronounced like *ś* in Bengal. Or, °*vāsaḥ* ?

[2] Read *jayati*.

[3] The intended reading is *śrīmān=Bhāvakadāsaḥ*.

[4] Read *pūritāḥ* or better *śalyair=āpūritāḥ*. *Mahadbhūtāḥ* may mean ' those who have become great ', or we may have *mahā-bhūtāḥ*. But the plural is not justified by the context since the reference seems to be to Aiḍadēva alone unless, of course, it is believed to indicate *gaurava*. It is also not impossible to take it to refer to several people including Aiḍadēva and the king. The intended reading seems, however, to be *dagdhō yatra mahān=bhrātā śara-śalyair=āpūritaḥ*.

[5] Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 110, 113, and Plate between pp. 112 and 113.

[6] Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 145, No. 3.

[7] See Bhandarkar's List, No. 114.

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the passages *ō svasti* and *namō bhagavatē Vāsudēvāya* ('adoration to Lord Vāsudēva'). Next comes the **date** given, **against** the background of eternity, as the **Vikāri-saṁvatsara** of Jupiter's sixty-year cycle, corresponding to *Saṁvat* (i.e. Vikrama) **1232** and falling in the *pūrva-sandhyā* (dawn) of the Kali age in the twenty-eighth cycle of the Vaivasvata-manvantara in the *kalpa* of Varāha and the second *parārdha* of the god Brahman (lines 1-3). The dating reminds us of the Warangal inscription[1] of Raghudēva, in which the year is similarly quoted as Pramādi-saṁvatsara corresponding to the Kaliyuga year 4561 falling in the first quarter of Kali in the twenty-eighth *chatur-yuga* of the Vaivasvata-manvantara in the Śvētavarāha-kalpa and the second *parārdha* of Brahman. But the date is given in the latter inscription as falling in the eternal sovereignty of the god Vishṇu and the place of the record is there likewise located in the dominions of a Bahmanī ruler in the western part of the Āndhra country which is stated to have formed a part of Bhārata-varsha lying in the Jambūdvīpa section of the earth. The idea of dating the Gayā inscription in the way indicated above may have occurred to the author of the epigraph because it records a transaction relating to the temple of Gadādhara or Vishṇu, the lord of the three worlds. He may have also been a South Indian like the author of Raghudēva's record.

The above date, viz. Vikrama 1232=Vikārin, corresponding to 1175-76 A.D., is equated in lines 3-4 of the inscription with year 14 of the *gata-rājya* of Gōvindapāla. The inscription records, as we shall see below, the creation of an endowment for feeding Brāhmaṇas once in a year on **Āśvina-sudi 5.** Associating these details with Vikrama 1232=Vikārin, Kielhorn regarded the date to be **Monday, the 22nd September 1175 A.D.**[2] We know that, besides this record, the rule of the same Pāla king is referred to in the colophon of seven manuscripts. There are thus altogether eight dates associated with Gōvindapāla. They are the following:

(1) śrīmad-Gōvindapālasya vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsarē 4 ;

(2) saṁvat 1232 Vikāri-saṁvatsarē śrī-Gōvindapāladēva-gata-rājyē chaturdaśa-saṁvatsarē ....Āśvinē śukla-pañchamyām ;

(3) śrīmad-Gōvindapāladēvasy=ātīta-saṁvatsa 18 Kārttika-dinē 15 ;

(4) śrī-Gōvindapālīya-saṁvat 24 Chaitra-sudi 8 ;

(5) Gōvindapāladēvānāṁ saṁ 37 Śrāvaṇa-dinē 11 ;

(6) śrīmad-Gōvindapāladēvānāṁ vinashṭa-rājyē ashṭa-triṁśat-saṁvatsarē=bhilikhyamānē Jyaishṭha-kṛishṇ-āshṭamyāṁ tithau yatra saṁ 38 Jyaishṭha-dinē 8 ;

(7) 'the 38th year of Gōvindapāla';

(8) śrīmad-Gōvindapāladēvānāṁ saṁ 39 Bhādra-dinē 14.[3]

It will be seen that out of these eight cases, the regnal years, 4, 24, 37, 38 and 39 are associated with Gōvindapāla's rule in the usual way of referring to regnal reckonings as found in epigraphic and literary records, while the years 14, 18 and 38 are mentioned as falling in his *gata*, *atīta* or *vinashṭa* rule or sovereignty. It is quite clear that all these years refer to the same reckoning and this is made absolutely certain by the fact that the same year in one (No. 6) of the eight cases cited above is quoted in both the ways as *vinashṭa-rājyē ashṭatriṁśat-saṁvatsarē* and as *saṁ 38*, while another date (No. 7) also speaks of the 38th year of the

[1] Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 125 ff.

[2] Ibid., Vol. V, Appendix p. 24, No. 166 ; *Ind., Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 358, No. 163 ; cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 870.

[3] Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 142. note 3.

king without any specification. It has, however, to be noticed that the regnal year 4 has been associated with Gōvindapāla's 'victorious rule or sovereignty' while the later years have been related to himself (i.e. to his rule) or to his *gata* (past), *atīta* (past) or *vinashṭa* (destroyed) rule or sovereignty. Ordinarily, the ascription of a particular year to a king means that the year in question fell in the reign period of the said ruler. In the present case, however, the years 24, 37, 38 and 39, associated with king Gōvindapāla (i.e. his reign), fell after the 14th year which has been specifically stated to have fallen in his *gata-rājya*. These years therefore did not belong to Gōvindapāla's normal regnal reckoning as their citation may suggest and this probably explains the absence of the word *rājya* in these cases. It is thus certain that Gōvindapāla's rule or sovereignty was a thing of the past after the fourth year of his reign and before the fourteenth year counted from the year of his accession.

We know that the latest date of Gōvindapāla's predecessor Madanapāla is supplied by the Valgudar inscription of Śaka 1083 corresponding to his 18th regnal year.[1] The actual date quoted in the inscription is Jyaishṭha-dina 11 which corresponds to the 4th May 1161 A.D., the month being lunar and *pūrṇimānta*.[2] Gōvindapāla must have ascended the throne after that date. On the other hand, a Bōdhgayā inscription[3] of a date falling between 1183-84 and 1192-93 A.D. shows that the Gayā region then formed a part of the dominions of the Gāhaḍavāla king Jayachchandra, though the Sihvar plate[4] of the same ruler, dated 1175 A.D., seems to record the grant of a village in the Patna District and points to the Gāhaḍavāla occupation of the Gayā-Pāṭnā region of Bihar as early as that year. Thus Gōvindapāla must have lost his hold on the Gayā area before 1175 A.D. which is also known to have fallen in the period of his 'lost sovereignty' from the evidence of the Gayā inscription under study. Since a king named Palapāla, who seems to have been the successor of Gōvindapāla on the Pāla throne, ruled in the Monghyr District till the 35th year of his reign[5] while the Turkish Musalmāns established their hold on Bihar about the close of the twelfth century A.D.,[6] it appears that Gōvindapāla ended his rule about 1165 A.D. not long after his 4th regnal year. Thus the reign of Gōvindapāla, covering about four years, may be assigned to the period 1161-62 to 1165-66 A.D.

There is a controversy whether the dates related to Gōvindapāla's *gata*, *atīta* or *vinashṭa* sovereignty should be counted from his accession or from the time when he lost his kingdom. But the second alternative is impossible in view of the fact that a number of dates quoting years far exceeding the probable reign period of Gōvindapāla are associated merely with his rule without indicating that it was *gata*, *atīta* or *vinashṭa*. If there were two reckonings relating to Gōvindapāla, viz. one associated with his *rājya* or *vijaya-rājya* counted from his accession and another connected with his past or lost sovereignty counted from the end of his actual rule, the two different systems of dating could not have been indiscriminately used as has actually been done. The people who used both the styles without discrimination had therefore no fear of a confusion which would have undoubtedly resulted if there were two different reckonings, one starting after the expiry of the other.

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[1] Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 141 ff.

[2] Ibid., 142 and note 3.

[3] Bhandarkar's List, No. 401.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 129; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 143.

[5] See *JBRS*, Vol. XLI, Part ii, pp. 143 ff. The discovery of an inscription of Ballālasēna's ninth regnal year (c. 1166 A.D.) near Bhāgalpur (above, Vol. XXX, pp. 78 ff.), Lakshmaṇasēna's claim to have obtained success against the king of Kāśī (cf. Vol. XXVI, p. 6, text line 19; Vol. XXXIII, p. 318) and the early use of the peculiar Lakshamaṇasēna era at Gayā (*IHQ*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 22 ff.) would suggest that Palapāla became a feudatory or subordinate ally of the Sēnas.

[6] Ikhtiyāruddīn Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaljī sacked Bihārsharif in the Patna District about February 1199 A.D. and reduced the province of Bihar to submission between October 1199 and January 1201 A.D. (*Hist. Beng.*, Vol. II, ed. J. N. Sarkar, p. 32) or shortly before the 24th March 1203 A.D. (*IHQ*, Vol. XXX, p. 145).

A question that naturally arises in our mind is why the reign of Gōvindapāla was referred to when it had been actually ousted by the Gāhaḍavālas. It cannot be argued, as is often done, that since Gōvindapāla was a Buddhist, when he was ousted from the Gayā region by the Brahmanical Gāhaḍavālas, the Buddhists of Gayā continued to refer to his reign in preference to that of the Brahmanists whom they hated. Such a contention is disproved by the present inscription which is not a Buddhist record. There must have been some other reason for this peculiar phenomenon. The people, especially of the Gayā region if not of other parts of Bihar, apparently had a strong hatred for the Gāhaḍavālas probably as a result of persecution. Similar must have been the reason underlying the rise of the Lakshmaṇasēna-saṁvat (La-Saṁ) in the same Gayā region apparently after the extirpation of Sēna rule in Bihar by the Turkish Musalmans. As is well known, the earliest use of the *atīta-rājya* reckoning of Lakshmaṇasēna (c. 1179-1206 A.D.) is noticed in the Gayā inscriptions of the years 51, 74 and 83.[1]

The last word in the prose section of the inscription discussed above is *Gayāyāṁ*, 'at **Gayā**', in line 4, which has to be read with the versified part below. There are altogether six stanzas in this part of the epigraph called a *praśasti* in the concluding verse as we shall see below.

Verse 1 contains two sentences the first saying that there was [at Gayā] a *Dvivēda* Brāhmaṇa of the Vasishṭha *gōtra*, by name Ḍallaṇa, whose son was the *guggulin* Vidyādhara.[2] The word *guggulin* apparently means 'one who burns *guggula* (a particular fragrant gum resin)'. Vidyādhara was thus an incense-burner in a temple (probably, the Gadādhara temple) at Gayā. The verse further states that this Vidyādhara 'created some *dhana* (literally 'money') at the temple (*maṭha*) of Gadābhṛit (Gadādhara)' for the Brāhmaṇas. As the following verses indicate, Vidyādhara deposited some money for making provision for feeding Brāhmaṇas at the temple on Āśvina-sudi 5 every year.

The word *bhaksh-ārthaṁ* (for the provision of food) in verse 2 should have to be read with *dhanaṁ* in verse 1. The rest of verse 2 states that there was an amount of sixteen *kārshāpaṇas* to the credit of Vidyādhara as annual interest on the capital of fifty *kārshāpaṇas* which must have been deposited by him one year earlier. The persons with whom the sum was deposited are indicated further below. Thus Vidyādhara created an endowment out of a deposit of fifty *kārshāpaṇas* yielding an annual interest of sixteen *kārshāpaṇas* at the rate of 32 per cent.[3] The word *kārshāpaṇa* seems to have been used in the sense of a silver coin weighing 32 *ratis*, also known as *purāṇa*.[4] But, in the age in question, the silver *kārshāpaṇa* or *purāṇa* was probably not in actual circulation, the transactions being generally conducted in cowrie-shells. As will be seen below, *kapardaka* or cowrie-shell is actually mentioned in an endorsement added to the record.

The same stanza (verse 2) also mentions two of the witnesses to the creation of the endowment. These are Padma and Viśvarūpa. In continuation of the list of witnesses, verse 3 mentions the following persons: Nṛisiṁha, Śrīdhara, Dēvadhara, Allī and Padmanābha. Of these, Allī and Padmanābha are stated to have been the servants of Vishṇu probably because they were associated with the administration of the Gadādhara temple and the worship of Gadādhara. All these people were residents of the *tapōvana* (literally 'a penance-grove') probably meaning a particular locality in Gayā.

Verse 4 mentions Rāghava, Śrīkara, Asūka, Dāmōdara, Hīdhara, Bhikha, Dēvanidhi and Dharmin who are stated to have been the protectors (*pālanakāriṇaḥ*) apparently of the endowment created by Vidyādhara. It appears that it was these persons with whom the sum of fifty *kār-*

[1] See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1467-69; *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 21-28.
[2] Probably we should not take *Gugulin* as the name of the person and *vidyādhara* as his epithet.
[3] For the high rate of interest in ancient India, see *Select Inscriptions*, p. 158, note 5.
[4] Cf. *JNSI* Vol. VII, p.84.

shāpaṇas was deposited for making provision for feeding Brāhmaṇas in the Gadādhara temple on Āśvina-sudi 5 every year out of the annual interest of sixteen *kārshāpaṇas* accuring to it annually. Otherwise they were the trustees and the money was deposited in the temple treasury.

Verse 5 states that those who would maintain the *dharma* (i.e. Vidyādhara's pious deed) every year (i.e. those who would arrange for the feeding of the Bhāhmaṇas out of the interest of the sum deposited by Vidyādhara) would acquire the merit of the performance of the Aśvamēdha sacrifice. The following stanza (verse 6) says that. whosever would stop the feeding of the Brāhmaṇas on **Āśvina-sudi 5,** he would be committing the five great sins.

The above six stanzas are followed in lines 13-14 by a passage in prose. It states that the eulogy (*praśasti*) was composed (*kṛitā*) by Muktēndra and that it was written (*likhitā*) by the *Kā* (i.e. *Kāyasthas* or scribes) Jaśīyī (or Jaśīpī) and Jayakumāra.[1] The word *likhita* seems to mean here the writing of the record on the stone for facilitating the work of the engraver.

There is one line of writing in the left margin along the border of the inscription discussed above. That it is a separate endorsement is indicated by the fact that it begins with a *siddham* symbol. This line of writing contains a single verse. The second half of the stanza states that 'these' *kapardakas* (cowrie-shells) were given in the presence of the image of the god (i.e. Gadādhara), the first half of the same verse stating that Sōmēśvara and the Gayā Brāhmaṇa (i.e.Gayāla Brāhmaṇa) Padmanābha were the witnesses 'in this matter' (*iha*). The endorsement appears to mean that the annual interest of sixteen *kārshāpaṇas* accruing to the deposit made by Vidyādhara after one year in Vikrama 1232 was handed over to the temple authorities by Rāghava and others for arranging for the feeding of Brāhmaṇas on Āśvina-sudi 5 and that this fact was entered in the margin of the original document a little later than it had been drawn up. The statement was engraved in the same position in the document when it was copied on stone. The Gayāla Brāhmaṇa Padmanābha mentioned as a witness seems to be the same person known from verse 3 to have been a witness of the creation of the endowment.

It is interesting to note that the sum of sixteen *kārshāpaṇas* or *purāṇas* was paid in cowrie-shells. This reminds us of the *kapardaka-purāṇa* mentioned in the Sēna inscriptions apparently in the sense of 'a *purāṇa* counted in cowrie-shells'.[2] The uumber of cowrie-shells going for one *kārshāpaṇa*, at least in the Bengal area, seems to have been 1280. It is stated that 1 cowrie-shells =1 *gaṇḍā* ; 20 *gaṇḍās*=1 *paṇ* (*paṇa*) ; 16 *paṇs*=1 *kāhaṇ* (*kārshāpaṇa*)[3]. Thus 1280 *kapardakas* made 1 *kārshāpaṇa*.[3]

TEXT[4]

[Metres : verse 1 *Upajāti* ; verse 2 *Indravajrā* ; verses 3-7 *Anushṭubh*.]

1 Siddham[5] Ō svasti [|*] namō bhagavatē Vāsudēvāya ., Vra(Bra)hmaṇō dvitīya-parārthē-(rdhē)

2 Vārāha-kalpē Vaivaśva(sva)ta-manvaṁ(nva)ntarē ashṭa-viṁśati[ta*]mē yugē Kaṁ(Ka)lau pūrvva-saṁ(sa)-

3 ndhyāyāṁ **Samvata[6] 1232 Vikāri- saṁmva(va)tsarē | śrī-Govindapāladē-**

[1] It is possible that one of them wrote the main document and the other only the endorsement.

[2] *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. IX. 1943, p. 233 ; *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, p. 669.

[3] *JNSI*, Vol. VII, p. 83.

[4] From impressions.

[5] Expressed by symbol.

[6] Read *Saṁvat.*

4 **va-**gata-rājyē chaturddaśa-**saṁmva(va)tsarē Gayāyāṁ** ||[1] Vaśi(si)shṭha-gōtrō=

5 tiguṇō dvivēdaḥ śrī-Ḍallaṇō=sūta[2] sutaṁ mahānta[ṁ](ntaṁ) | Vidyādharaṁ gu-

6 gu(ggu)linaṁ Gadābhṛin-maṭhē=mun=ākāri dhanā(naṁ) dvijānāṁ(nām) || [1*] Bhō(Bha)-ksh-ārtham=avdaṁ(bdaṁ) pra-

7 ti shōḍaś=aiva kārshāpaṇī(ṇā) vṛiddhita ēva ladhvāḥ(bdhāḥ) | mūlañ=cha pañchāsa(śa)d=i-

8 h=āsti sākshī Padm-ābhidhānō=tha cha Viśvarūpaḥ || [2*] Nṛisiṁhaḥ Śrīdharō Dēva-

9 dharō=llī-Padmanā[bha*]kau | Vishṇu-sēva(vā)-karau ch=aitē tapōvana-nivāsinaḥ || [3*] Rāghavaḥ

10 Śrīkarō=sūkō Dāmōdarakaḥ(ka)-Hīdharau[3] [|*] Bhikhō Dēvanidhir=Ddha[r]mmī[4] ch=aitē pāla-

11 na-kāriṇaḥ || [4*] Ā-chandr-ārkam=imaṁ dha[rmmaṁ] pālayishyanti yē sukhaṁ(kham) | praty-avdaṁ(bdaṁ) tē=

12 śvamēdhasaya ha(pha)laṁ prāpsa(psya)nti mānavāḥ || [5*] **Āśvinē śukla-pañchamyāṁ** bhō(bha)kshaṁ yē-

13 vārayēd=idaṁ(dam) | labhatē=sāv=asaṁdigdhaṁ mahāpātaka-pañchakaṁ(kam) || [*6] praśasti-

14 r=iyaṁ kṛitā śrī-Muktēndrēṇa likhitā ch=ēyaṁ kā[5]-Jaśīyī-Jayakumārābhyāṁ(bhyām) ||

15[6] Ōm[7] [||*] Sōmēśvarō=tra sāksha(kshy=a)sti Pajmā(dam)nābhō **Gayā**-dvija[ḥ |*] dēva-rūpasya[8] pū(pu)ratō dattā[ś*]=ch=aitē kaparddakā[ḥ*] || [7*]

Postscript—Fresh light on the *gata-rājya* reckoning comes from a manuscript of Jīvadēva's *Bhaktivaibhava* (H. P. Shastri's Catalogue, Vol. VII, No. 5347) copied on Sunday, Bhādra-sudi 11 in the 29th Aṅka (24th regnal year) of Mukundadēva (1559-68 A. D.). the last ndependent Hindu King of Orissa. The details of the date show that it corresponds to the 18th August 1583 A. D., though the king died 15 year earlier, and that the year has to be counted from Mukundadēva's accession and not from his death. See *Indian studies—Past & Present*, Vol. IV, No. 1, October-December 1962, pp. 105 ff.

[1] Read *Gayāyām*. The punctuation mark has been used to indicate the separation of the following section in verse.

[2] The word is more suitable for the mother than father.

[3] The intended reading may be either *Dāmōdara-Mahīdharau* or *Dāmōdaraka-Śrīdharau*.

[4] *Dharmin* may also be regarded as an epithet of Dēvanidhi.

[5] *Kā°* is an abbreviation of the word *kāyastha*. The following name may be read as *Jaśīapī* also.

[6] This line is engraved in the left margin.

[7] Expressed by symbol.

[8] Dēvarūpa may have also been the name of a person.

3. Gayā Inscription mentioning Gōvindapāla, Vikrama 1232

No. 33.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF DURGARAJA

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 6.2.1961*)

The **first of the two** inscriptions edited in these pages now lies in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer (Museum No. 290). It was found at the well-known *tīrtha* of **Pushkar** near Ajmer and was presented to the Museum by the late Dewan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda. The inscription was noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Western Circle, 1909-10, p. 59.[1] We copied the epigraph some years ago and it was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1952-53, No. B 6.

Bhandarkar observes, "It really records two separate grants, one by Malhaṇa, son of Bhaṭṭa, and the other by a king named Durgarāja. The first grant .... consists of a portion of a field called Khātakshētra within the precincts of the village Naṁdā-grāma on the west of Jyēshṭha-Pushkara .... spoken of therein as having brought into existence by Brahmā and as *Vishṇu-dharma-purāṇa*, i.e. old in [the practice of] the Vaishṇava religion .... Malhaṇa, the donor, is called *Pushkarasāmānya*, i.e. belonging to the Pushkar community. Pushkara Brāhmaṇas are at present known as Parāśaras. Malhaṇa was thus, in all likelihood, a Parāśara Brāhmaṇa. The date of the second grant cannot be properly deciphered, but it is certainly Saṁvat 990 and something odd.[2] It was made by Durgarāja to the same god, i.e. Puṇḍarīkāksha, on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new moon day of Phālguna. But the nature of his grant is not clear from the inscription."

We are sorry that it is difficult to agree with many of Bhandarkar's suggestions. In the first place, Malhaṇa seems to us to have enjoyed the designation *Bhaṭṭa-putra*[3] which need not be explained as 'the son of [a person named] Bhaṭṭa'. Secondly, the gift land consisted of the entire *khāta-kshētra* and not any portion of it. Thirdly, Jyēshṭha-Pushkara has not been called *Vishṇu-dharma-purāṇa*. The reference in the epigraph is certainly to the well-known Purāṇa entitled *Vishṇudharma* or *Vishṇudharmōttara*.[4] Fourthly, *Pushkara-sāmānya* may really mean 'a resident of Pushkara' as in cases like *Ujjayinī-vinirgata-Kūragirikā-sāmānya* (i.e. hailing originally from Ujjayinī and now residing at Kūragirikā) in the description of a Brāhmaṇa in an inscription from Rajasthan, dated 654 A.D.[5] Fifthly, the year of Durgarāja's grant is apparently Saṁvat 994. Sixthly, Durgarāja, who was not a king but a small local chief, really did not make any gift of his own in favour of Puṇḍarīkāksha but merely ratified Malhaṇa's grant as the landlord of the Pushkar region. Besides these, there are also some other minor points on which we are inclined to disagree with Bhandarkar.

The **second of the two** inscriptions forming the subject of our paper was discovered by Mr. U. C. Bhattacharya, Curator of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, on a pillar in the Śiva temple at **Thanwala** or Thāṁvlā (near Pushkar) in the Nagaur District of the Jodhpur Division of

[1] It is No. 51 of Bhandarkar's List (see also No. 55); cf. *Report on the Working of the Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, 1910-11, p. 2, Appendix B, No. 1.

[2] Bhandarkar's List, No. 5 refers to the year as V.S. 990 (?).

[3] It may be noted that the community of learned Brāhmaṇas is called *Bhaṭṭa-lōka* in lines 19 and 30 of our record. For *Bhaṭṭa* and *Bhaṭṭa-putra* as common designations of Brāhmaṇas, see above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 325, text lines 27-29; p. 327, text lines 10-12.

[4] See Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 580.

[5] Above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 172, text line 12; cf. p. 176, text line 17.

Rajasthan. A very brief notice of the record by Mr. Bhattacharya appeared in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1954, p. 134. We copied it a few years back and it was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1956-57, No. B 513.

The first inscription records certain gifts given in favour of the god Puṇḍarīkāksha (i.e. Vishṇu) worshipped at Pushkara, by a Brāhmaṇa of Pushkara named Malhaṇa in **Vikrama 982** and the ratification of the gift by the chief **Durgarāja** of the Pushkar region in **Vikrama 994**. The second epigraph records certain gifts made by the same Durgarāja in favour of the god Rannāditya (i.e. the Sun-god) worshipped either at Thanwala or in its neighbourhood within the Pushkar region and refers to gifts made to the same deity by a number of people, which were added to those of Durgarāja in **Vikrama 1013**. It is clearly stated in the first record that whatever gifts were given by people at Pushkara became those of Durgarāja, called a *bhūpa*, apparently because he was the landlord of the district around the holy place or the person in charge of the *tīrtha*.[1] The most important information supplied by the second inscription is, however, the fact that Durgarāja is mentioned here as the *Mahantaka* of *Mahārājādhirāja* **Siṁharāja** who was no doubt the Chāhamāna king of the same name.

The extension of Chāhamāna power in the Pushkar-Ajmer region in the days of Siṁharāja is an important information supplied by the above record. But the real meaning of the designation *Mahantaka*, which is derived from Sanskrit *mahat*, 'the great [man]', like the official designations *Mahattaka*, *Mahattara* and *Mahattama* of inscriptions and *Mahatō*, *Mahētā* and *Mahanta* of today, cannot be determined in the present context. Essentially, the word seems to mean the head of a village or the village council or a Pañchāyat board or of some administrative, social or religious institution or organisation.[2] It is difficult to say whether Durgarāja was the head of the religious institution at Pushkar like the *Mahanta-Mahārājas* of today, though his designation *Bhūpa* in the first inscription and *Mahantaka* in the second may point to that direction. That, however, he was not an ascetic is suggested by the mention of his father's name in the second inscription.

So long the earliest epigraph of the Chāhamāna house in question was the Haras inscription[3] (Vikrama 1030=973 A.D.) of the reign of Siṁharāja's son Vigraharāja. Now we have an epigraph of Siṁha's reign, dated Vikrama 1013 (956 A.D.). The *Pṛithivīrājavijaya* associates the Śākambharī or Sāmbhar lake, about 40 miles from Pushkar, with Vāsudēva who was the founder of the Chāhamāna house and was favoured by the goddesses Śākambharī and Āśāpurī.[4] Thus the original seat of the family seems to have been in the region of the said lake. A point to be considered is whether the present inscriptions help us in determining the date of the establishment of Chāhamāna power over the Ajmer-Pushkar region. Since the name of a Chāhamāna king is not found in the first inscription bearing the dates Vikrama 982 and 994 while Siṁharāja is mentioned in the second record of Vikrama 1013, it is possible to suggest that Chāhamāna power was established in the area shortly before Vikrama 1013. But the possibility of the omission of the name of the Chāhamāna king in the first epigraph through negligence in a private record of this kind is not precluded. That the Chāhamānas succeeded in extending their power over the Pushkar area earlier than the days of Siṁharāja of our inscription may be conjectured from certain traditions recorded in the *Pṛithivīrājavijaya*. Thus Rudrāṇī or Ātmaprabhā, the queen of Siṁharāja's grandfather Chandana, is stated in that work to have established one thousand Śiva-liṅgas on the banks of the Pushkara lake while Siṁharāja's father Vākpati is said to have built a temple of Śiva at Pushkara.[5]

[1] According to a well-known convention, the ruler of the land had a share in the religious merit earned by the people.

[2] *Mahantaka* is used in the *Lēkhapaddhati* in the sense of a clerk or accountant and is used in Gujarat as a term of respect among the Bāniyās. See also above, Vol. VIII, pp. 206-07; Bhandarkar's List No. 565.

[3] Above, Vol. II, pp. 116-30.

[4] See Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1061.

[5] Ray, op. cit., pp. 1063-64. The performance of meritorious deeds at holy places, however, does not conclusively prove the inclusion of the areas in the performer's dominions (above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 100-01).

About the time of the records edited here, the Chāhamānas were apparently feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. Gūvaka (Gōvinda) I, Siṁharāja's grandfather's great-grandfather, was a subordinate of king Nāgāvalōka, identified with Pratīhāra Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 805-33 A.D.), while Siṁha himself owed allegiance to a *Raghukula-chakravartin* who must have been a successor of Nāgabhaṭa II.[1]

1. Pushkar Inscription of Vikrama 982 and 994

This is a stone inscription containing 31 lines of writing in all. The inscription covers an area 61 cm. in length and 31 cm. in breadth. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory.

The **characters** belong to the Siddhamātṛikā alphabet of the tenth century A.D. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. But the text is full of grammatical and **orthographical** errors. Some of these are due to the fact that the engraver could not follow the draft before him at certain places, though there must have been defects even in the composition. The record is written in prose and verse.

There are **two dates** in the record quoted with reference to two different transactions, viz., (1) grant of some land to the god Vishṇu of Pushkara by a private person in **Saṁvat 982, Māgha-sudi 11**, and (2) its ratification by the landlord in **Saṁvat 994, Phālguna-amāvāsyā, solar eclipse.** The first date, quoted without mentioning the week-day, fell in the month of **January 926 A.D.** The second date corresponds to the **3rd February 938 A.D.,** when there was a solar eclipse on Phālguna-badi 15.

As we have said, Vikrama 982 (926 A.D.) relates to a grant made by a private person and Vikrama 994 (938 A.D.) to its ratification by his landlord. The long delay of more than a decade in the ratification, however, requires an explanation. It appears that the donor of the land continued to pay taxes on its account for some years after which the landlord agreed to make the grant rent-free. As we have elsewhere[2] suggested, such a ratification may have required payment of a sum of money by the donor to the king or landlord.

The inscription begins with an adoration to the god Puṇḍarīkāksha (i.e. Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa) followed by the date Vikrama 982 Māgha-sudi 11 (lines 1-3). Reference is then made to a *khāta-kshētra* within the *Kaḍḍhāra-kshētra* lying in the area of **Nandā-grāma** to the west of **Jyēshṭha-Pushkara** which is no doubt the modern Buḍhā Pushkar lake (lines 3-4). It is stated in the following passage that the said *khāta-kshētra* was purchased from Savatuka and Pama, the sons of Māināga (lines 4-5) while another passage in lines 5-6 says that one-third of the same *khāta-kshētra* was purchased from Savatuka alone. The second piece of land was naturally within the boundary of the first and the entire land thus purchased was meant to be given in favour of the god Vishṇu at Pushkara with the exclusion of a portion which seems to have been the property of a deity in the possession of a person (probably a priest of the said deity) named Vāmana (lines 6-8). In this section of the record, the meanings of *kaḍḍhāra-kshētra* and *khāta-kshētra* are uncertain, though Kaḍḍhāra may be the name of the field (cf. many such cases in the Thanwala inscription edited below) and *khātakshētra* may indicate that the land in question was recently cleared by digging up trees, etc.

The next section of the record in lines 8-11 describes the donor, *Bhaṭṭa-suta* Malhaṇa of Pushkara, while the following section in lines 12-13 mentions the penance-grove at **Jyēshṭha-Pushkara** described as the great *tīrtha* made by Padmayōni (Brahman)[3], the father of the world, and situated

[1] See verses 13 and 19 of the Haras inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 57 ff.).

[2] Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 50 ff.

[3] Cf. *Padma Purāṇa*, V, 15.

on the pivot of the earth. Lines 13-16 mention the great god Puṇḍarīkāksha, one of whose epithets states that he granted his devotees the privilege of living in Śvēta-dvīpa, i.e. the world of Vishṇu according to epic and Puranic traditions.[1] The whole portion in lines 13-19 means to say that *Bhaṭṭa-suta* Malhaṇa heard at the penance-grove, on the date quoted at the beginning of the charter, a *vachana* (saying) about the god Puṇḍarīkāksha in the *Vishṇudharma Purāṇa* apparently from some reciter and that, having heard that, he gave the said land to Sōmāditya for flowers, etc., for the god's (i.e. Puṇḍarīkāksha's) worship and for white-washing, etc., of his temple. Sōmāditya appears to have been the chief priest of the Puṇḍarīkāksha temple at Pushkara. This Sōmāditya seems to be mentioned in several inscriptions[2] in the Śiva temple of Thanwala near Pushkar. The name of the same Malhaṇa occurs as that of a donor in one of the Thanwala inscriptions.[3] His name seems to appear as Mālhaṇa in the Thanwala inscription edited below.

Lines 19-21 contain a passage in prose stating that the gift was made by Malhaṇa praying for the goodwill of the *Bhaṭṭas*. This is followed by a stanza in the *Anushṭubh* metre, in which the donor, *Bhaṭṭa-nandana* Malhaṇa, requests the people for the protection of his gift.

The **second record** begins in line 22 with the date : **Vikrama 994 (in words only), Phālguna-amāvāsyā, solar eclipse.** The time is specified as when three fourths of the day were still to pass (i.e. at the end of the first quarter of the day) and when the sun's orb was divided into two sections (as a result of a part of it being eclipsed).

The date is followed by a verse in the *Gīti* metre and another irregular stanza. The purport of this section is to say that whatever was given by the pilgrims visiting the Pushkara *tīrtha* became the gift of **Durgarāja** himself when the *bhūpa* (ruler) Durgarāja took a bath in the waters of the **Pushkara lake** and offered libations of water to gods, etc., and also *hōma* to the fire. The following passage in prose in lines 29-30 states that, for that reason, the gift was made in favour of the god Puṇḍarīkāksha. The record ends with a verse in the *Anushṭubh* metre containing a request to the *Bhaṭṭas* for the protection of the grant. This is similar to Malhaṇa's own prayer in the stanza quoted in lines 21-22.

Pushkara, Jyēshṭha-Pushkara and Nandā-grāma are the only **geographical names** in the inscription. Of these, Nanda-grāma has been identified with modern Nānd about six miles from Pushkar.

TEXT[4]

1 Ōn=namaḥ[5] [P]uṇḍarīkākshāya || **sa[ṁ]vatsara-[śa]tēshu**

2 **navasu dvā(dvya)śīty-adhikē[sh]u saṁvatu(vat) 982 Mā[ṇa(gha)]-**

3 **[su]dī(di) aikādasyāṁ(śyāṁ) Jyēshṭa(shṭha)-Pū(Pu)shkarasya** paśchimē pūtyāṁ[6] **Naṁdā-g[rā]-**

4 **[ma]**-bhūmy[ā]ṁ [ka]ḍḍhāra-kshētr-āgā(nta)rē khāta-kshētraṁ [|][7] yaṁ(yat) Māināga[8]**-suta-[Sa]-**

5 **[va*]**[tu]ka-Pamayōr=hastārdgha(t=kra)y-āgatakaṁ(kam) | aparam=api asy=aiva khā[ta]-

[1] See *Mahābhārata*, XII, 336, 27-55; above, Vol. **XXXIV**, p. 80 (p. 83, text line 30).

[2] See *A.R.Ep.*, 1956-57, Nos. B 510-12.

[3] Ibid., No. 511.

[4] From inked impressions.

[5] This is followed by a symbol which may be a variety of the *siddham* symbol, though its proper place was at the beginning of the line.

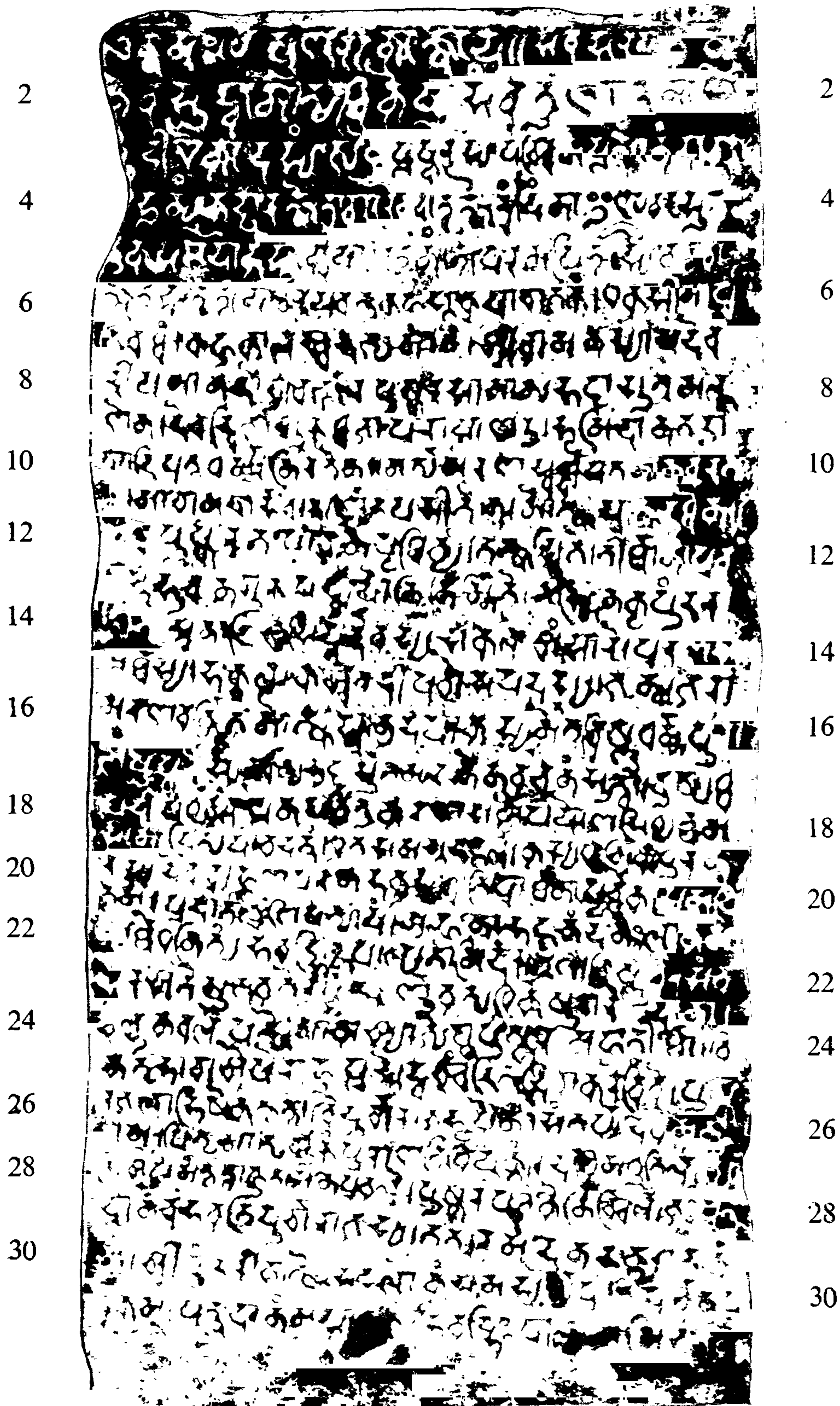
[6] Read °*tāyāṁ*.

[7] The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[8] The Sanskrit form of the name may be *Maināka*.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF DURGARAJA

1. Pushkar Inscription of Vikrama 982 and 996



Scale : One-third

2. Thanwala Inscription of the time of Siṁharāja, Vikrama 1013

Scale : One-half

6 **kshēttrasya tṛitīy-āṁśaṁ**[1] Savatuka-hastā[t*] kray-āgatakaṁ(kam) | [2] ēka-sīmā-pra-

7 tivadhvaṁ(baddhaṁ) |[2] [va(ba)hu-kālaścha(ñ=cha) bha(bhu)jyamānaṁ |[2] śrī-Vāmanasy=āya[3]-dēva-

8 dīyamāna-bhō[ga]-varjjala(kaṁ) **Pushkara**-sāmānya-Bhaṭṭasuta-Malha-

9 ṇēna |[2] dēva-dvija-guru-[pū]jā-parāyāṇaü[4] |[2] bhūmi-dāna-taḍā-

10 g-ādi-pu(pū)[r*]tta-dharmma-niratēna ||[2] martya-maraṇa-svargga-patan-ānavara[ta]-

11 gam-āgama-garbha-vāsā[nā]ṁ bhaya-bhītēna |[2] mōksha-s[thā]na-luvdhē(bdhē)na ||[2]

12 **[Jyē]shṭha-Pushkara**-tapōvanē pṛithivyāṁ taksha[5]-sthitē|[2] tīrthānāṁ prava-

13 [ra]stṛi[6]-bhuvana-guru-Padmayōni-nirmmitē |[2] [ta]sminakya[7] Puṁḍarī-

14 [k]āksha[sya*] anādi-[sa]ṁsiddha-dēvasya sakala-śaṁ(saṁ)sārē |[2] puraṇa[8]-[sa]-

15 [ma]rthasya |[2] bhak[t]a-l[ō]ka-[Śvē]ta-dī(dvī)pa-v[ā]sa-p[r]adasya |[2] janma-jarā-

16 maraṇa-varjjita-mōksha-s[th]ā[na]-dayākasya[9] mētat[10] Vishṇudharmma-purā-

17 ṇē Pushkara-s[ā]mānya[11]-Bhaṭṭasuta-Malhanē(ṇē)na vachanaṁ su(śru)tvā |[2] vu(pu)shpa-dhva(dhū)-

18 pa-dīpa-dhava[la*]-lēpana-pavitu(tra)-karaṇa-sarvv-ōpayōṇa(ga)-sidhyarthama[12]

19 [Sō]māditya(tyā)ya |[2] cha(pra)dattaṁ(ttam) | ēta[t*]=samasta[ṁ*] Bhaṭṭa-lōkasya dhārmika-dhurandha-

20 rasya dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-parama-bhaktasya [pr]īti-prā[r]thanā-pūrvvakaṁ |[2] sama[r]pi-

21 tama(tam) | Pradātā praṇipaty=āyaṁ Malhanō(ṇō) Bhaṭṭa-naṁdanaḥ [|*] lōkam=a-

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[1] Read °*śa-mitaṁ*.

[2] The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[3] Read *Vāman-āya*. The word *āya* seems to be used to indicate *āya-pada* (cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 145 also p. 149, text lines 33, 34-35, 37, 39, 42).

[4] Read *parāyaṇēna*.

[5] The intended reading is °*vyā aksha-sthitē*.

[6] Read °*rē tri*.°

[7] Read *tasminn=adya*.

[8] The intended reading may be *pūrṇa* or *kāmanā-pūraṇa*

[9] The intended reading is *dāyakasya*.

[10] Read *ētat*. The second *akshara* is written above the line.

[11] The word *sāmānya* has been used in the sense of *vāstavya*.

[12] Read *siddhy-arthaṁ*.

22 bhyarthēdha[1] nityaṁ bhavadbhiḥ pālyatām=idaṁ(dam) ||[2]|| Vishṇuvē[3] | **saṁva-**

23 **[t]sara-śatēshu navatēshu[4] a(chatu)rṇṇavaty-adhikēshu** garē dānā[5] |[6]

24 **Pha(Phā)lguna-va(ba)[hu*]lē pakshē=mā[v]āśyā[7] Jyēshṭha-Pushkarē** mahā-tīrthō-(rthē) |[6] vi(di)-

25 na(nē) tṛi(tri)-bhāga-śēshē rāhu-pva(gra)stē dva(dvi)-khaṁḍita(tē) divākarē(ra)-viṁvē(bē) | **Pushka-**

26 **ra-**jal-ābhishēkaṁ kṛitvā vai **Durgarāja-**bhūpēna | saṁtarpya dēva-manu-

27 [j]am[8] |[6] pitṛi-mātṛi-guruṁ purāṇa-vidhi-yuktaṁ(ktam) ||[9] Dadhi-madhu-tilāṁjyā-[10]

28 miśraṁ hōmaṁ kṛitvā hutāsa(śa)nē prava(ba)lē | Pushkara-patha(thi)kair=nikhilaṁ |[6] jaḥ[11] prattra[ṁ](ttaṁ)

29 dānaṁ cha bhavati Durgarājasya[12] || tat=parama-dēna(va)-bhaktyā dattaṁ

30 ma[yā*] |[6] śrī-Puṁdarīkākshē[13] | Bhaṭṭa-lōkaṁ samabhya[rchya] prīti-pra(prā)rthana-pū-

31 [rv]vakam | ya(a)ttra dānaṁ masā(yā) [kaṁ]ra[14] bhavadbhiḥ pālyatām=idaṁ(dam) | o |[15]

2. Thanwala Inscription of the time of Siṁharāja, Vikrama 1013

This epigraph, as stated above, is engraved on a pillar inside the Śiva temple at **Thanwala.** There are altogether twenty lines of writing covering an area 40 cm. in height and 33 cm. in breadth. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory especially in the lower part of the record. A large number of letters in lines 13-18 are more or less completely rubbed off while no letter is decipherable in the last two lines (lines 19-20).

The **characters** of the inscription are similar to those of No. 1 edited above. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is written in prose and verse as is the case with the other inscription. There is, however, some influence of the local dialect on the language and **orthography** of the epigraph.

The inscription begins with a *siddham* symbol followed by the date: **Vikrama 1013, Paushasudi 5, solar eclipse.** The weekday is not quoted, while solar eclipse could have occurred only on an earlier new-moon day. The date falls in **December 956 A.D.,** though there was no solar eclipse in the near past according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris.*

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[1] Read °*bhyarthatē.*

[2] There is a floral design between the double *daṇḍas.* The metre of the verse is *Anushṭubh.*

[3] Read *namō Vishṇavē.*

[4] Read *navasu.*

[5] It is tempting to suggest here *Guru-dinē* or *Gurau dinē,* though Thursday does not suit the date in question. Probably *gatēshv-idānīṁ is intended.*

[6] The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[7] Read °*syāyāṁ.*

[8] Read °*jaṁ.*

[9] The metre of the verse is *Gīti.*

[10] Read *til-ājya.*

[11] Read *janaih.* The *akshara nai* was omitted through oversight.

[12] If the word *Durgarājasya* is taken out, we may have a stanza in the *Āryā* metre.

[13] Read °*kākshāya.*

[14] Read *kṛitam* or *may=ākāri.*

[15] The metre of the verse is *Anushṭubh.*

Lines 1-3 then introduce **Durgarāja** as devoted to the gods and Brāhmaṇas, as the son of **Chaharaka** and as the *Mahantaka* of *Mahārājādhirāja* **Siṁharāja.** We have already discussed the meaning of the designation *Mahantaka*. As also indicated above, *Mahārājādhirāja* Siṁharāja is no other than the Chāhamāna king of that name, who was the father of Vigraharāja of the **Haras** inscription of 973 A. D.

Lines 3-4 state that **Durgarāja** issued a grant in respect of some land situated in **Nandā-grāma** in favour of the deity Rannādityadēva. As we have explained elsewhere,[1] Rannā is the name of the wife of the Sun-god according to the popular mythology of Western India. It is probably derived from the Sanskrit name *Rājñī*, the name of a wife of the Sun-god according to the Purāṇas. Both the god and goddess may have been worshipped in the temple in question.

Lines 4-5 suggest that the said gift of land was intended to provide for a lamp (probably, a per-petual lamp) for the god as well as for the burning of incense before the deity, offering of food to him and whitewashing of the walls of his temple, etc.

After the above statement, the following gifts are specified in lines 5-11 : (1) Kāliūaka (probably the name of a field) given by Durgarāja himself, (2) Chaṁḍōaka (possibly the name of another field) given by Mālhaṇa (probably the same as Malhaṇa of the inscription edited above) ; a *kēdāraka* (a marshy field) given by Śrīdhara ; (4) [a field called] Chālukandara given by Sīla ; (5) the *paḍikā* (meaning uncertain) called Uḍubhā given by Mōchā ; (6) a field (name uncertain) given by Yavuaka ; (7) the *āgama-kshētra* (probably, field near the entrance to the temple of Rannāditya) given by Gugaka ; (9) a *kēdāraka* given by Sāva ; (10) a *paḍikā* belonging to Āditya, given by Vāta ; and (11) [a field called] Dāḍimakā given by Sila. A passage in lines 11-12 states that all the above gifts were added by Durgarāja to his own gift. This reminds us of the ratification of Malhaṇa's grant by Durgarāja as recorded in the Pushkar inscription edited above.

A damaged passage in lines 12-13 apparently mentions a person who was 'the maker' no doubt of the inscription, i.e., the engraver of the record. His name is lost, but he was the son of Sāvaṭa and obviously an officer of Durgarāja.

Line 14 mentions **Maru** (i.e. the country of Marwar) and also **Pushkara,** while the next line (line 15) seems to have referred to the permanent nature of the grant. Lines 15-17 contain parts of the well-known stanza *Bahubhir=vasudhā dattā*, etc.

The **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription have been discussed above.

TEXT[2]

1 Siddham[3] [||*] **Sa[ṁ]vatu(vat) 1013 Pausha-sudi 5 āditya-grahaṇē** mahā[rā]-

2 jādhirājaḥ(ja)-śrī-**Siṁgha(ha)rājaḥ(ja)**-satka-mahaṁtakaḥ **Durggarājaḥ**

3 Chaharaka-sutaḥ dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-rataḥ **Naṁddā(dā)-grāma**-bhūmau

4 śrī-Rannā[4]dityadēvasya śāsana[ṁ] dadāti | dīpō(pa) ē[ka][ḥ*] | dhūpa[ḥ(pa)-nai]-

5 [vē]dya-dhavalā-chū[r*]ṇ-ādibhiḥ śrēyō-rthēna dēvasya[5] [|*] tathā cha | sa(sva)-da[tti][ḥ*]

[1] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 343.

[2] From inked impressions. In a recent note on this inscription by D. Sharma (*Varadā*, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 2 ff.), it is said that it was first published by B. N. Reu and then by R. C. Agrawala (*Varadā*, Vol. V, No. 1). The aritcles of Reu and Agrawala are not available to me.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] The name is also spelt as *Rannā°* or *Rāṇā°*.

[5] Better read *sva-śrēyō-rthaṁ dattaḥ dēvāya.*

6 Kāliūaka[ṁ]|[1] [tathā*] Mālhaṇa-datti[ḥ] **Chaṁḍōakaṁ |[1] tathā Śrīdhara-[da]-**

7 [tti][ḥ*] kēdārakaṁ |[1] tathā Sīla[ḥ*] **dadāti Chālukaṁdara-kshēttra[ṁ] ta[thā]**

8 [Mō]chā dadāti Uḍubhā-pa[ḍi]kā[ṁ*] |[1] **[ta]thā Yavuaka[ḥ da*]dāti Sā .[2]**

9 [jaṁ] tathā Mātuaka[ḥ da*]dāti [ā]gama-**kshēttraṁ |[1] [tathā*] Gugaka[ḥ] [da*]dāti .[2]**

10 vi-kshettraṁ |[3] tathā Sāva[ḥ*] da[dāti kē]**dārakaṁ | [2] tathā Vāta[ḥ da*]dāti** [Ā]-

11 ditya-satka-paḍikā[ṁ*] |[1] ta[thā Si]la[ḥ*] **[da*]dāti Dāḍimakāṁ(kām) ē-**

12 tat=sarvvaṁ **Durggarājēna** [dānēna yu]**ktāḥ(ktam) | attra k[ārā]-**

13 pakaḥ[3] **Durggarāj**-[ō]................[ṇa]ḥ **[Sā]vaṭa-sutaḥ**

14 **Maruḥ Pushkara**..........

15 chaṁdra-pu(pū)[rvvaḥ]................

16 hubhiḥ(bhi)[r=vvasudhā][4]........

17 [ta]sya tadā[5]..............

18 sā(śā)sanaṁ..............

19 ....

20 ....

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[1] The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[2] One letter is lost here.

[3] Correctly, *kārakaḥ.*

[4] This is part of the passage *Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ* |

[5] This is part of the passage *yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam* ||

MGIPC—S1—12 DGA/60—22-11-63—750.

The material for this Part was sent to the Press by Dr. Sircar before his retirement in June 1962.

G. S. GAI,
Government Epigraphist for India.

No. 34—SILVER COIN OF VASISHTHI-PUTRA SATAKARNI

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 29.3.1961)

Two silver coins of the Śātavāhana king Vāsishṭhī-putra Śātakarṇi[1] (second century A.D.), bearing his bust on the obverse. have so far been known. Like similar coins of Gautamī-putra Yajña-Śātakarṇi, they were imitated from the silver issues of the Śakas of Western India and were apparently meant for circulation in the northernmost areas of the Śātavāhana dominions, which had been recently reconquered from the Śakas. The first of the two coins of Vāsishṭhī-putra Śātakarṇi was published by A.S. Altekar in *JNSI*, Vol. XI, pp. 59 ff., Plate II, Nos. 5-6, and the second by Dinkar Rao in the same journal, Vol. XXI, pp. 9-12, Plate I, No. 4, with Altekar's comments at pp. 13-17.

The legends on the obverse and reverse of the first coin (size—round. ·6″ ; weight—28 grains) were read by Altekar respectively as *raño Vasiṭhī-putasa [Sātakaṇisa]*[2] and *Ara[kasha Vāsiṭhī-putasha hi]ru-Hatakaṇisha* though the reading is admittedly tentative and the illustrations of the coin do not enable us to check his reading of most of the letters. But, although Altekar thought otherwise, the legends and symbols, etc., on both the silver coins of Vāsishṭhī-putra Śātakarṇi appear to be **identical.**

The published illustration of the **second coin,** now in the possession of Mr. Rao of Hyderabad, is quite unsatisfactory. But recently Mr. A. N. Lahiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant in my office, visited Hyderabad where he met Rao and prepared some good plaster casts of the coin, which he kindly placed at my disposal for examination. It is a matter of gratification to me that I am now in a position to point out the errors in the published readings of the legends on this coin and in their interpretations. Its **reverse legend,** which has not yet been correctly read and interpreted, is of **great importance** as it not only helps us in restoring a damaged word in the legend on the reverse of the similar coins of Yajña-Śātakarṇi[3] but also throws new light on the **Dravidian language and alphabet** of about the second century A.D. Two eye-copies of this legend, one prepared by Rao and another by Altekar, have been published in *JNSI*, Vol. XXI, p. 13. Neither of them is true to the original, though Rao's copy is closer to the original than Altekar's.

The **obverse** of the coin exhibits the bust of the king to right and circular legend in normal Brāhmī characters of about the second century A.D., above the back of the head and to the front of the bust. This legend was read by Rao as *siri-Sātakaṇisa raño Vāsiṭhi-putasa.* Although the arrangement of the words in the legend looks like the above, we are inclined to read the right

[1] This name is spelt as both *Śātakarni* and *Sātakarṇi* while the name of the family, to which the kings bearing this name belonged, is spelt both as *Śātavāhana* and as *Sātavāhana.*

[2] Probably *siri* has been omitted before the name by Altekar. Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

[3] The legends on the obverse and reverse of Yajña-Śātakarṇi's coins were read by Rapson as *raño Gotama-putasa siri-Yaña-Sātakaṇisa* and...........*ṇasha Gotama-putasha hiru-Yaña-Hatakaṇisha* respectively *Catalogue*, p. 45).

half beginning from XII (*raño Vāsiṭhī-putasa*) before the left half ending at XII (*siri-Sātakaṇisa*) since this is the case with the reverse legend. We therefore read *raño Vāsiṭhī-putasa siri-Sātakaṇisa* (Sanskrit *rājñaḥ Vāsishṭhī-putrasya śrī-Śātakarṇeḥ*), '[This is the coin] of the illustrious Śātakarṇi, the son of Vāsishṭhī (i.e., a lady belonging to a family of the Vāsishṭha *gotra*).' This is also what Rapson has done in resepct of the obverse and reverse legends of the silver coins of Yajña-Śātakarṇi.[1]

The **reverse** of the coin exhibits a number of symbols and circular legend in Southern Brāhmī characters along the border. This legend has been read by Rao as *Arihaṇasha vāla-daṇḍa-dhā-Kaṇasha tiru-Hātakaṇisha.* He explains *arihaṇa* as 'the killer of enemies', *vāla-daṇḍa-dhā* as 'one who holds swords and sceptre' and *Kaṇa* as standing for *Kṛishṇa* which, in his opinion, may have been a secondary name of the king in question or indicate 'one who is like Kṛishṇa'. The difficulty in accepting Rao's interpretation of *vāla-daṇḍa-dhā* has been pointed out by Altekar. But the said reading of the passage is also impossible and Rao's reading and interpretation of *arihaṇa* and his explanation of *Kaṇa* are equally unsatisfactory.

Altekar reads the legend on the reverse of the coin as *Tiru-Hātakaṇisha arahaṇasha Vāhiṭha-Shathakaṇasha* explained as '[Coin of] the worshipful Vāhiṭha (or Vāhiṭhī, i.e., Vāsishṭhīputra) Śātakarṇi of the respectable Śātakarṇi [dynasty]'. But this is as **unsatisfactory** as Rao's reading and interpretation.

In the first place, it is impossible to believe that the same name has been written here once as *Hātakaṇi* and for a second time as *Shāthakaṇi.*

Secondly, it is not explained why, in *Shathakaṇasha, sh* at the beginning has a form altogether different from that of the same letter at the end.

Thirdly, the name of the family, to which the issuer of the coin belonged, was Śātavāhana and not Śātakarṇi.

Fourthly, Altekar says, 'The legend also shows the Tamilian practice of changing *ta* into *tha* in the word *Shāthakaṇisha*'. But his reference to a Tamil practice in support of the change of *t* to *th* is due entirely to misunderstanding. The Tamil alphabet has only *t* for the four letters *t, th, d* and *dh* of the Sanskritic alphabet and likewise *ṭ* for *ṭ, ṭh, ḍ* and *ḍh*, though intervocal *t* and *ṭ* are pronounced as *d* and *ḍ* respectively. The Tamil practice, which Altekar has misunderstood, is really that, when Tamil words or names are written in Roman characters, the sounds of *t* and *d* are reproduced respectively by *th* and *dh* only to distinguish them from those of *ṭ* and *ḍ* which are written in English by *t* and *d* respectively.[2]

Fifthly, in Altekar's opinion, *Vāhiṭha* or *Vāhiṭhī* is an abridged form of *Vāsishṭhī-putra.* Since, however, the words *Vāsishṭha* or *Vāsishṭhī* (a man or woman belonging to the Vāsishṭha *gotra*) and *Vāsishṭhī-putra* (a man born of a lady belonging to a family of the Vāsishṭha *gotra*) have significantly different meanings, we have doubts whether a sensible and responsible mint-master could have used the former in the sense of the latter.

Sixthly, Altekar's interpretation of *arahaṇa* as *arhaṇa*, 'the worshipful one', does not appear to be happy, because *arhaṇa* really means 'worship' and not 'worshipful'.

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[1] *Catalogue*, p. 45.

[2] Altekar thinks that the mint-officer hailed from the Tamil country and that, after having spelt *Sātakaṇisa* as *Shāthakaṇisha*, 'he then perhaps realised that that was not the pronunciation in his master's dominions and so he spelt the word the second time as *Hātakaṇisha*' (op. cit., p. 15). Apart from the quite unconvincing nature of the conjecture, it may be pointed out that, in the legend as read by Altekar and quoted above, the word *Hātakaṇisha* appears first and *Shāthakaṇisha* later.

In our opinion, Rapson was perfectly right in thinking that the legends on the obverse and reverse of the similar coins of Yajña-Śātakarṇi differ only in script and phonology but are identical in contents[1] while Altekar is certainly wrong in thinking that the legends of the present coin offer a phenomenon quite different from those of the coins of Yajña-Śātakarṇi and that the obverse legend on it ' is considerably different ' in contents from the legend on the reverse.[2]

The passage, which both Rao and Altekar have read wrongly, is quite clearly *Vah[i]ṭṭi-mākaṇasha* and is certainly not *vāladaṇḍadhā-Kaṇasha* or *Vāhitha-Shathakaṇasha* which are both meaningless.

As we have seen, the obverse legend of the coin under study reads *raño Vāsiṭhī-putasa siri-Sātakaṇisa* (Sanskrit *rājñaḥ Vāsishṭhī-putrasya śrī-Śātakarṇēḥ*). ' [This is the coin] of the illustrious king Śātakarṇi, son of Vāsishṭhī '. There is no doubt that this legend in Sanskritic Prakrit was translated into Dravidian Prakrit in the reverse legend which in our opinion clearly reads : *arahaṇasha Vahiṭṭi-mākaṇasha tiru-Hātakaṇisha*. In this, *sha* is used for *sa* to indicate the sixth case-ending while *arahaṇa* and *mākaṇa* are derived from **Dravidian words** meaning ' king ' and ' son ' respectively. Rapson rightly conjectured that the word in five or six syllables on the reverse of Yajña-Śātakarṇi's coins, which Bhagwanlal Indraji wrongly read as *Chaturapaṇasha* though he was himself sure only of its last two *aksharas* (viz. *ṇasha*), was probably equivalent to *raño*.[3]

The first of the two words is equivalent to Tamil and Malayalam *arachaṉ* or *araśaṉ* ; Kannaḍa *arasa, arasu* ; Tuḷu *arasu*. In this word, viz. *arahaṇa*, *ha* represents the change of *s* or *ś* to *h* as in *Sātakarṇi* or *Śātakarṇi* modified to *Hātakaṇi* ; cf. also the change of Sanskrit *śrī*=Prakrit *siri* to *hiru* on the coins of Yajña-Śātakarṇi. The second word stands for Tamil and Malayalam *makaṉ* (*magaṉ*), *maka*(*maga*) ; Kannaḍa *magan, maga, magam* ; Tuḷu *mage*. It will be seen that the Dravidian words ending in a final consonant have been made to end in *a* as in cases like Tamil *nīr* and *mīṉ* adopted in Sanskrit as *nīra* and *mīna*, the latter probably coming back to Tamil as *mīṉam* (cf. Telugu *nīru, nīram*; *mīnu, mīnam*). In *māgaṇa*, both *mā* and *ṇa* are intentional. It may be pointed out that the word *arahaṇa* is spelt with *ṇ* also on the coins of Yajña-Śātakarṇi. But, even if *ṇ* is regarded as due to a Prakrit convention, the length of the vowel in *mā* may be assigned to the original pronunciation of the word.[4]

Vahiṭṭi is of course the same as Sanskrit *Vāsishṭhī*=Prakrit *Vāhiṭṭhī* with the absence of aspiration while *tiru* is the modification of Sanskrit *śrī*=Prakrit *siri* as used in modern Tamil. The word *tiru*, as we have seen, is written as *hiru* in the reverse legend of Yajña-Śātakarṇi's coins. As regards *śrī=siri=hiru*, Rapson drew our attention to *Sāta=Sāta=Hāla* and *Śakti=Haku* as known from literary and epigraphic records relating to the Śātavāhana family.

It is interesting to note that the originals of neither of the two words of Dravidian origin used in the legend, viz., *araśaṉ=arahaṇa* and *makaṉ=mākaṇa*, are now traceable in Telugu[5] which appears to have been the mother-tongue of the Sātavāhana kings called Andhra in the Purāṇas. That the phonology and vocabulary of Telugu were much nearer Tamil in the second century A.D., seems also to be clear from the occurrence of the two words in the Prakrit legend on the coin

[1] Cf. *Catalogue*, pp. xc–xci. [2] *JNSI*, Vol. XXI, p. 15.

[3] *Catalogue*, p. xci.

[4] A Dravidian palaeographical characteristic, indicated by the Bhattiprolu inscriptions (above, Vol. II, p. 324), is the representation of the consonant with the inherent *a* by an *ā-mātrā*-like sign except when it was endowed with an *anusvāra*. We do not think that this has any bearing on the length of *mā* especially in view of the occurrence of *mākaṉ* in a Brāhmī inscription in the Uṇḍāṅkal cave in the Madurai District (*Proc. Trans. 3rd Or. Conf.*, Madras, 1924, p. 299).

[5] Cf., however, *maganru* used in the sense of ' son ' in Telugu inscriptions (*SII*, Vol. X, Nos. 602, 632, etc.). As regards *araśaṉ*, A. N. Narasimhia (*A Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese Inscriptions*, p. 277) gives *arasu* as a Telugu word without quoting any reference.

under study. It is further clear, as already known, that Tamil has retained some of the characteristics of the original Dravidian language till the present time while greater impact of Sanskrit has caused their disappearance from Telugu.

The **palaeography** of the reverse legend exhibits close resemblance of the characters with those of the reverse legend on the similar coins of Yajña-Śātakarṇi. The letters that are written in forms different from those of normal Brāhmī are *m*, *sh* and *h*. The letter *m* as reproduced by Rapson from Yajña-Śātakarṇi's coins has a shorter and more angular form than the same letter on the present coin; but this longish form with the roundish lower limb is remarkably similar to the form of *m* as found in the Arittapatti and Arikamedu inscriptions.[1] It is difficult to say whether the modified forms of the letters, at least of *h* and *sh* which did not exist in the Dravidian language, were used to indicate a modification in the sounds. We have seen that *s* in Prakrit *siri* has been represented by *h* and *t* while, in Prakrit *Sātakaṇisa*, the first *s* is represented by *h* and the second by *sh* although the sound of neither existed in Dravidian. It is not impossible that the letter *h* represented a half aspirate and *sh* the Dravidian *ch*=*ś* (a sound like *ts*).

But the more important **palaeographical feature** of the legend under study is the dot placed to the right of *ṭ* in *Vahaṭṭi* to indicate final *ṭ*. This sign, called *pulli* in Tamil and now universally used only in Tamil amongst the alphabets of the Dravidian group of languages, is indicated by a dot above the consonant. It is found in Tamil inscriptions only rarely from about the 7th century A.D.[2] That the fashion of indicating the final consonant by a *pulli* was known in Tamil writing in still earlier times is indicated by the *Tolkāppiyam* which does not appear to belong to a date later than the 5th century A.D.[3] But the present coin not only shows that the fashion was known in the second century A.D. but also that it was originally used in writing other languages of the Dravidian group such as early Telugu. Although the *pulli* is now put above a letter in Tamil writing, the dot is placed to the right of the consonant in the legend of our coin probably to distinguish this sign of a final consonant from the usual *anusvāra* mark. Thus the *pulli* may have been put to the right of the consonant in the early centuries of the Christian era.

King **Vāsishṭhī-putra Śātakarṇi** who issued the coin under study is known from the Kanheri inscription[4] of his queen who was a daughter of the Śaka *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman I (c. 130-50 A.D.). As we have suggested elsewhere,[5] he was apparently a co-uterine brother of Vāsishṭhī-putra Puḷumāvi, son of Gautamī-putra Śātakarṇi (c. 106-30 A.D.), and was not identical with Puḷumāvi as supposed by Rapson. Because his mention in the Purāṇas is not quite clear, we formerly supposed that he may have been a viceroy of his father-in-law Rudradāman I in Aparānta (Northern Konkan) or, if he ruled as a king, the said tract may have been conquered by him after Rudradāman's death.[6] But the issue of the coins would suggest that he ruled as a king for some time. Since he appears to have succeeded in conquering the Aparānta area of the Śaka kingdom after the middle of the second century A.D., he must have been a successor of Puḷumāvi.[7] Before the discovery of Vāsishṭhī-putra Śātakarṇi's silver coins, the Śātavāhana conquest

[1] See *Ancient India*, No. 2, p. 110 ; cf. the shorter form of the letter with roundish bottom in the inscriptions from Madurai, Sittannavasal and various places in the Tirunelveli District other than Arittapatti.

[2] See T. N. Subramaniam, *SITI*, Vol. III, Part ii, pp. 1540-41.

[3] See *Sūtra* 15 stating that 'a pure consonant will have a dot added to it'; cf. T. N. Subramaniam, op. cit., p. 1508.

[4] See Rapson, op. cit., p. li, No. 17.

[5] *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 205.

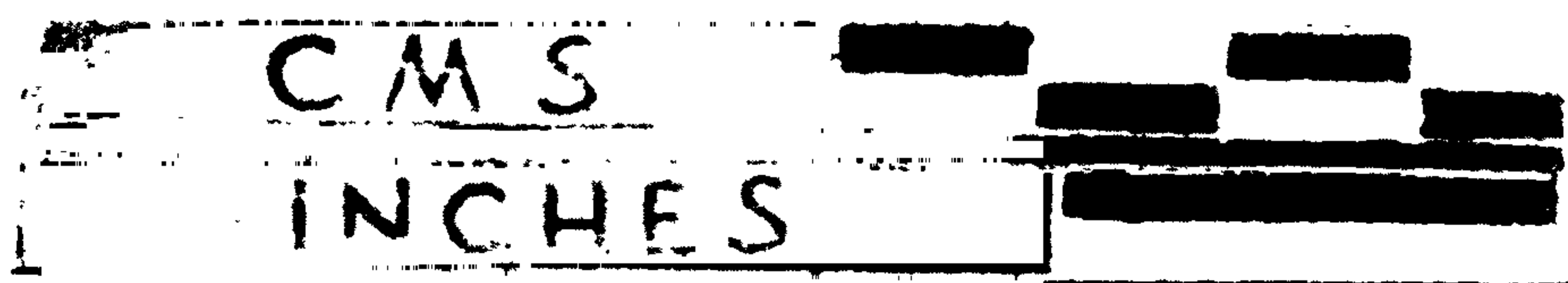
[6] Loc. cit.

[7] If the name of Puḷumāvi has been correctly read on a silver coin of the same type as ours published in *JNSI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 1-3, Plate I, Nos. 1-2, it is possible to ascribe the reconquest of Aparānta to Puḷumāvi (c. 130-59 A.D.) himself about the end of his career. Vāsishṭhī-putra Śātakarṇi may be identical with Puḷumāvi's successor Śivaśrī Śātakarṇi of the Purāṇas and Vāsishṭhī-putra Śivaśrī Śātakarṇi of coins. Cf. Rapson, op. cit., pp. lxvii (No. 25), 29.

SILVER COIN OF VASISHTHI-PUTRA SATAKARNI

Enlarged





(from Photograph)

C.M.S

INCHES

(from Photograph)

EYE COPY OF REVERSE LEGEND

of Aparānta from the successors of Rudradāman I was ascribed to Yajña-Śātakarṇi[1] who ruled about the close of the second century A.D. It should also be remembered that the Śaka-type silver coins of the successors of Gautamī-putra Śātakarṇi may have been meant for circulation primarily in the Nasik-Poona region, which had been conquered by that king from the Kshaharāta-Śakas but was not reconquered by the Kārdamaka-Śakas, though Aparānta also very soon passed once again to the Later Śātavāhanas.

The use of the Dravidian script and the Dravidian Prakrit (resembling Tamil more than Telugu) in the legend of this and a few other Śātavāhana silver issues belonging to Yajña-Śātakarṇi is very interesting. As we have seen, the Śātavāhana kings were Andhras while wide areas of the present-day Telugu-speaking tract inhabited by the people called Āndhras formed parts of their dominions. They may or may not have ruled over any part of the land where the Tamil language is now spoken. Apparently Telugu, which was in olden times closer to Tamil than it is now, was the mother tongue of the Śātavāhanas and they wanted to exhibit their Dravidian character by using an admixture of that language and Sanskritic Prakrit in the reverse legend on their coins meant for circulation in the northernmost provinces conquered from the Śakas. The real reason for their eagerness to exhibit their Dravidianism in the said area, where the coins of the Śakas were in popular use, cannot be determined.

On the inadequate evidence of Yajña-Śātakarṇi's silver coins, Rapson suggested that the occurrence of the 'local Prakrit, perhaps containing Dravidian elements, peculiar to the Kistna District', 'like that of the alphabet associated with it, on the coins of Śrī-Yajña struck in Western India must, no doubt, be regarded as a reminiscence of the old home of the race in the Telugu country and may be compared to the use of Kharoṣṭhī on the coins of Bhūmaka, Nahapāna and Cashṭana'.[2] There are, however, some difficulties in accepting this view. Firstly, it does not explain why this dialect and alphabet are found only in a few issues of the Later Śātavāhanas, which were specially meant for circulation in a limited area in the northern part of their dominions. Secondly, there is little evidence that the original home of the Śātavāhana dynasty was in the Krishna District while there is some evidence to show that the Andhra people moved southwards to the present-day Telugu-speaking area from the Vindhyan region.[3] The use of the Dravidian Prakrit and alphabet may have been more widely spread in the age in question. The show of Dravidianism only on the Śaka-type coinage of the Śātavāhanas is, however, difficult to explain without further light on the subject.

Description

(Silver ; round—.6″ diameter ; 28 grains)

Obverse : Bust of the king to right; his frizzled hair tied with a ribbon ; crest-jewel, offering a side view and looking like a flower to front, above the forehead ;[4] legend in two parts above the back of the head and to the front of the bust ; the right part beginning from XII reads : *raño Vāsiṭhīpu[tasa]*, and the left part beginning at VIII and ending at XII reads : *siri-Sātakaṇisa.*

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[1] *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 206. For his inscriptions at Kanheri in Aparānta, cf. Rapson, op. cit., p. lii.

[2] Op. cit., p. xic.

[3] *The Age of Imperial Uuity*, p. 194.

[4] Rao thinks that the king's frizzled curly hair is 'tied in a knot by a decorative ribbon at the centre of his forehead in a peculiar style, so as to form a round ball resembling a flower bouquet'. But Altekar points out that the said 'object can also be a crest jewel'. He also doubts whether 'frizzled hair can be tied in a knot', though Rao probably means a knot of the ribbon and not the hair. The object is, however, clearly a flower design and the flat position in which it is depicted shows that it offers only the side view of the decorative jewel above the king's forehead. The same object is als found above the forehead of the king on the similar coins of Yajña-Śātakarṇi.

***Reverse*:** Ujjayinī symbol surmounted by a crescent to the left and six-peaked hill surmounted by a crescent to the right; wavy line below and rayed sun between the two crescents above; continuous circular legend around starting from and ending at XII: *arahaṇasha Vah[i]ṭṭi-mākaṇasha tiru-Hātakaṇisha.*

No. 35—MALLESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF TRAILOKYAMALLA, SAKA 973

(*1 Plate*)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 3.3.1961*)

The inscription edited below was copied by me in December 1960 at **Mallēśvaram** in the Kollapur Taluk of Mahbubnagar District, Andhra Pradesh. The epigraph is engraved on three sides of a **pillar** set up in the compound of the Agastēśvaram temple, situated about a mile from the village on the banks of the Krishṇā river. The temple is built in what is known as the Chālukyan style of architecture. Besides the present record, there are other inscriptions in the temple belonging to the time of Chālukya Jagadēkamalla (Jayasiṁha II, 1016-1044 A.D.) and Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI, 1076-1126 A.D.) and the Kākatīya king Pratāparudra II (1290-1326 A.D.).

The first side of the pillar containing the inscription under study bears at the top the figure of a *liṅga* below which is a bull (*Nandin*) sitting and facing proper left. The record commences immediately below this figure of the bull. The first side contains 22 lines, the second 26 lines and the third 15 lines. Thus there are altogether 63 lines. The left end of the first side of the pillar has suffered some damage resulting in the loss of one letter at the beginning of each line in lines 1-18. Similarly, the right-hand edge of the second side has been damaged affecting one or two letters in each line. These letters can, however, be restored from the context without any difficulty.

The **characters** of the record belong to the Telugu-Kannaḍa alphabet and are quite regular for the period to which the epigraph purports to belong, viz., the **middle of the eleventh century A.D.** The language is Kannaḍa prose except the three benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end which are in Sanskrit. The **orthography** does not call for any special remarks, except that Sanskrit *l* is spelt as *ḷ* in words like *kuḷa-tiḷakaṁ* (line 5), *Traiḷōkya°* (line 7), *mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvaraṁ* (lines 14, 31), *Chāḷukya* (line 19), *kāḷē kāḷē pāḷanīyō* (lines 54-55) which feature is quite common in Kannaḍa inscriptions.

The inscription is **dated Śaka 973, Khara, Kārttika ba. 7, Sunday.** According to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the week-day, *i.e.* Sunday, coincided with the *tithi* ba. 6 instead of ba. 7 and corresponded to **27th October 1051 A.D.** The record belongs to the reign of **Trailōkyamalladēva** (Sōmēśvara I, 1044-68 A.D.) of the Western Chālukya family of Kalyāṇa.

The **object** of the inscription is to register the gift, made on the date discussed above, by prince (*kumāra*) **Vijayāditya** and Maiḷaladēvī to the temple of god Agastēśvara. The temple is known by the same name even today. The gift was entrusted to Vidhīśvara-paṇḍita and consisted of two villages the names of which appear to read Pinmanaṁ or Banmanaṁ and Piṭṭugaṁ or Baṭṭugaṁ.[1] These villages are stated to have been situated in Ettapi-90 which was a *kampaṇa* or division of Vaḍḍavaṇi-500 in the Kandūr *nāḍu* or province. The gift is stated to have been made on the occasion of the bath (*snāna*) at Āṇāra-tīrtha.

[1] The difference in the reading of the first letter is due to the fact that *Pi* and *Ba* look alike. It is possible to take these two donated villages as representing a single place-name. But since the donors are two, it is better to take them as two names, one donated by Vijayāditya and the other by Maiḷaladēvī.

Mailaladēvī was one of the queens of Sōmēśvara I and some records style her as the chief queen (*piriyarasi*).[1] Prince (*kumāra*) Vijayāditya, who is mentioned as a donor in association with Mailaladēvī, is introduced in lines 11-33 with a string of feudatory and other titles. Among the feudatory titles may be noted *tat-pāda-padm-ōpajīvī*, ***samadhigata-paṁchamahāśabda***, ***Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*** and ***Trailōkyamalladēva-pāda-paṁkaja-bhramara***. It is a matter of common knowledge that the princes and other blood-relations of the ruling sovereign, appointed as governors of some territory, were endowed with such feudatory titles.[2] We are, however, not told in the present record as to which territory prince Vijayāditya was governing as ***Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara***. The other epithets associated with this prince in the record are : *Vīra-Mahēśvaraṁ*, *ayyana-siṁgaṁ*, *vikrāṁta-tuṁgaṁ*, *vairi-mada-mardanaṁ*, *pratāpa-Janārdanaṁ*, *achalita-vākyaṁ*, *Chāḷukya-māṇikyaṁ*, *vijayaśrī-kēḷī-sadanaṁ*, *abhinava-Madanaṁ*, *vipaksha-kuḷa-kāḷa-daṇḍaṁ*, *vīra-mārttaṇḍaṁ*, *dīn-ānātha-chiṁtāmaṇi*, *maṇḍalika-chūḍāmaṇi*, *ari-rāya-kumāra-hṛidaya-sellaṁ* and *sāhasa-mallaṁ*.

The **importance** of the epigraph under study lies in the fact that it helps us in establishing the identity of Vijayāditya. The expressions *kumāra*, *Chāḷukya-māṇikya*, 'a ruby of the Chālukyas', and *ayyana-siṁga*, 'a lion or champion of his father', coupled with the fact that he made the grant in association with Mailaladēvī, a queen of Sōmēśvara I, indicate that he was a son of Sōmēśvara I, probably born of that queen. We know that Sōmēśvara I had at least three sons, viz. Sōmēśvara II (1068-76 A.D.), Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.D.) and Jayasiṁha IV[3] (did not ascend the throne). But there is some controversy on the question whether Sōmēśvara I had a fourth son called Vijayāditya or Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya.

There are a number of inscriptions[4] belonging to the reign of Sōmēśvara I which refer to a certain Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya-mahārāja as the son and feudatory of the ruling king. The terms used in giving his relationship to Sōmēśvara I are *nandana*, *sūnu*, *putra* and *maga*, all meaning 'a son'. This feudatory is endowed with the titles *Sarvalōkāśraya* and *Vēṅgīmaṇḍalēśvara*. In 1891, when Fleet knew of only one such inscription,[5] he was inclined to regard, on account of the titles *Sarvalōkāśraya* and *Vēṅgīmaṇḍalēśvara* associated with the name Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya, that the latter must have been of Eastern Chālukya descent and that the term *nandana*, which was used through courtesy, need not be understood literally.[6] He was, however, careful enough, even then, to observe that the fact that, in an inscription dated in 1064-65 A. D., Jayasiṁha IV is described as 'born in the Pallava lineage' and as having the title of 'lord of Kāñchī, the best of cities', may be used as an argument that Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya was in reality a son of Sōmēśvara I.[7] Later, in 1896-97, while editing the Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara hill inscription[8] of Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya dated in 1064 A. D., the same scholar observed, "The terms used to denote the relationship of Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya to Sōmēśvara I, are *maga* here and *nandana* in his Dāvaṇagere inscription........ Elsewhere, and at a time when I knew of only the Dāvaṇagere record, I questioned the literal applications of them in this case (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX,

[1] Cf. *SII.*, Vol. XI, Part i, Nos. 83 and 103.

[2] Sōmēśvara II, the eldest son of Sōmēśvara I, is introduced with such titles in the early records of the latter (Cf. *SII*, Vol. XI, Part i, Nos. 84 and 102).

[3] In all the works on Karnatak history, this Jayasiṁha is referred to as Jayasiṁha III. But since a few records have brought to light an earlier Jayasiṁha in the person of a brother of Sōmēśvara I (above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 37 ff), Jayasiṁha, son of Sōmēśvara I, should now be called Jayasiṁha IV.

[4] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dāvaṇagere 11 and Chitaldrug 47 ; above Vol. IV, pp. 212 ff ; *SII*, Vol. VI, Nos. 574-75 ; Vol. IX, Part i, No. 126.

[5] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dāvaṇagere 11.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 277-78 ; cf. also *SII*, Vol. III, p. 65.

[7] Loc. cit.

[8] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 212 ff.

pp. 277 f.)........ Facts have come to light, however, which show that certain titles which, one would imagine, would only go by line of descent, occasionally accompanied investiture with provincial authority. And, on mature consideration, I think that the terms *maga* and *nandana* should be accepted literally."[1]

Thus, although Fleet himself revised, *on mature consideration*, his opinion regarding the identity of Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya, some scholars continued to hold the view that he was a member of the Eastern Chālukya house of Vēṅgī. In the *Annual Report for South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1924-25, pp. 75-76, it has been stated that Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya mentioned as the son and feudatory of Sōmēśvara I was an Eastern Chālukya prince who was a viceroy under the Western Chālukya monarch.

N. Venkataramanayya has dealt with this problem at great length in his book, *The Eastern Chāḷukyas of Vēṅgī* (1950), pp. 250 ff.[2] Disagreeing with Fleet, he has arrived at the conclusion that Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya, mentioned as the son and feudatory of Sōmēśvara I, should be identified with the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya VII of Vēṅgī.[3] His arguments may be summed up as follows: (1) The titles such as *Sarvalōkāśraya*, *Vēṅgīmaṇḍalēśvara*, *Chāḷukya-māṇikya*, etc., borne by this prince (mentioned in the records of the time of Sōmēśvara I) distinctly point to his Eastern Chālukya origin. (2) The terms *putra*, *nandana*, *sūnu*, *maga*, etc., are very wide in their application and are employed to denote several kinds of relationship besides one's own male issue. Hence the evidence of these terms is not quite conclusive. (3) The contemporary inscriptions, other than those under reference, and Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, while enumerating the sons of Sōmēśvara I, omit the name of Vijayāditya. (4) Vēṅgī was in the hands of the Western Chālukyas from the beginning of the reign of Rājādhirāja I, *i.e.* 1044 A.D., down to 1067 A.D. On the death of the Eastern Chālukya prince Rājarāja I in 1061 A.D., Vijayāditya VII seized the Vēṅgī throne with the approval of Sōmēśvara I and remained, like his namesake described as the son of Sōmēśvara I, a vassal of the Western Chālukya monarch. (5) Both of them had the double name Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya. (6) No title indicative of the position of the *sāmanta* is associated with either of their names. While the *sāmantas*, the princes of the blood and even the heirs-presumptive are invariably styled *samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda*, this title is conspicuous by its absence in the *praśastis* of both the Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayādityas. Both of them are called *Mahārāja*. Therefore the so-called son of Sōmēśvara was not a mere *sāmanta* but a subordinate ally, superior in status even to the princes of the blood.

It is not possible to agree either with the arguments or with the conclusion of Venkataramanayya. Let us consider the value of his arguments. But before doing so, we may point out that prince Vijayāditya of the epigraph under study is the same as Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya, described specifically as the son and feudatory of Sōmēśvara I in some records referred to above and only as a feudatory in others and as ruling over Noḷambavāḍi or the adjoining territory.[4] For almost all the fifteen epithets, associated with the prince in our record and listed above, are also found attributed to Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya, son of Sōmēśvara I.[5] (1) Venkataramanayya

[1] Ibid., p. 212, note 3; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 454, note 5; also cf. *SII*, Vol. III, p. 128, note 9.

[2] D. C. Ganguly does not discuss this question in his book, *The Eastern Chālukyas*, nor is there any reference to it in the chapter on Eastern Chālukyas in *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 204.

[3] K.A. Nilakanta Sastri did not accept the identification of the two Vijayādityas in the first edition of his book, *The Cōḷas*, Vol. I, pp. 341-43. But in the revised edition (1955, p. 287), he seems to have changed his opinion apparently under the influence of N. Venkataramanayya's arguments, and appears to uphold the identification.

[4] Cf. *SII*, Vol. IX, Part i, Nos. 127-29; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dāvaṇagere 141.

[5] Cf. *SII*, Vol. VI, Nos. 574-75; Vol. IX, Part i, Nos. 126-29.

attaches too much importance to the titles *Sarvalōkāśraya* and *Vēṅgīmaṇḍalēśvara*. Both these titles are absent in our record. The former is only a general title like *Samastabhuvanāśraya* while the title *Vēṅgīmaṇḍaḷēśvara* appears to indicate only a formal investiture of provincial authority on the royal prince by Sōmēśvara I. It may be pointed out, in this connection, that Sōmēśvara II, the eldest son of Sōmēśvara I, was also endowed with the title *Vēṅgīpuravarēśvara* in the records[1] of the time of his father while his brother Jayasiṁha IV was called *Kāñchīpuravarēśvara*.[2] And what is more important is the fact that Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya himself bears the title *Kāñchīpuravarēśvara* in one record, as will be shown below. Moreover, neither the title *Vēṅgī-maṇḍalēśvara* or *Vēṅgīpuravarēśvara* nor any of the epithets enumerated in the list given above is associated with the name of the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya VII either in his own records or in any other inscriptions of his family. (2) The terms *nandana*, *sūnu*, *putra* and *maga* used to indicate the relationship of Vijayāditya to Sōmēśvara I should *prima facie* be understood, as has been done by Fleet, in their real sense unless there is enough evidence to prove the contrary. (3) The omission of Vijayāditya's name in Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* and in some epigraphical records is only an *argumentum ex silentio* and cannot exclude the possibility of Sōmēśvara I having a fourth son in the person of Vijayāditya. It may be observed in this connection that only a few records reveal the existence of a brother of Sōmēśvara I in the person of Jayasiṁha while the rest of them omit his name.[3] The omission of Vijayāditya's name in some records may be due to the fact that he was born of queen Maiḷaladēvī while the remaining three brothers were born to another queen named Bāchaladēvī. (4-5) That the Eastern Chālukya ruler Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya secured the Vēṅgī throne in 1060-61 with the help of Sōmēśvara I and that he had the double name are no grounds for excluding the possibility of Sōmēśvara I having a son called Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya. (6) Some of the records[4] consulted by Venkataramanayya himself use the expression *tat-pāda-padm-ōpajīvi* and *tat-pāda-padm-ārādhaka* and *maṇḍalika-chūḍāmaṇi* which clearly indicate as much a feudatory status as the expression *samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda*. Further, our inscription introduces Vijayāditya with both the titles *tat-pāda-padm-ōpajīvi* and *samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda*. And the title *Mahārāja* associated with this Vijayāditya indicates nothing. Some members of the Telugu-Chōḷa family, who were governing the Kurnool and Anantapur area as local chiefs under the Western Chālukya kings, also bore this epithet, e.g. Chiddaṇa-Chōḷa-mahārāja and Bijjaṇa-Chōḷa-mahārāja.[5]

A damaged inscription[6] from Niralgi in the Dharwar District belonging to the reign of Sōmēśvara II and dated in 1074 A.D. seems to refer to his brothers Vikramāditya VI and Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya, the latter with the titles *Kāñchīpuravarēśvaraṁ* and *Bhuvanaikamalla-Pallava-Permānaḍi* which are usually found associated with Jayasiṁha IV. The preserved portion of the name reads as *Vi..... [ja]yāditya* and the damaged portion has just enough space for the letters *shṇuvardhana-Vi*. Although Fleet has drawn attention to the existence of this record,[7] Venkataramanayya has ignored it probably because the date 1074 A.D. for Vijayāditya goes against the theory of his identification with the Eastern Chālukya king of the same name.

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[1] *SII*, Vol. XI, Part i, Nos. 84 and 102.

[2] Ibid., No. 110.

[3] See above, Vol. XXXV, p. 39.

[4] *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 575; ibid., Vol. IX, Part i, No. 129; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dāvaṇagere 141.

[5] See *SII*, Vol. IX, Part i, No. 123 and *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 60.

[6] *A. R. Ep.*, 1946-47, No. B-237.

[7] *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p 444, note 1 and p. 454

Thus the above discussion would make it clear that prince Vijayāditya of the inscription under study as well as Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya mentioned in other Western Chālukya records is none else than a fourth son of Sōmēśvara I and that he cannot be identified with the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya VII.[1] Incidentally our epigraph supplies the earliest known date for Vijayāditya, viz. 1051 A.D.

There is a difference of opinion amongst scholars regarding the identity of poet Kīrtivarman, the author of the Kannaḍa work *Gōvaidya*. In this work as well as in another work called *Samaya-parīkshe* by Brahmaśiva, Kīrtivarman is called *narēndra*, *jagatīnātha* and *dharaṇīpati* while his father is stated to have been king Trailōkyamalla and elder brother Vikramāṅkanarēndra. From this description R. Narasimhachar suggested[2] that Kīrtivarman must be identified either with Jayasiṁha IV or Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya who were the sons of Sōmēśvara I. He also thought that the poet lived about 1100 A.D. On the ground that no son of Sōmēśvara I named Kīrtivarman is known from any other source, A. Venkatasubbiah disagreed with the above view and suggested that Kīrtivarman might have been only a feudatory of Sōmēśvara I and that the terms indicating his relationship to this Chālukya monarch as well as to Vikramāditya VI should not be understood in their literal sense.[3] In this connection, N. L. Rao[4] has drawn the attention of scholars to a verse occurring in an undated inscription[5] of the time of Tribhuvanamalladēva or Vikramāditya VI. The verse reads as follows:

Manam=old=Āhavamalladēvana dharitrīvallabhaṁ-Sōmidēvana Permmāṇaḍi-Vikramāṁkana Nolaṁbādhīśvara-Siṁgidē- |

vana Beṁgīpati-Vishṇuvardhana-dharādhīśaṁ-vara-Kīrtivarmmana rājyakk=abhivṛiddhiy=akke śubham=akk=ā-chaṁdra-tāraṁbaraṁ ||

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[1] The career of this Vijayāditya VII as chalked out by Venkataramanayya is something as follows. On the death of his father Vimalāditya in 1019 A.D., he tried to seize the Vēṅgī throne from his half-brother Rājarāja I, but, failing in his attempt, went into exile in the Kaliṅga kindom; later he took refuge in the Western Chālukya territory and seized the Vēṅgī throne in 1031 A.D. and was again dislodged within a short period. He then returned to the Western Chālukya kingdom where he was appointed, during the reign of Sōmēśvara I, as the governor of the Nolambavāḍi province and assumed many titles like *Chālukya-mānikya*, *Ayyana-siṅga*, etc., and described himself as the *son* of Sōmēśvara I. On the death of Rājarāja I in 1061 A.D., he once again seized the Vēṅgī throne but appointed his son Śaktivarman II as the ruler of Vēṅgī, himself preferring to remain in the Western Chālukya kingdom. Though his son died after a rule of one year, he appointed his ministers to carry on the administration of the Vēṅgī kingdom and himself continued to be the governor of Nolambavāḍi under Sōmēśvara I. He was finally permitted by Sōmēśvara I to leave Nolambavāḍi and return to his country shortly after 1066 A.D. when the Chōḷa monarch Vīrarājēndra invaded Vēṅgī. He submitted to the Chōḷa king who bestowed on him the Vēṅgī kingdom in preference to his own nephew and heir-apparent Rājēndra, son of Rājarāja I. Soon after this, Vikramāditya VI, son of Sōmēśvara I, marched through Vēṅgī and Vijayāditya VII repudiated his agreement with the Chōḷa king and joined the Western Chālukyas. The Chōḷa king re-conquered Vēṅgī in 1067 A.D. and expelled Vijayāditya VII from the Vēṅgī kingdom for his act of treachery. This time Vijayāditya VII sought refuge at the court of the Kaliṅga king Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman. He was, however, restored to the Vēṅgī throne sometime before 1072 A.D., when the then ruling king Rājēndra left Vēṅgī to become the Chōḷa monarch under the name of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa. Shortly afterwards the Vēṅgī country was invaded by the Chēdi and Eastern Gaṅga kings and Vijayāditya VII, at last, died in 1076 A.D.

Apart from the fact that the suggested indentification of Vijayāditya VII with the homonymous son of Sōmēśvara I has been shown to be wrong, such an unheard of career for a king can hardly convince any serious student of history. Besides, there are many discrepancies in the dates in the above account.

[2] *Karṇāṭaka Kavi Charite* (Kannaḍa), Vol. I (revised edition), pp. 129 ff. and correction to first Volume, p. 7.

[3] *Kelavu Kannaḍa Kavigaḷa Jīvanakālavichāra*, p. 206.

[4] *Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishat Patrike*, Vol. 28, Part i, pp. 1-4.

[5] *SII*, Vol. IX, Part i, No. 220.

As pointed out by Rao, the verse refers to the four sons of Sōmēśvara I and shows clearly that not only *Bēṅgīpati* Vishṇuvardhana, elsewhere called Vijayāditya or Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya, was a fourth son of Sōmēśvara I but also that he was the same as the poet Kīrtivarman who, as pointed out above, was endowed with royal epithets like *narēndra* and *dharaṇīpati*.[1]

As already stated, the epigraph containing the verse discussed above belongs to the reign of Vikramāditya VI but is not dated. It is not possible to say whether Vijayāditya was alive at the time of this record. Assuming that the record belongs to the early part of Vikramāditya's reign and that Vijayāditya was then alive, Rao has roughly assigned the latter to the period 1060-80 A.D.[2] But we now know from the present inscription that Vijayāditya lived as early as 1051 A.D. Therefore we may assign him approximately to the period 1050 A.D. to 1080 A.D.

The **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription are the villages of Pinmanaṁ or Banmanaṁ and Piṭṭugamaṁ or Baṭṭugamaṁ, Ettapi-90 in which the donated villages were located, Vaḍḍavaṇi-500 of which Ettapi-90 was a *kampaṇa* or division, Kandūr-nāḍu which comprised Vaḍḍavaṇi-500 division and Āṇāra-tīrtha. Kandūr-nāḍu may be identified with the area round about modern Kandur in Wanaparti Taluk of Mahbubnagar District, which is situated at a distance of about 35 miles north-north-east of Mallēśvaram, the find-spot of the record under review. Vaḍḍavaṇi-500 may be modern Waddemanu, about 15 miles east-south-east of Kandur. Ettapi-90 is apparently the same as Yetham, about 15 miles to the north of Mallēśvaram. I am unable to identify the remaining places.[3]

TEXT[4]

First side

1 [Sva]sti [|*] Samasta-bhuvan-[ā]-

2 [śra]ya-śrī-prithvi[5]vallabha-

3 [mahā]rājādhirāja-paramē-

4 [śvara]-paramabhaṭṭārakaṁ Sa-

5 [tyā]śraya-kuḷa-tiḷakaṁ **Ch[ā]-**

6 **[ḷu]ky-ābharaṇaṁ** śrīma-

7 [t-**Trai]lōkyamalladēvara** vi-

8 **[ja]yarājyam**=uttar-ōtta-

9 [r-ā]bhivridhdhi[6]-pravardhdha[7]mā[na]-

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[1] For some unwarranted conjectures about this Kīrtivarman, see *Prabuddha Karṇāṭaka*, Vol. 41, Part 3, pp. 91 ff.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] I am indebted to Shri G. Ramakrishna Sarma of Alampur for suggesting the identification of some place names.

[4] From impressions.

[5] Read *prithvī*.

[6] Read °*vṛiddhi*

[7] Read [illegible]

MALLESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF TRAILOKYAMALLA, SAKA 973



Scale : One-sixth

10 m=ā-chaṁdr-ārkka-tāraṁba-

11 [raṁ] saluttam=ire [|] tat-pā-

12 [da]-padm-ōpajīvi samadhi-

13 [gata]-paṁcha-mā(ma)hāśabda

14 [mā(ma)]hāmaṇḍaḷēśvara[ṁ] [sri(śrī)]-

15 [Vī]ramahēśvaran=ay[y]a-

16 [na]-siṁga[ṁ] vikrāṁta-tuṁga[ṁ vai]-

17 [ri]-mada-marddanaṁ pratā-

18 [pa]-janārddanaṁna-chaḷita-

19 vākyaṁ **Chāḷukya-mā-**

20 **ṇikyaṁ** vijaya-śrī-

21 kēḷī-sadanan=abhinava-

22 Madanaṁ vipaksha-kuḷa-ka(kā)-

Second Side

23 ḷadi(da)ṇḍaṁ vi(vī)ra-mārtta[ṇḍaṁ]

24 [dī]n-ānātha-chiṁtāma-

25 [ṇi] maṇḍaḷika-chūḍā[ma]-

26 [ṇi] ari-rāya-kumā[ra]-

27 [hṛi]daya-sella[ṁ] sāha[sa]-

28 [ma]lla[ṁ] śrīma[t*]-Traiḷō-

29 [kya]mälladēva-pāda-[paṁ]-

30 kaja-pra(bhra)maraṁ śrī-

31 man-mahāmaṇḍaḷēśva[raṁ]

32 kumāra-**Vijayā[di]-**

33 **tyadēvaruṁ** śrīma[n-**Mai]-**

34 **ḷaladēviyaruṁ** A[ga]-

35 stēśvarada cha(chha)trakke [Vi]-

36 dhīśvara-paṇḍitargge **Sa(Śa)[ka]**

37 **varsha 973 neya Kha[ra]-**

38 **saṁvatsarada Kārtti[ka]**

39 **ba 7 Ādityavāra[daṁ]-**

40 **du Āṇāra[da]** tīrttha-snā[na]-

41 nimittadiṁ sarvva-na[ma]-

42 śya(sya)diṁ kāl-garchchi dhārā[pū]-

43 rvvakadiṁ daye geydu ko[ṭṭa]-

44 r=**Kkaṁdūr-**nnāḍ-oḷagaṇa **Va[ḍḍa]-**

45 **vaṇi 500**ṟaṟa kaṁpaṇa

46 **Ettapi 90**ṟa baḷi[ya]

47 bāḍa **Pinmanaṁ**[1] **Piṭṭu[ga]ma[ṁ]**[2]

48 sarvva-bādhā-parihāra śrī [|*]

Third Side

49 Bahubhir=vvasudā(dhā) datt[ā]

50 rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|]

51 yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[ḥ]

52 tasya tasya tadā pa(pha)ḷa[ṁ] ||

53 Sāmānyō=yaṁ dharma-sē-

54 tur=nṛipāṇāṁ|[3] kāḷē kāḷē

55 pāḷanīyō bhavadbhiḥ |

56 sarvvān=ētān=bhāginaḥ pārtthi-

57 vēṁdrāṁn(drān) |[3] bhūyō bhū-

58 yō yāchatē Rāmabha-

59 dra[ḥ*] || Sva-dattaṁ(ttāṁ) para-dattaṁ(ttāṁ) [vā]

60 yō harēti(ta) vasu[ṁ]dha-

61 rā[ṁ*] | shashṭir=vvarsha[4]-sahasrā-

62 ṇāṁ |[3] vishṭhāyāṁ jāya-

63 tē krimiḥ [||*]

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[1] This name can also be read as *Banmanaṁ.*

[2] This name can also be read as *Baṭṭugamaṁ.*

[3] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[4] Read *shashṭiṁ varsha.*

No. 36—NOTE ON MALLESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF TRAILOKYAMALLA

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 14.4.1961)

While editing the Mallesvaram inscription above, pp. 253 ff., Dr. G. S. Gai has pointed out the weakness of the grounds on which some scholars have identified a ruling chief named Vishṇuvardhana Vijayāditya, known from a number of inscriptions found in various parts of the Western Chālukya empire, with the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya VII. Dr. Gai has considered the problem from the view-point of Western Chālukya history and has only in passing referred to the doubtful reconstruction of the career of the said Eastern Chālukya king. Looking at the problem from the stand-point of the history of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, I find that most of what has been so far said about king Vijayāditya VII is based partly on a misunderstanding of the evidence of Eastern Chālukya records and partly on an eagerness to get light on Eastern Chālukya history from the confused story of the struggle between the Chōḷas and the Western Chālukyas.

Reference has been made to 'the deep-seated antagonism' between Vijayāditya VII and his step-brother Rājarāja I[1] and it has been suggested that Rājarāja I rarely enjoyed peace during his long reign of 41 years due 'mainly to the opposition of his younger brother Vijayāditya' or partly to 'the sinister designs of his half-brother (Vijayāditya VII)' and partly to 'the conflicting ambitions of the rival imperial powers (i.e. the Chōḷas and the Western Chālukyas)'.[2] But, as will be seen below, the Eastern Chālukya inscriptions prove beyond doubt that Vijayāditya VII ousted his step-brother's authority from the latter's kingdom or a part of it during the first half of the latter's long reign but that he was loyal to Rājarāja I for many years after that short rule as a usurper.

Certain Chōḷa inscriptions, said to be of the 10th regnal year of Rājēndra-chōḷa I (1016-44 A.D.), state that the Chōḷa general compelled the king of Vēṅgī to flee from his country, destroyed the family of Jayasiṁha and defeated the Kaliṅgas, Teluṅgas and Oḍḍas.[3] On this basis, it has been suggested that Vijayāditya VII succeeded in seizing the Vēṅgī kingdom after his father's death probably with the help of Western Chālukya Jayasiṁha II and of the rulers of Kaliṅga and Orissa, that the Chōḷa army sent by Rājēndra-chōḷa I to help his nephew Rājarāja I defeated Jayasiṁha II at Musaṅgi in 1020-21 A.D. while Vijayāditya VII, disastrously defeated, fled to the court of his ally the king of Kaliṅga, and that the combined forces of his allies, viz. the Kaliṅgas, Oḍḍas and Teluṅgas, were defeated by the Chōḷa general in the 10th regnal year of the Chōḷa monarch counted from 1012 A.D. when he participated in his father's administration as the heir-apparent, i.e., in 1021 A.D.[4] But, whatever may be the ingenuity of this reconstruction which appears to us to be dubious,[5] there is some evidence to show that this could not have been the case.

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[1] N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Cāḷukyas of Vēṅgī*, p. 217.

[2] Ibid., pp. 226 and 239. For similar views, see also K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, pp. 175 ff.

[3] Reference is made in this connection to *A. R. Ep.*, 1917, Nos. 23, 24, 30, 31, 751, 752.

[4] Venkataramanayya, op. cit., pp. 218 ff.

[5] It is indeed difficult to prove that the undated Kalidindi grant (above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 57 ff.) of Rājarāja I and the undated Madakasira inscription (*A. R. Ep.*, 1917, No. B 751) mentioning no king but stating that 'the kng of Vēṅgī ran away on hearing that the Chōḷa [king] had ordered [his general] Sōḷiyavariśan to conquer that country' have any bearing on the period in question.

Some scholars believe that the Eastern Chālukya king Vimalāditya died in 1018 A.D., though the coronation of his son and successor Rājarāja I took place on the 16th August 1022 A.D.,[1] and that 'the hostility of his (i.e. Rājarāja's) step-brother Vijayāditya probably delayed his coronation for four years'.[2] But others put the death of Vimalāditya and the accession of Rājarāja I in 1019 A.D. and speak of a delay of three years in the latter's coronation.[3] The possibility of 'a war of succession' between the two brothers or 'the forcible occupation of the kingdom' by Vijayāditya VII has also been suggested.[4] But there is no support for this in the inscriptions of the family according to which, Rājarāja I succeeded his father and ruled for 41 years. It is expected that the genealogical section of the records of the family, which clearly notices a 27 years' period of anarchy between 973 and 999 A.D., would have given us a hint if the coronation of Rājarāja I was really delayed for three or four years due to anarchy or to the occupation of the throne by Vijayāditya VII. The reason for the delay in Rājarāja's coronation is unknown and various causes can be imagined. But there is hardly any justification for bringing in Vijayāditya's hostility to account for it since the evidence at our disposal seems to tell a different tale.

As will be seen below, the 27th June 1031 A.D. fell after 'twelve years' rule' of Rājarāja I and this would suggest that he ascended the throne sometime before the 26th June 1020 A.D. Since the reference seems to be to the twelfth year of his reign, he probably ascended the throne after the 26th June 1019 A.D. The following dates in both the regnal reckoning and the Śaka era are known for the reign of the king : (1) year 12=Śaka 952 (1030-31 A.D.) ; (2) year 37=Śaka 980 (1058-59 A.D.) ; and year 41=Śaka 983 (1061-62 A.D.).[5] These three dates would roughly equate his first regnal year respectively with Śaka 941 (1019-20 A.D.), Śaka 944 (1022-23 A.D.) and Śaka 943 (1021-22 A.D.). It thus appears that the first date counts the reign period from his accession while the second and third calculate it from his coronation. It has, however, to be noticed that the first date counting his reign from about 1019 A.D. is found in a record of Vijayāditya VII. If Vijayāditya would have been responsible for delaying Rājarāja's coronation, not to speak of his forcible occupation of the throne for a few years, it is impossible to believe that Rājarāja's reign would have been counted from c. 1019 A.D. in this record of Vijayāditya himself.

As we shall also see below, Śaktivarman II, son of Vijayāditya VII, succeeded Rājarāja I in Śaka 983, the date of his coronation being given as Thursday, month of Tulā, sudi 2, Anurādhā-nakshatra and Kumbha-lagna (18th October 1061 A.D.).[6] Rājarāja I seems to have died during his 41st regnal year sometime before that date.

The Pamulavaka plates issued in the second year of the reign of Vijayāditya VII have the following stanzas after the description of the 7 years' rule of Mummaḍibhīma (Vimalāditya) :

Tasya Mummaḍibhīmasya sutaḥ kṛita-matir=mahān |

Rājarāj-āhvayō rājā dvādaś=ābdān=dharām=apāt ||

Taṁ Rājarāja-nṛipatiṁ nirdhāṭya bhuvaḥ prasahya Vijayādityaḥ |

Vimalāditya-tanujasya dvaimāturō=grahīd=yō rājyam ||

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[1] The date is quoted in Rājarāja's records as Śaka 944, month of Simha, badi 2, Thursday, Uttara-Bhādrapada-nakshatra. Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 68, verse 16 ; *JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 38.

[2] D. C. Ganguly, *The Eastern Chālukyas*, p. 98.

[3] Venkataramanayya, op. cit., p. 218.

[4] Cf. ibid., pp. 254 and 239.

[5] Ganguly, op. cit., pp. 98-100.

[6] *JAHRS*, Vol. V, pp. 40, 44.

Śrīmān Śākē sam-aughē drig-ishu-nidhi-mitē Karkaṭē karkaśāṁśau

śuddh-ātmā śuddha-pañchamy-Āditisuta-dinē sūrya-bhē śaurya-śālī |

Kanyā-lagnē=tidhanvā Śaśikula-tilakō Rājamārtaṇḍa-sūnur=

Vēṅgī-sāmrājya-paṭṭaṁ sma vahati Vijayāditya-bhūpaḥ pratāpī ||[1]

According to this, Vijayāditya ousted Rājarāja I after the latter's rule of 12 years, occupied the kingdom of Vēṅgī by force, was anointed on Sunday, month of Karkaṭaka, sudi 5, Śaka 952 (or 953), Kanyā-lagna, Sūrya-nakshatra and ruled at least up to his second regnal year when the charter was issued. The date of his coronation has been equated by some with the 9th July 1030 A.D.[2] and by others with the 27th June 1031 A.D.[3] The first date is certainly wrong. It has to be pointed out that, although the word *drik* normally means 'two', the date is irregular for Śaka 952. But if *drik* is taken to mean *Īśa-drik* or 'three', the date corresponds to the 27th June 1031 A.D.

The language of the stanzas quoted above would of course suggest that Vijayāditya VII became the master of the entire Vēṅgī kingdom. But often such claims are exaggerated. Thus when the Chōḷa and Western Chālukya inscriptions speak of the conquest of Vēṅgī or any other country, not the entire country is meant in many cases. Another point to be noticed in this connection is that the later records of both Vijayāditya VII and his son Śaktivarman II do not refer to any break in the 41 years' reign period of Rājarāja I : that is to say, they do not state that Rājarāja I ruled for 12 years, then Vijayāditya VII reigned for so many years and then again Rājarāja I ruled for so many years. It is thus not impossible that Vijayāditya succeeded in occupying only a part of his step-brother's kingdom.[4] Another fact that has to be considered is that, about this time, the rulers of Vēṅgī were subordinate allies of the Chōḷas while the Vēṅgī country was a bone of contention between the Chōḷas and Western Chālukyas. It is thus not impossible that Vijayāditya occupied parts of the Vēṅgī kingdom with the help of the Western Chālukyas who regarded him as a subordinate ally and installed him as a rival king of Vēṅgī in the areas occupied by them.

As indicated above, the said period of Vijayāditya's rule, ostensibly resulting in a break in Rājarāja's reign, is not recognised in any later record of the family, even in those of Vijayāditya VII himself and of his son Śaktivarman II. This is a significant fact which, coupled with other evidences to be discussed below, shows that Vijayāditya soon atoned for his rebellion probably by handing over the territory to Rājarāja I, so that this lapse of his youth was later forgiven and totally forgotten. There are well-known cases of this kind, e.g. the rebellion of Stambha against his brother Gōvinda III and of Jayasiṁha against his brother Vikramāditya VI.[5]

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[1] Ibid, Vol. II, p. 287 (text lines 60-66) ; Vol. V, p. 38. In this article, we have quoted the epigraphic texts, which are not always correct in the published transcripts, after removing the scribal errors, etc., of the original. The second foot of the second stanza here is metrically defective.

[2] Ibid., Vol. V, p. 38.

[3] Venkataramaṇayya, op. cit., p. 227.

[4] It is sometimes supposed that Vijayāditya VII occupied only the Vizagapatam District (Ganguly, op. cit. pp. 100, 103).

[5] Altekar, *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 61-62 ; *The Struggle for Empire*, ed. Majumdar, p. 174.

The Telugu Academy plates of Śaktivarman II and both the Ryali copper-plate grants of his father and successor Vijayāditya VII have the following stanzas after the description of Vimalāditya and before the introduction of Śaktivarman II :

Tasya śrīmān=ātmajō Rājarājō rājat-tējāś=Chandra-vaṁś-āgragaṇyaḥ |
s-aikāṁ chatvāriṁśatiṁ vatsarāṇi kshōṇīṁ rakshā-dakshiṇō rakshati sma ||
Vimalādityāch=Chōḍ-ānvay-aika-lakshmyāś=cha Meḍava[1]*-mahādēvyāḥ* |
ajani jaya-śrī-nityō Vijayādityō narēśvara stutyaḥ ||
Parōkshē Rājarājasya bhrātur=dvaimāturasya yaḥ |
pratyagrahīn=mahī-rājya-śriyaṁ vīra-śriyā yutaḥ ||[2]

On the basis of the word *parōkshē* (literally, 'in one's absence') used in the last of these verses, some scholars have said, "In the year A. D. 1060, when Rājarāja was away from his capital, Vijayāditya seized his throne and declared himself king."[3] But this is certainly wrong. In the first place, if such was the case, Rājarāja I would not have been described in the eulogistic terms (*rājat-tējas, Chandra-vaṁś-āgragaṇya* or *rāja-vaṁś-āgragaṇya* and *rakshā-dakshiṇa*) used in the first stanza. Secondly, if there was enmity between the two brothers about 1060 A.D., Vijayāditya's rule over Vēṅgī at least for more than one year from 1031 A.D. would not have been totally omitted from these records. As will be seen below, the respectful mention of Vijayāditya VII in the records of Rājarāja's grandsons also goes clearly against the theory of enmity between the two brothers.

Thirdly, the word *parōkshē* in the present context certainly means, 'when he was no more in this world'.[4] This is probably indicated by the verb *pratyagrahīt* which primarily means 'accepted or received [as a gift]' and suggests that Vijayāditya VII obtained the kingdom in a peaceful way. As we shall see below, the throne of the deceased Rājarāja I passed on to his son Kulōttuṅga I who was then living at the Chōḷa court waiting for gaining the Chōḷa throne and therefore bestowed it on his uncle.

The following three verses, the first quoted from the Telugu Academy plates of Śaktivarman II and the second and third from the Ryali copper-plate inscriptions of Vijayāditya VII, show that Vijayāditya was not inclined to rule the kingdom, even though he got it, but that he gave it to his son Śaktivarman II out of paternal affection :

Ārōpya svakam=ādarād=atitarām=uttuṅga-siṁhāsanaṁ
pitrā nirjita-śātravēṇa Vijayādityēna nity-aṅjasā |
putra-snēha-rasa-prapūrṇa-manasā sāmrājya-paṭṭaṁ bhuvō
yasmin=nyastam=idaṁ yugaṁ samavituṁ nyāyēna sarvāḥ prajāḥ ||[5]
Gṛihītvā sva-sutē snēhād=rājyaṁ śrī-Śaktivarmaṇi |
nyastaṁ tasmin=dharām=ēkaṁ saṁraksby=ābdaṁ divaṁ gatē ||
Aprāpt-ānubhavē sutē vidhivaśāt=prāptē=bhimanyāv=iva
svargaṁ tyakta-ruchis=sukhēshu Vijayāditya-ādhipaḥ Pārthavat |
āsīnō vibudhaiḥ kula-krama-gatair=āptair=alaṁ bōdhitō
dharmaṁ sthāpayituṁ kathañchid= akarōd=buddhiṁ dharā-rakshaṇē ||[6]

[1] The first syllable of the name should be short according to metrical requirements.

[2] *JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 44, verses 14-16 ; Vol. IX, Part i, p. 31. The Ryali copper-plate grants have *rāja-vaṁś-āgragaṇyaḥ* for *Chandra-vaṁś-āgragaṇyaḥ* in the first stanza.

[3] Ganguly, op. cit., p. 103.

[4] Venkataramanayya (op. cit., pp. 39 and 238) accepts this interpretation ; but, even then, he says, "The language of the inscriptions (i.e. *Parōkshē*, etc.) clearly indicates that it (i.e. Rājarāja's death) was followed by a war" (op. cit., p. 239). This is due to misunderstanding.

[5] *JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 44.

[6] Ibid., Vol. IX, Part i, p. 31.

If Vijayāditya was eager to obtain the throne of Vēṅgī and was zealously fighting for it, we do not understand why he should have given the coveted object to his son when he actually got it after a bitter struggle. Of course, if he was to rule the kingdom on behalf of Kulōttuṅga I, one understands why he entrusted the burden to his son. The graphic description of his dejection at his son's death when he was prevailed upon by the officers to have reluctantly agreed to govern the kingdom for the establishment of law and order (*dharma*) scarcely suits one who was vigorously striving for the throne. Śaktivarman's comparison with Abhimanyu may be merely to indicate that he prematurely died as a young man before the death of his father. But, even if it is taken to indicate that he died like Abhimanyu in a fight with his relatives, these latter need not be necessarily identified with the partisans of Kulōttuṅga I or the Chōḷas. The enemies may have as well been the Western Chālukyas or the Eastern Gaṅgas or somebody else. The Eastern Chālukyas were an offshoot of the Early Western Chālukya dynasty while the Imperial Eastern Gaṅgas and the Eastern Chālukyas were both matrimonially related to the Chōḷas.

The copper-plate grants of the sons of Kulōttuṅga I, issued during Kulōttuṅga's reign, state that their brother Rājarāja-Mummaḍichōḍa took up the burden of the kingdom of Vēṅgī when their father addressed him in the following words after appointing the other brothers as rulers of different districts (*vishayas*) :

Mayā Vēṁgī-mahī-rājyaṁ Chōḍa-rājy-ābhilāshiṇā |
mat-pitṛivyē purā nyastaṁ Vijayāditya-bhūbhuji |
Sa cha pañchadaś=aiv=ābdān pañchānana-parākramaḥ |
mahīṁ rakshan=mahīnāthō divaṁ dēv-ōpamō gataḥ ||[1]

The reason why Kulōttuṅga I did not like to be the ruler of Vēṅgī and bestowed the Vēṅgī kingdom on his uncle is given here clearly as his ambition to get the Chōḷa throne. Apparently he was afraid of losing the Chōḷa crown, a much more coveted prize than the Vēṅgī throne, in case he would be away from his supporters at the Chōḷa court, ruling over his paternal kingdom.[2] If the relations between Rājarāja I and Vijayāditya VII were bitter, such respectful reference to the latter would not have been put here in the mouth of the former's son. Vijayāditya VII is not only called *pañchānana-parākrama*, 'a very lion (or Śiva) in valour' but also *dēv-ōpama*, 'like a god'.

An inscription assigned to Rājarāja Mummaḍichōḍa, who was a son of Kulōttuṅga I and is supposed to have been anointed on the Vēṅgī throne on the 27th July 1076 A.D., i.e. shortly after the death of Vijayāditya VII, records that a scion of the family of Kannaradēva who was the lord of the earth from the Himāchala to the Sētu (probably Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III), by name Mummaḍi Bhīma, was made the chief of one thousand villages in Vēṅgīpura-vishaya by the said ruler of Vēṅgī.[3] It is interesting to note that this Bhīma is described in the inscription as brought up by king Vijayāditya VII. If Vijayāditya was regarded as an enemy of Kulōttuṅga I, it is doubtful if the former's protégé would have received, so soon after the former's death, favours from the latter's son. Even if there was good reason for favouring the person, there was certainly no necessity for mentioning his relation with Vijayāditya VII in the record. This fact therefore suggests that Vijayāditya's relations with Kulōttuṅga I and the latter's sons were not bitter.

[1] *SII*, Vol. I, p. 55, verses 14-15 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 430-31, text lines 65-67. Sometimes we have *Vatsa* for *Mayā* and *mayā dig-vijay-aishiṇā* in place of *Chōḍa-rājy-ābhilāshiṇā* (see above, Vol. V, p. 78, verses 13-14 ; Vol. VI, p. 339, verses 14-15 ; see also p. 344).

[2] It has been supposed by some that Kulōttuṅga I was in his teens at the time of his father's death and that this necessitated the installation of Vijayāditya as the successor of Rājarāja I (above, Vol. XXII, p. 271). But the fact that Kulōttuṅga I had a number of grown up sons capable of assuming viceregal responsibilities in territories including Vēṅgī in the year 1076 A.D. seems to show that he was not quite in his teens in 1061 A.D.

[3] Ganguly, op. cit., pp. 122-23 ; *A.R. Ep.*, 1922, p. 97.

It may be pointed out that Kulōttuṅga I claims to have got the kingship of Vēṅgī on his father's death about 1060-61 A.D. though he gave (cf. *nyasta*) that to his uncle Vijayāditya VII who also acknowledges its receipt (cf. *pratyagrahīt*) even though it was at first given (*nyasta*) by him, in his turn, to his son Śaktivarman II. It thus appears that the reigns of both Śaktivarman II and Vijayāditya VII in Vēṅgī were calculated to commence in 1060-61 A.D.

There are two stanzas in the above inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga's sons, in the description of Kulōttuṅga I, which clearly state that the said king became at first the ruler of Vēṅgī (*prathamaṁ Vēṅg-īśvaratvam=adhyāsya*) and was later anointed to the Chōḷa kingdom (*Chōḍa-rājyē=bhishiktaḥ*).[1] Later records of the family represent Kulōttuṅga I as the successor of his father Rājarāja I, but assigns to him a reign of 49 years (rarely 50 years)[2] as the lord of the Chōḷa empire (*śrī-pañcha-Draviḍa-sah-Āndhra-vishayam*)[3] apparently referring to the period 1070-1120 A.D.[4] It is not stated here that he was the king of Vēṅgī after the death of his father Rājarāja I and before his own accession to the Chōḷa throne. This has therefore to be understood as the recognition of the fact, on the part of his successors, that Kulōttuṅga I was not the *de facto* king of Vēṅgī between 1061-70 A.D. even though he claimed to have been the *de jure* lord of that country then under the rule of his proxy, his uncle Vijayāditya VII. That, however, the reign of Kulōttuṅga I was sometimes counted from 1061 A.D. is known from one of his inscriptions dated Śaka 1017 (1095-96 A.D.) and the 35th year of his reign.[5] The mention of Kulōttuṅga I as 'Rājiga, the king of Vēṅgī', in Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*[6] also shows that he was regarded as the king of Vēṅgī at the Chōḷa court. It may also be noted that, if Vijayāditya VII was a Western Chālukya partisan, his rival for the throne of Vēṅgī would scarcely have been mentioned as the king of that country by the Western Chālukya court poet.

The contemporary eulogistic poetical work *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, the hero of which is Kulōttuṅga I, says how the queen of Rājēndra-chōḷa I regarded her daughter's son Kulōttuṅga I as 'worthy to be her [adopted] son and to increase the fame of the Solar race (i.e. the Chōḷa family)', how king Vīrarājēndra made him the *Yuvarāja* and how he, when still a *Yuvarāja*, conquered Chakrakōṭa (i.e. the present Bastar District) and was a terror to Virutarāja (Chālukya Vikramāditya VI).[7] This seems to be quite consistent with what has been said above on the basis of epigraphic evidence misunderstood by scholars. As regards Kulōttuṅga's exploits in the Bastar region apparently against Chālukya Vikramāditya VI who was probably aiding the local Chhinda ruler, a subordinate ally of the Western Chālukyas,[8] it is supported by an inscription[9] of Kulōttuṅga I, dated in his fifth regnal year, which states that, at the time [when he was still] the heir-apparent (*iḷaṅgō*), he conquered Śakkarakōṭṭam and seized a herd of elephants at Vayirāgaram (in the present Chanda District, Maharashtra)'. Under the circumstances, Sastri's theory that Kulōttuṅga I 'spent the best part of the period A. D. 1063-70 in the region of the modern Bastar State'[10] seems to be against all available evidence. A person who did not occupy the Vēṅgī throne for fear of losing the Chōḷa crown would have scarcely liked to have spent such a long period in Bastar to the north of Vēṅgī, even further away from the Chōḷa capital.

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[1] *SII*, Vol. I, verses 9 and 11 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 430, text lines 54-55 and 57-60 ; above, Vol. V, p. 77, verses 8 and 10 ; Vol. VI, p. 338, verse 8, and p. 339, verse 10.

[2] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 227-28.

[3] Ibid., p. 235, verse 22 and note 14.

[4] Kulōttuṅga's accession in 1070-71 A.D. is also supported by his own inscriptions with both regnal and Śaka dates (Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, 2nd ed., p. 290).

[5] *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 56.

[6] VI, 26.

[7] Ganguly, op. cit., p. 110 ; Sastri, op. cit., p. 293.

[8] Cf. *The Struggle for Empire*, ed. Majumdar, p. 215.

[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 142.

[10] Op. cit., p. 292.

Another significant fact is that Kulōttuṅga I sent one of his sons as his viceroy in Vēṅgī immediately after the death of his uncle Vijayāditya VII. This shows that the installation of a son of Kulōttuṅga I in Vēṅgī did not involve the conquest of an enemy's territory since, if Vijayāditya VII was hostile to Kulōttuṅga I, the installation of Kulōttuṅga's son on the Vēṅgī throne immediately after Vijayāditya's death could not have been possible without any struggle with the partisans of the Eastern Chālukya king. But there is no clear evidence of such a struggle. That Vijayāditya VII was not regarded as an enemy by Kulōttuṅga I seems also to be evident from the fact that no attempt is definitely known to have been made by the former to occupy Vēṅgī during the period after his occupation of the Chōḷa throne and before Vijayāditya's death. It is thus clear that, even if parts of the Vēṅgī country may have been till then under the occupation of Western Chālukya forces, the area under Vijayāditya VII passed smoothly after his death to Kulōttuṅga I.

What has been said above would suggest that there was no struggle between Vijayāditya VII and Kulōttuṅga I for the throne of Vēṅgī.[1] But certain copper-plate grants of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga of Kaliṅga state that when Vijayāditya, beginning to grow old, left [the country of] Vēṅgī, as if he were a sun leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Chōḍas, he, Rājarāja (i.e. Chōḍagaṅga's father Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman, 1070-78 A.D.), the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the western region (i.e. the region to the west of the Gaṅga kingdom of Kaliṅga).[2] The Dirghasi inscription of Śaka 997 (1075 A.D.) refers to the victory of Gaṅga Rājarāja's *Mahāpratīhāra* Vanapati over the Chōḍa king's army and other enemies including the king of Vēṅgī whom he claims to have often defeated.[3] On the basis of these statements, it has been supposed that, after his accession to the Chōḷa throne, Kulōttuṅga I was bent on conquering Vēṅgī from Vijayāditya VII who is supposed to have become helpless after the death of the Chōḷa king Vīrarājēndra (1063-70 A.D.).[4] It is, however, not impossible that the reference is to a Chōḷa invasion of Vēṅgī about the close of Vīrarājēndra's reign, which drove Vijayāditya from Vēṅgī and compelled him to seek help from the Eastern Gaṅgas about 1070 A.D.,[5] and that he succeeded in returning to Vēṅgī after Vīrarājēndra's death when a struggle for the Chōḷa throne was going on between Kulōttuṅga I and Vīrarājēndra's son Adhirājēndra. If Kulōttuṅga was responsible for driving him out of Vēṅgī, it is difficult to understand why this success is not noticed in the records of his family, which assign to Vijayāditya a rule of 15 years between 1061 and 1076 A.D.

During Vijayāditya's reign, a good part of the Vēṅgī country must have once been occupied by the forces of Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI who was then a general of his father Sōmēśvara I.[6] The Karuvur inscription of the fourth regnal year of the Chōḷa king Vīrarājēndra states that he attacked and destroyed the powerful army that Vikkalan (i.e. Vikramāditya VI) had 'again'

[1] The theory of enmity between Kulōttuṅga I and his uncle Vijayāditya VII was at first propounded by Hultzsch on inadequate evidence (*SII*, Vol. III, p. 128) and has since been followed by later writers on the subject. Cf. above, Vol. XXII, pp. 271-72 ; etc.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 171. It is strange that Venkataramanayya (op. cit., pp. 221 and 271, note 1) thinks that Kaliṅga had no separate existence in the age in question and that it was a dependancy of Vēṅgī. This is believed by him to be 'clearly brought out in the Charala plates (EI. XXV. p. 262)'. He seems to attach undue importance to claims which should be taken with a grain of salt.

[3] Above, Vol IV, p. 317.

[4] Ganguly, op. cit., p. 115.

[5] Because he was regarded as a traitor by the Chōḷas, he may have been afraid to surrender to the Chōḷa forces and therefore left the country to seek the help of the Eastern Gaṅga king who was his relative.

[6] Note also the existence of an inscription (1057 A.D.) of the reign of Sōmēśvara I in the East Godavari District and the assumption of the title 'lord of Vēṅgī' by the said king's son and viceroy Sōmēśvara II (*The Struggle for Empire*, ed. Majumdar, p. 170). This title goes against the belief that Vijayāditya was a Western Chālukya partisan.

despatched to Veṅgai-nāḍu.[1] The Manimangalam inscription of Vīrarājendra's fifth regnal year also states that he 'reconquered the good country of Vēṅgai and bestowed it on Vijayāditya whose broad hand held weapons of war and who had taken refuge at his lotus-feet'.[2] This shows that Vikramāditya VI had occupied parts of the Vēṅgī kingdom and that Vīrarājēndra helped Vijayāditya VII in regaining them. It appears that soon afterwards Vijayāditya VII was again defeated disastrously by the Western Chālukyas and was compelled to become a subordinate ally of the latter. This may have brought in the intervention of the Chōḷas who probably defeated Vijayāditya and his allies and, as a consequence, the Eastern Chālukya king fled away and received help from the Gaṅga king of Kaliṅga. Since this possible anti-Chōḷa activity of Vijayāditya VII was thrust on him by circumstances, it was not difficult for the Chōḷa king to forgive his subordinate ally. Of course, if it happened during Vīrarājēndra's reign, it was easier for Kulōttuṅga I to be favourably disposed towards his uncle whose help he might have later received in his struggle with the Western Chālukya forces still in occupation of parts of Vēṅgī.

The following dates in the regnal reckoning and the Śaka era belong to the reign of Vijayāditya VII : (1) year 3=Śaka 986 (1064-65 A.D.) ; (2) year 8=Śaka 990 (1068-69 A.D.) ; (3) year 12=Śaka 994 (1072-73 A.D.) ; (4) year 13=Śaka 995 (1073-74 A.D.).[3] They show that Vijayāditya's reign was calculated as beginning from Śaka 983=1061-62 A.D. The Ryali copper-plate grants were issued in his 12th regnal year, i.e. 1072-73 A.D.[4] His 15th regnal year, in which he seems to have died, would correspond to 1075-76 A.D.

Besides the facts discussed above, these dates and a few others of his reign make it impossible to believe that *Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka*[5] Vijayāditya VII of Vēṅgī is identical with his namesake who was a subordinate chief and is mentioned in the records of the reign of Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara I, especially when the said chief is supposed to have been the Western Chālukya governor of the province of Noḷambavāḍi (i.e. parts of the Bellary, Anantapur, Kolar and Tumkur Districts) and the adjoining area 'from A.D. 1063 to 1066'.[6] The same person could scarcely have been the king of Vēṅgī and the Western Chālukya viceroy of Noḷambavāḍi at the same time.

We have indicated above a few solid facts of the reigns of the Eastern Chālukya kings Rājarāja I and Vijayāditya VII. The claims and counter-claims of the Chōḷas and Western Chālukyas in respect of Vēṅgī during the period in question should be viewed against the background of these facts.

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[1] *SII*, Vol. III, p. 37.

[2] Ibid., p. 69.

[3] Ganguly, op. cit., pp. 106-08.

[4] *JAHRS*, Vol. IX, Part i, p. 35.

[5] These titles are found in his Ryali copper-plate inscriptions while the Pamulavaka plates, issued after he had been set up as a rival of his brother Rājarāja I, call him *Mahārāja Rājādhirāja*.

[6] Venkataramanayya, op. cit., p. 250. The Western Chālukya viceroy is also known from an inscription of 1074 A.D. (*A.R. Ep.*, 1946-47, No. B 237) and now also from another dated 1051 A.D. (above, pp. 253ff.)

No. 37—DEVALI PLATES OF GOVINDA, VALABHI 500

(*2 Plates*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 2.3.1961*)

This **set** of three copper plates was in the possession of a cultivator of the village of **Dēvali** in the Talaja District of the former Bhavnagar State (now the Bhavnagar District of Gujarat). It was presented to the Mahārājā Sāheb of Bhavnagar in 1944 and was preserved in the Barton Museum, Bhavnagar.[1] A short note on the inscription was read by Dr. P.M. Modi at the Nagpur Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, 1944, while an unsatisfactory transcript of it was later published with a sketchy introductory note and plates by Dr. S. C. Upadhyay in the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Vols. XXIV-XXV, 1951-52, pp. 196 ff. The defect of Dr. Upadhyay's transcript is that, besides containing numerous minor inaccuracies, the new stanzas occurring in the inscription have not been fully and correctly read (cf. especially verses 30, 34, 36 and 40) whereas the text of the verses previously known from other inscriptions has not generally been quoted exactly as they are worded in the present record. It should be remembered in this connection that, of the three known charters of the time of the donor of the present grant, viz. *Samadhigatāśēshamahāśabda Mahāsāmantādhipati* **Prabhūtavarsha Gōvindarāja** of the second feudatory Rāshṭrakūṭa family of the Gujarat region, the Torkhede plates (Śaka 735)[2] were actually issued by his feudatory, *Samadhigatāśēshamahāśabda Mahāsāmanta*[3] Buddhavarasa, who was the son of Rājāditya and grandson of Maṇināga of the Śalukika (Chālukya) family and ruled over the Sīharakhī-12 area, and have only a few stanzas in the introductory section. Similar is the case with Gōvinda's Prince of Wales Museum plates (Śaka 732) having only 15 introductory verses.[4] The Kavi plates (Śaka 749)[5] of Gōvinda have of course a large number of verses in common with the present record. The inscription under study has a special importance because it not only offers us some new stanzas but also throws some new light on the history of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty in question and raises certain problems, which Dr. Upadhyay failed to realise.

Of the three plates of the set, the first and third measure each about one foot in length and nine inches in height while the second plate is about ·4 inch higher than the other two. The plates have raised rims for the protection of the writing and their corners are rounded off. There are two ring holes (each about half inch in diameter) in the upper margin of the plates ; but the rings that must have passed through them to hold the plates together and the **seal** expected to have been affixed to one of the rings are not available. The second plate has writing on both the sides while the other two plates are engraved only on the inner side. There are altogether 79 lines of writing in the following order : Plate I—20 lines, Plate IIa—23 lines, Plate IIb—22 lines and Plate III—14 lines. The preservation of the writing is not very satisfactory, some letters being rubbed off here and there.

[1] The copper-plate grants of this museum were recently transferred to the local institution called Gāndhi Smṛiti which I visited for copying the inscription about the close of January 1960.

[2] Above, Vol. III, pp. 53 ff.

[3] Note that he is called a *Mahāsāmanta* whereas his immediate liege-lord Gōvinda enjoyed the higher feudatory title *Mahāsāmantādhipati*.

[4] Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 248.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 144 ff.

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The **characters** of the inscription belong to the West Indian variety of the Telugu-Kannaḍa alphabet while the donor's signature copied in line 78 is in the Siddhamātṛikā characters of North India.[1] We know that the charters of the family to which the donor belonged were written either in the Northern or in the Southern alphabet while the characters of the copy of the donor's signature are sometimes different from those employed in the records themselves.[2] The initial vowels *a* (lines 61, 72, 76), *ā* (lines 11, 12, 62, 71), *i* (lines 6, 30, 38, 58, 76, 77), *u* (lines 38, 60) and *ē* (lines 38, 60) occur and also *avagraha* (line 60), final *t* (lines 12, 14, 30, 37, 49, 71) and final *n* (lines 28, 35, 44, 50, 52, 55). While final *t* has been written in two different ways (cf. lines 12 and 14), final *n*, in the cases cited above, has been written without superscribing it to the following consonant. The letter *b* has also been written in two ways (cf. *balēna* in line 11 and *bandhu* in line 28).

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. Its **orthography** is characterised by the general use of class nasals in preference to *anusvāra* which has, however, been generally used for final *m* at the end of the halves of stanzas. There are many cases of the wrong use of *anusvāra* (as in *samaṁm=ēva* in line 4) and, in one case, *siṁha* has been spelt as *siṅgha* (line 3).

The **date** of the record is quoted in words as the **Vālabhīya year 500** and the occasion of the grant is stated to have been a **solar eclipse** (lines 63-64). The era referred to is the Gupta-Valabhī Saṁvat, the year 500 of which corresponds to Śaka 740 expired or 741 current = 818-19 A. D.[3] The solar eclipse in question may have been the one on the **31st December** in the **year 818 A.D.** or on the **26th June 819 A.D.**

The introductory part of the record under study contains 41 stanzas (lines 1-54), of which verses 1-28 (lines 1-36) describing the genealogy of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty down to **Gōvinda III** (c. 794-814 A. D.) are the same as in the Kavi plates of Gōvindarāja himself as well as in many other epigraphs of the family.[4] The section begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the well-known *maṅgala* verse *Sa vō=vyād=Vēdhasā dhāma*, etc., while verse 2 introduces Rāshṭrakūṭa **Gōvinda I,** the great-grandfather of **Dantidurga** (c. 740-57 A.D.) who established the imperial status of the family. The section concludes with the description of king Gōvinda III in verses 23-28 (lines 29-36).

Of the remaining 13 stanzas describing the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor **Amōghavarsha I** (c. 814-78 A. D.) and his subordinate uncles Karka and Gōvinda, verses 29-30, 34, 36 and 39 are new stanzas, the other 8 stanzas being found either in the Kavi or P. W. Museum plates or in some other records of the family.[5] These new verses, however, do not contain any important historical information.

The following section in prose in lines 54-70 records the grant proper. The charter was issued by *Samadhigatāśēshamahāśabda Mahāsāmantādhipati* **Gōvindarāja,** while he was staying at **Pālittāṇaka** (modern Pālītānā in Kathiawar), in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Sōma who was the son of Karka and a resident of **Valabhī** and was a member of the Chaturvēdin community of that

[1] Cf. the P. W. Museum plates (above, Vol. XXVI, Plate facing p. 253).

[2] Cf. the grant of Dhruva, son of Gōvinda's elder brother Karka, which is illustrated above, Vol. XXII, Plates between pp. 74 and 75 and facing p. 76, the charter being written in Northern characters but the signature in the Southern alphabet (cf. also the Baroda plates of the same king illustrated in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, Plates between pp. 200 and 201), though the record of Karka illustrated in Plates between pp. 82 and 85 of the same volume are written entirely in the Southern alphabet.

[3] To get the equivalent Christian year, 318-19 requires to be added to the current Kārttikādi Valabhī year and 19-20 to the current Chaitrādi Gupta year according to some authorities (see Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeries*, Vol. I, Part i, p. 54).

[4] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 145-47 ; above, Vol. XXII, pp. 80-83 ; etc.

[5] Verses 31-32, 35, 37-38 and 41 are found among the 11 stanzas of the corresponding section in the Kavi plates. For verse 33, cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 160.

place. The donee belonged to the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra* and was a student of the Vājasanēya-Mādhyandina *śākhā*. The royal order in respect of the grant was addressed to all the officers who were concerned with the gift land (*yathāsambadhyamānaka*) such as the *rāshṭrapati*, *vishayapati*, *grāmakūṭa*, *āyukta*, *niyuktaka*, *adhikārika* and *mahattara*. The gift land consisted of a field (*kshētra*) called **Kōhala** which was situated within the boundaries of a locality named **Dēillikā.**[1] The said land was bounded by the boundary of **Kōlaka-grāma** in the east, the **Śatruñjaya** river in the south, the boundary of **Āllēsaka-grāma** in the west, and the Jarat river (or a dried up river bed) in the north. The grant was a permanent one and carried with it the usual privileges known from many other records of the donor's family including his own Kavi plates.

The above section is followed by the donor's request to the future rulers for the protection of his grant and a quotation of some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas ascribed to *Vēda-vyāsa* Vyāsa (lines 66-77). Line 78 contains the statement that the executor of the grant was *Bhaṭṭa* Kumāra or Śrīkumāra. The donor's signature on the original document is copied in the North Indian Siddhamātṛikā characters in the second half of the same line. Line 79, with which the document ends, states that it was written by Jajjulla who was the son of *Kulaputra* (nobleman) Padmanābha. This writer is already known from the P. W. Museum plates.

The **most interesting feature** of the inscription under study is its **date in the Valabhī Saṁvat 500.** The Maitrakas of Valabhī (modern Vaḷā in the Bhavnagar District, Kathiawar) were originally feudatories of the Imperial Guptas and continued to use the Gupta era of 319 A.D. (though the Valabhī year began a few months earlier than the Gupta year) even after the latter had lost their hold on the Western provinces of their empire. The latest Maitraka record is dated in the Gupta year 447 (765 A. D.).[2] After the fall of the Maitrakas, the use of the Gupta era was continued in the records of Kathiawar and it was often particularised as the Valabhī era,[3] the earliest such document so far known being the Una plate[4] of Valabhī-saṁvat 574. The present epigraph thus pushes back the use of the name Valabhī in association with the era in question by no less than 74 years.

It is interesting in this connection to note that no record of the early Kannaḍiga dynasties of the Gujarat region, so far published, expresses its date in the Valabhī era. The only answer to the question why the present charter was dated in that particular era seems to be that it recorded a grant of land in Kathiawar where the use of the said era was popular during the period in question. This is also suggested by the fact that Gōvinda made the grant from Pālittāṇaka, i.e. modern Palitana to the south-west of Bhavnagar in Kathiawar. Thus the field called Kōhala, situated within the boundaries of Dēillikā, would appear to have been situated in Kathiawar. Indeed, this Dēillikā is no other than the village of Devali in the present Bhavnagar District, where the inscription under study was found.

The territories, ruled by the feudatory Rāshṭrakuṭa family, to which the donor of the present charter belonged, is generally referred to as Lāṭa. This is because Indrarāja is described in the inscriptions of the family as having obtained the Lāṭēśvara or Lāṭīya *maṇḍala* from his brother, the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Gōvinda III, and also because Indrarāja's son Karkarāja is called *Lāṭēśvara* or ' lord of Lāṭa ' in one of his charters.[5] As we shall see below, Karka's capital was at Khēṭaka (modern Kaira), though Fleet believed that Navasārikā (modern Nausārī in the Broach

[1] It is difficult to say whether the word *sīmā* in the expression *Dēillikā-sīmā-pratibaddha* means a small territorial unit like a Pargana. It is often used in this sense in the medieval inscriptions of South India.

[2] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1375.

[3] Ibid., Nos. 1379-84.

[4] Ibid., No. 1379.

[5] Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 309-10 ; cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 160, text lines 31 and 41.

District) was the capital of this Lāṭa country which was originally bounded by the river Kim in the north, the Damangaṅgā in the south and the Western Ghāṭs in the east, the northern boundary of the land, however, being the Mahī during the age of these Rāshṭrakūṭas.[1] B. Bhattacharya suggests that most of the charters of the Rāshṭrakūṭa house in question record gifts of land in the former Baroda State and that all the villages granted by Suvarṇavarsha Karkarāja, elder brother of the donor of our charter, lay in that State.[2] It will be seen that these Rāshṭrakūṭas are thus supposed to have ruled over Central and Southern Gujarat. The present inscription, however, proves that the Rāshṭrakūṭa chief Gōvindarāja was ruling over a territory including the south-eastern areas of Kathiawar. This is an important addition to our knowledge of the history of Kathiawar in general and of the second feudatory family of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the Gujarat region in particular.

We know that Gōvindarāja mentions himself as the younger brother of Karkarāja who issued his Baroda,[3] Nausari,[4] Anastu,[5] Surat[6] and Brāhmaṇapalli[7] charters respectively in the Śaka years 734, 738, 739, 743 and 746, while the grants of Gōvinda himself were issued in Śaka 732, Valabhī 500=Śaka 740 and Śaka 749 and a grant of one of his feudatories bears a date in Śaka 735. This fact shows that **the two brothers were ruling at the same time,** Karka at least from Śaka 734 to 746 and Gōvinda at least from Śaka 732 to 749. Earlier writers like Bühler and Hultzsch, who wrote when only Karka's record of Śaka 734 and Gōvinda's charter of Śaka 749 were known, besides a few of Karka's descendants, referred to the absence of Gōvinda's name in the records of the descendants of his elder brother Karka and suggested that this was because the younger brother was the usurper of the elder brother's territories.[8] Since Gōvinda's record of Śaka 749 does not mention the name of the contemporary Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Amōghavarsha I, it was also believed that he rebelled against the overlord whom his elder brother Karka is known to have seated on the throne. Fleet writing after the discovery of the Torkhede plates of Śaka 735 belonging to Gōvindarāja's rule, which mention the contemporary Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Gōvinda III, suggested that Gōvindarāja may have first rebelled against his elder brother Karka and opposed the accession of Amōghavarsha I in the earlier part of his career, that he rebelled against the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor again about the end of his rule and that, as a result of the second rebellion on his part against Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭa authority, sometime after the issue of his Kavi plates in Śaka 749, the administration of Lāṭa was taken out of his hands and was made over to his nephew Dhārāvarsha-Nirupama Dhruvarāja, son of Karkarāja.[9] Without any knowledge of Karka's later records, these scholars apparently believed that Gōvinda ruled over Lāṭa after his elder brother's death.

After the discovery of Karka's Nausari (Śaka 738) and Surat (Śaka 743) plates bearing dates later than that of Gōvinda's Torkhede plates (Śaka 735), A. S. Altekar drew our attention to the respectful mention of Karka in the records of Gōvinda and concluded that the latter did not really revolt against Karka but was only 'a princely regent appointed by his brother'. Thus in Altekar's opinion, expressed when Gōvinda's P. W. Museum plates of Śaka 732 and the present grant of Valabhī 500=Śaka 740 were not known, Gōvinda was 'Karka's deputy governing

[1] *Bomb. Gaz.*, loc. cit.
[2] Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 79-80.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 156 ff.
[4] *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, pp. 131 ff.
[5] Gadre, *Imp. Ins. Bar. St.*, pp. 25 ff.
[6] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 133 ff.
[7] Ibid., Vol. XXII, pp. 77 ff.
[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 180 ; Vol. XIV, p. 197.
[9] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 408-09.

the Gujarat kingdom on behalf of his brother while he (i.e. Karka) was absent at Malkhed during Amōghavarsha's minority'.[1] About the same time, B. Bhattacharya also offered such a view as probable though he did not exclude other possibilities such as Gōvinda rebelling against his brother and being subdued by Karka with imperial Rāshṭrakūṭa help.[2] While editing the P.W. Museum plates issued by Gōvinda in Śaka 732, M. G. Dikshit suggested that 'both the brothers were ruling jointly or at least either of them had the full authority to make donation of land without each other's consent'.[3] But the evidence now at our disposal seems to suggest that these views are untenable.

In the first place, it has to be noticed that the records issued by Karkarāja and Gōvindarāja during the rule of their overlord Gōvinda III introduced their father Indrarāja as the brother of the overlord while their grants issued during the reign of Amōghavarsha I introduce Indrarāja as the uncle of the said Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor. The representation of Indra as the brother of Gōvinda III in the Kavi plates issued in Śaka 749 during the reign of Amōghavarsha I, however, follows the draft of the earlier records of Karka and Gōvinda apparently due to a clerical error. Altekar therefore seems to be right when he explains the non-mention of Amōghavarsha I in the Kavi plates as the result of a mistake.[4]

Secondly, we now know that the dates of the eight records of the time of the two brothers, Karka and Gōvinda, if they ruled over the same territory, do not suggest only two periods of rule for the two brothers, viz. the first for Karka and the second for Gōvinda. It will be seen that the brothers were ruling in the following years : Gōvinda in Śaka 732 ; Karka in Śaka 734 ; Gōvinda in Śaka 735 ; Karka in Śaka 738 and 739 ; Gōvinda in Valabhī 500=Śaka 740 : Karka in Śaka 743 and 746 ; Gōvinda in Śaka 749. If therefore Gōvinda rebelled against Karka and occupied the latter's territories, he must have done that not merely once but for many times. This does not look like a possibility at all especially in view of the respectful mention of Karka in all of Gōvinda's records. The other suggestion that Gōvinda ruled Lāṭa during Karka's absence at Malkhed is equally wrong since we now know that Gōvinda was ruling in Śaka 732, i.e. before the death of Gōvinda III. The theory does not also explain how Gōvinda was ruling even before the earliest known date and after the latest known date of his elder brother.

Thirdly, both Karka and Gōvinda enjoyed the same official designation, viz. *Samadhigatāśēshamahāśabda Mahāsāmantādhipati*, and it is doubtful whether the regent would have enjoyed the same official status as the ruler he represented without indicating the difference in their official positions in any way.[5] Fourthly, if Karka was the real ruler of the land and Gōvinda merely his regent, the subordinate Śalukika chief, *Samadhigatāśēshamahāśabda Mahāsāmanta* Buddhavarasa of Sīharakhī-12, should probably have mentioned Karka as his master and not Gōvinda as he does in the Torkhede plates. As regards Dikshit's suggestion, it is difficult to understand how two rulers could have exercised equal authority at the same time over the same land.

That Gōvindarāja was neither his brother's regent nor was he sharing the throne with his brother seems also to be proved by another piece of evidence. The Baroda (Śaka 734), Nausari (Śaka 738), Anastu (Śaka 739), Surat (Śaka 743) and Brāhmaṇapallī (Śaka 746) records of Karka are known to have been written respectively by the following officers of the king : (1) Nēmāditya

[1] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 68.

[2] Ibid., pp. 78-79.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 251.

[4] Ibid., Vol. XXII, p. 68.

[5] Aparimitavarsha Dantivarman, who was a younger son of Karka and issued a grant in Śaka 789 with the clear approval of the ruling chief, his elder brother Dhruva, enjoyed the title *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, but is called *Samadhigatapañchamahāśabda* and not *Samadhigatāśēshamahāśabda* (above, Vol. VI, pp. 285 ff.).

son of *Mahāsāndhivigrahika Kulaputra* Durgabhaṭa ; (2) *Sāndhivigrahika* Nēmāḍitya ; (3) Nēmāditya, son of *Kulaputraka* Durgabhaṭa ; (4) *Mahāsāndhivigrah-ādhikṛita* Nārāyaṇa, son of *Kulaputra* Durgabhaṭṭa(ṭa) ; and (5) *Sāndhivigrahika* Nārāyaṇa. It will be seen that all these charters were written by two officers belonging to the same family. It is also interesting to note that the same Nārāyaṇa (wrongly given as *Kārāyaṇa*), son of Durgabhaṭa, was also the writer of the Baroda plates[1] of Karka's son Dhruva, dated Śaka 757. If therefore Gōvinda really ruled over Karka's territory as a regent during the latter's stay elsewhere or if the two brothers ruled conjointly over the same territory, the same officers are expected to have served them. But it is quite significant that none of the four records of Gōvinda's time was written by the persons responsible for writing Karka's charters. The Torkhede plates (Śaka 735), issued by his subordinate Buddhavarsa, was written by Krishṇa, son of Nanna, while the P.W. Museum (Śaka 732), Devali (Valabhī 500= Śaka 740) and Kavi (Śaka 749) plates, issued by Gōvinda himself, were written respectively by (1) Jajjulla, son of *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Padmanābha, (2) the same Jajjulla called the son of *Kulaputra* Padmanābha, and (3) Yōgēśvara, son of *Mahāsandhivigrah-ādhikṛita Kulaputra* Avalōkita. The name apparently of the said Avalōkita occurs in a grant (Śaka 806) of Dhruva, great-grandson of Karka, as that of the father of its writer *Valabhī-vāstavya-Mahāsandhivigrah-ākshapaṭal-ādhipati* Dēnda.[2]

The above discussion would suggest that, like the three Lāṭa Chālukya chiefs Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha and his sons Śryāśraya Śīlāditya and Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa ruling over different areas of Gujarat at the same time at an earlier date,[3] the Rāshṭrakūṭa chiefs Karka and his younger brother Gōvinda also must have been ruling over different parts of the Gujarat region contemporaneously. The internal evidence of the Kavi plates points to Gōvinda's hold over the Broach-Kavi region of the Broach District[4] while Sīharakhī mentioned in the Torkhede plates as the fief of his subordinate Buddhavarasa has been supposed to be a place near Baroda.[5] The place names mentioned in the P. W. Museum plates have been located near Vadaj in the former Baroda State.[6] Thus the area ruled by Gōvinda lay very close to the land under his elder brother Karka and was apparently situated to the west of the territory under the latter. The present inscription shows that Gōvinda extended Rāshṭrakūṭa rule as far as the Palitana-Bhavnagar region of South-Eastern Kathiawar. It may be conjectured that the territory under Gōvinda's rule passed on his death to the descendants of his brother Karka. We have already referred to the fact that Dēnda, son of Gōvinda's *Mahāsandhivigrah-ādhikṛita* Avalōkita, was the *Mahāsandhivigrah-ākshapaṭal-ādhipati* under Karka's great-grandson Dhruva.

Attention may be drawn to another point in this connection. Karka issued his charter from certain places including Khēṭaka (modern Kaira, headquarters of the District of that name in Gujarat), which is stated to have been his *rājadhānī* or capital in the Anastu plates.[7] As indicated above, Gōvinda's Kavi plates were issued from Broach and the Devali plates from Palitana, though we do not know where his headquarters lay. Another point of interest is that, while Gōvinda issued his Kavi plates in Śaka 749 from Bharukachchha, Karka's Anastu plates of Śaka 739 record

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 200.

[2] Cf. above, Vol. XXII, p. 76, text lines 70-71.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 118-19.

[4] At the time of making the grant Gōvinda was stationed at Bharukachchha (Broach) and granted land in favour of a temple at Kōṭipura in Kāpikā (modern Kavi to the south of the mouth of the Mahi). The land granted by the charter lay to the south of Kavi.

[5] See, however, above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 216.

[6] Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 248.

[7] Gadre, op. cit., p. 32, text line 43. Khēṭaka or Kaira was also the headquarters of the first feudatory Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty of the Gujarat region (cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 214).

the gift of a village in the Bharukachchha *vishaya*, i.e. the district of which Broach was the headquarters. If the two brothers ruled over separate areas as suggested by us, this requires an explanation. It may be that, in Śaka 749, Karka was no more and that Gōvinda was also ruling over the territory previously held by his brother. It may also be alternatively conjectured that the Broach area formed a part of Karka's territory in Śaka 739 but of Gōvinda's ten years later owing to some adjustment of the two brothers' jurisdictions. A third possibility is that Gōvinda visited Broach in his brother's territory on pilgrimage and made the grant on that occasion. The fourth possibility would be that one part of Broach lay in Karka's territory and the other part in Gōvinda's as in the case of Jerusalem today, parts of which fall in Jordan and parts in Israel.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscriptions, the location of Lāṭa, Valabhī, Pālittāṇaka and Dēillikā has already been discussed. Dakshiṇāpatha or the Deccan is mentioned in verse 33 which states that Indrarāja of Lāṭa saved the frightened circle of the feudatory rulers of the Deccan when they were being deprived of their wealth by the Vallabhēśvara (Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor) apparently by pleading on their behalf. The gift land is described as bounded by the villages called Kōlakagrāma and Āllēsakagrāma as well as of two rivers named Śatruñjaya and Jarat, though it is probable that *jaran-nadī* really means 'a dried up river'. All these were near Devali, the findspot of the inscription under study, the Śatruñjaya-nadī being no doubt the modern Shetrunjee river. But I have not been able to trace the other names on the maps available to me.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : verses 1, 22, 42-43, 45, 47 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 2-3, 5-6, 8-9, 15, 23, 25, 27, 29-30, 32, 35, 40 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 4, 19, 37-38 *Upajāti* ; verse 7 *Gīti* ; verses 10, 17, 20, 28, 33-34, 36, 39 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 11-14, 24, 26, 41 *Āryā* ; verses 16, 18 *Sragdharā* ; verses 21, 31, 44, 46 *Indravajrā* ; verse 48 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate

1 Siddham[2] [||*] Sa vō=vyād=Vēdhasā dhāma yan-nābhi-kamalaṁ=kṛitaṁ(tam) | Haraś=cha yasya kānt-ēndu-kalayā kam=alaṁ(la)ṅkṛitaṁ(tam) || [1*] Āsīd=dvishat-timiram=udya-

2 ta-maṇḍal-āgrō dhvastiṁ nayann=abhimukhō raṇa-śarvvarīshu | bhūpaḥ śuchir=vvidhur=iv=āsta(shṭa)-diganta-kīrttir=**Ggōvindarāja** iti rāja-

3 [su] rāja-siṅghaḥ(siṁhaḥ) || [2*] Dṛishṭvā chamūm=abhimuṁ(mu)khī[ṁ*] subhaṭ-āṭṭahāsāṁ-(sā)m=unnāmitaṁ sapadi yēna raṇēshu nityaṁ(tyam) | dashṭ-ādharēṇa dadha-

4 tā bhrukuṭiṁ lalāṭē khaḍgaṁ kulañ=cha hṛidayañ=cha nijañ=cha satvaṁ(ttvam) || [3*] Khaḍgaṁ(ḍgaḥ) kar-āgrān=mukhataś=cha śōbhāṁ(bhā) ma(mā)nō [manastaḥ] samaṁ(ma)-m=ēva yasya |

5 mah-āhavē nāma niśamya sadyas=trayaṁ ripūṇāṁ vigalaty=akāṇḍē || [4*] Tasy=ātmajō jagati viśruta-[śu]bhra-kīrttir=ārtt-ārtti-hā-

6 ri-Hari-vikrama-dhāma-dhārī | bhūpas=trivishṭapa-nṛip-ānukṛitiḥ kṛitajñaḥ śrī-**Karkkarāja** iti gōtra-maṇir=babhūva [||] [5*] [Ta]sya prabhi-

[1] From impressions.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

7 nna-karaṭa-chyuta-dāna-danti-danta-prahāra-ruchir-ōllikhitānsa(t-āṁsa)-pīṭhaḥ[|*] kshmāpaḥ kshitau kshapita-śatrur=abhūt=tanūjaḥ [sad-**Rāshṭra]kūṭa**-Kanakā-

8 drir=iv=**Endrarājaḥ** || [6*] Tasy=ōpārjjita-mahasas=tana[ya]ś=chatur-udadhi-valaya-[m]āli-nyā[ḥ |*] bhōktā bhuvaḥ |[1] Śatakratu-sa[dṛi]śaḥ śrī-**Da-**

9 **ntidurggarājō**=bhūt || [7*] [K]**āñchīśa-Kērala**-narādhipa-**Chōla-Pāṇḍya**-śrī-**Harsha-Vajraṭa**-vibhēda-vidhāna-dakshaṁ(ksham) | **Karṇṇāṭakaṁ** balam=achintya-

10 m=ajēyam=anyair=bhṛityaiḥ kiyadbhir=api yaḥ sahasā jigāya || [8*] A-bhrū-vibhaṅgaṁ(ṅga)-m=agṛihīta-niśāta-śastraṁ(stra)m=aśrāntam=aprati[hat]-ājñam=apē-

11 ta-yatnaṁ(tnam) | yō **Vallabhaṁ** sapadi daṇḍa-balēna jitvā rājādhirāja-paramēśvaratāṁ-(tā)m=avāpa || [9*] Ā sētōr=vvipul-ōpal-āvali-la[sa*]-

12 l-lōl-ō[r*]mmi-mālā-[jalā*]d=ā prālēya-kala[ṅki]t-āmala-śilā-jālāt=Tushārāchalāt | ā pūrvv-āpara-tōyarāśi-pulina-prānta-prasiddh-ā-

13 vadhēr=yyēn=ēyaṁ jagatī sva-vikrama-balēn=aik-ātapatrīkṛitā || [10*] Tasmin=divaṁ prayātē Vallabharājē kshata-prajā-bādhaḥ [|*] śrī-**Karkkarāja-**

14 sūnur=mahīpatiḥ **Kṛishṇarājō**=bhūt || [11*] Yasya sva-bhuja-parākrama-niḥśēsh-ōchchhā-(tsā)dit-āri-dik-chakraṁ(kram) | Kṛishṇasy=ēv=ākṛishṇa-

15 cha[ritaṁ śrī-**Kṛishṇarājasya** || [12*] **Śubhatuṅga**-tuṅga-turaga-pravṛiddha-rēṇ-ūrddhva-ruddha-ravi-kiraṇaṁ(ṇam) | grīshmē=pi nabhō nikhilaṁ prāvṛiṭkā-

16 [lāyatē] spashṭaṁ(shṭam) || [13*] Dīn-ānātha-praṇayishu yathēshṭa-chēshṭaṁ samīhitam=ajasraṁ(sram) | tat-kshaṇam=**Akālavarshō** varshati sarvv-ā[r*]tti-

17 nirvv[āpa]ṇaṁ(ṇam) || [14*] **Rāhappam**=ātma-bhuja-jāta-bal-āvalēpam=ājau vijitya niśit-āsi-latāṁ(tā)-prahāraiḥ [|*] pāli-dhvaj-āvali-śubhām=achirē-

18 ṇa yō hi r[ā]jādhirāja-paramēśvaratāṁ tatāna || [15*] Krōdhād=utkhāta-khaḍga-prasṛita-r[uch]i-chayair=bhāsamānaṁ samantād=ājā-

19 v=udvṛitta-vairi-prakaṭa-gaja-ghaṭ-āṭōpa-saṁkshōbha-daksha[ṁ](ksham) | śauryya[ṁ] tyaktv=āri-varggō bhaya-[chaki]ta-vapuḥ kv=āpi dṛishṭv=ai-

20 va sadyō darpp-ādhmā[t]-āri-[cha]kra-kshayakaram=agamad=yasya [dō]rddaṇḍa-rūpaṁ-(pam) |[|16*] Pātā yaś=chatur-ambu-[2]

[1] The mark of punctuation should be deleted.

[2] There is another partially beaten-in line of writing below this and that has to be read from the opposite side. The engraver began to incise the inscription from that side, but gave it up in the first line.

ii, a

ii, b

iii

Second Plate, First Side

21 [rāśi]-ra[śa]n-[ā]laṅkāra-bhājō bhuva[s=tra]yyāś=ch=āpi kṛita-dvij-āmara-guru-prājy-ājya-pūj-ādaraḥ | dātā mānabhṛid-agra-

22 ṇīr=guṇavatāṁ yō=sau śriyō vallabhō bhōktuṁ svargga-phalāni bhūri-tapasā sthānaṁ jagām=āmaraṁ(ram) || [17*] Yēna svē-

23 t-ātapatra-prahata-ravikara-vrāta-tāpāt=sa-līlaṁ jagmē nāsīra-dhūlī-dhavalita-śirasā **Vallabh-ākhyaḥ** sad=ājau | [śrīmān]=**Gōvinda-**

24 **rājō** jita-jagad=ahitaḥ(ta)-stryai(strai)ṇa-vaidhavya-dakshas=tasy=āsīt=sūnur=ēkaḥ kshaṇa-raṇa-dalit-ārāti-mattēbha-kumbhaḥ || [18*] Tasy=ātmajaḥ

25 **śrī-Dhruvarāja**-nāma(mā) mah-ānubhāvō(vaḥ) prahata-pratāpaḥ [|*] prasādhit-āśēsha-narēndra-chakraḥ kramēṇa bāl-ārkka-vapur=babhūva || [19*] Jātē ya-

26 tra [cha **Rā]shṭrakūṭa**-tilakē sad-bhūpa-chūḍāmaṇau gurvvī tushṭir=ath=ākhilasya jagataḥ su-svāmini pratyahaṁ(ham |) satyaṁ satyam=iti pra[śā]-

27 sati sati kshmām=ā samudr-āntikām=āsīd=dharmma-parē guṇ-āmṛita-nidhau satya-vrat-ādhishṭhitē || [20*] Hṛishṭō=nv-ahaṁ nyō(yō)=rtthi-janāya sarvva[ṁ] sa-

28 rvvasvam=ānandita-bandhu-varggaḥ | prādād=prarushṭō harati sma vēgāt=prāṇān Yamasy=āmi(pi) nitānta-vīryyaḥ || [21*] Raksha[tā yē]na niḥśē[shaṁ] chatu-

29 r-ambhōdhi-saṁyutaṁ(tam |) rājyaṁ dharmmēṇa lōkānāṁ kṛitā tushṭiḥ parā hṛidi || [22*] Tasy=ātmajō jagati sat-prathit-ōru-kīrttir=**Ggōvindarāja** iti

30 gōtra-lalāma-bhūtaḥ [|*] tyāgī parākrama-dhanaḥ prakaṭa-pratāpa-saṁtāpit-āhita-janō jana-vallabhō=bhūt || [23*] **Pṛithvīvalla[bha*]** iti cha prathi-

31 taṁ yasy=āparaṁ jagati nāma | yaś=cha [cha*]tur-udadhi-sīmām=ēkō vasudhāṁ vaśē chakrē || [24*] Ēkō=py=anēka-rūpō yō dadṛiśē bhē-

32 da-vādibhir=iv=ātmā | para-bala-jaladhim=apāraṁ taran=sva-dōrbhyāṁ raṇē ripubhiḥ || [25*] Ēkō nirhētir=ahaṁ gṛihīta-śastrā imē parē baha-

33 vaḥ | yō n=aivaṁvidham=akarōch=chittaṁ svapnē=pi kim=ut=ājau || [26*] Rājy-ā[bhishē]-ka-kalaśair=abhishichya dattāṁ rājādhi[rā]ja-paramēśvaratāṁ

34 sva-pitrā | anyair=mmahā-nṛipatibhir=bahubhiḥ samētya Stambh-ādibhir=bhuja-balād=avalupyamānāṁ(nām) || [27*] Ēkō=nēka-narēndra-vṛinda-sa-

35 hitān vyastān samā(ma)stān=api prōtkhāt-āsi-latā-prahāra-vidhurān ba[d*]dhvā mahā-saṁyugē | lakshmīm=apy=achalāṁ chakāra vilasa-

36 [t-sa*]ch-chāmara-grāh[i]ṇīṁ saṁsīdad-guru-vipra-sajjana-suhṛid-bandh-ūpabhōgyāṁ bhuvi || [28*] Tasmād=babhūva śaśi-śubhra-yaśō-vitā-

37 na-vibhrājitā(ta)-tribhuvanō nna(na)ta-vairi-varggaḥ [|*] śrīmān=mahā-dhana-payōbhir= **Amōghavarshō** nirvvāpit-ākhila-jagad-ghaśa(na)-tāpa-saṁpat || [29*]

38 Pradyumna ēsha kimu Yādava-vaṅśa(vaṁśa)-kētuḥ kiṁ Kārttikēya uta śakti-nirasta-śatruḥ [|*] ki[ṁ*] vai Jayanta iha saṁgata Indra-kōpāt |[1] saṁpaśyatāṁ

39 bhavati vishma(sma)ya-hāri chētaḥ || [30*] Asy=ābhavad=bhūmipatiḥ pṛi(pi)tṛivyaḥ śrīmān= k[r*]amāt=san-matir=**Indrarājaḥ** | śāstā prabhūt-ādbhuta-kī-

40 rtti-sūtiḥ sarvvasya **Lāṭ-ēśvara-maṇḍalasya** || [31*] Yasy=āṅga-mātra-jayinaḥ priya-sāhasasya kshmāpāla-vēsha-phalam=ēva babhūva

41 sainyaṁ(nyam) | muktvā cha sarvva-bhuvan-ēśvaram=ādi-dēvaṁ n=āvandat=ānyam= amarēshv=api yō manasvī || [32*] Yēn=aikēna cha **Gūrjjar-ē-**

42 **śvara**-patir=yyōddhuṁ samabhyudyataḥ |[1] śauryya-prōddhata-kandharō mṛiga iva kshipraṁ diśō grāhitaḥ ||(|) bhīt-āsaṁhata-**Dakshiṇā-**

43 **patha**-mahā-sāmanta-chakraṁ yatō rakshām=āpa viluṇṭyamāna-vibhavaṁ **Śrīvallabhēn=** ādarāt || [33*] Yēn=aikēna mah-ā-

Second Plate, Second Side

44 hava-vyasaninā krīḍā-vihār-ōdyama-prārambh[ē] vihitē nitānta-niviḍa-dhvānta-pradōshē sati [|*] durvvāraḥ samam=ēva saṁparipatan ba-

45 ndī-samūhaḥ kshaṇāt=tīkshṇa-prōdyata-śastra-saṁhati-karaḥ pañchatvam=āpāditaḥ || [34*][2] Tasy=ātmajaḥ prathita-vikrama-vairi-vargga-lakshmī-

46 haṭh-āharaṇa-santata-labdha-kīrtti[ḥ |*] śrī-**Karkkarāja** iti saṁśrita-pūrit-āśaḥ śāstr-ārttha-bōdha-paripa(pā)lita-sarvva-lōkaḥ || [35*] Rā-

47 jyē yasya na taskarasya vasati[r*]=vyādhēḥ prasūti[r*]=mṛitā durbhikshaṁ na cha vibhramasya mahimā n=aiv=ōpasargg-ō[dbha]vaḥ | nō [dōsh]-ā-

48 bhyudayas=tathā ripu-janē n=aiva pramōd-ōdgatir=nnō vidvat-paripanthinī prabhavati krūrā khalānāṁ matiḥ || [36*][3] Saurājya-jalpē patitē pra-

49 saṅgān=nidarśanaṁ viśva-janīna-saṁpat ||(|) rājyaṁ Balēḥ pūrvvam=ahō babhūva kshitā[v]= idānīn=[t]u nṛipasya yasya || [37*] Ichchh-ātirēkēṇa kṛishība(va)-

50 [lānāṁ] payō yathā muñchati jātu mēghē [|*] bhavēn=manas=tad-viratau va(ta)th=ābhūd= yasmin dhanaṁ varshati sēvakānāṁ(nām) || [38*] Rāmasy=ēva dhṛita-[vra]ta-

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[1] The punctuation mark is redundant.

[2] The achievement alluded to here is not intelligible without further light on the point.

[3] The P. W. Museum plates, written by the same person, reads the third foot differently.

51 sya **vinaya-sthairyya**-sthitir=Llakhsmaṇaḥ Pārtthasy=ēva Dhanañjaya[ḥ*] kshaṇa-jita-**prōdvṛitta**-vairi-vrajaḥ | Gōvindaḥ prathita[ḥ] kshitāv=iva gu-

52 ṇaiḥ Saṁkarshaṇasy=ātmavān yasy=ārādhana-nirmmala-sthira-matir=**Ggōvindarājō**=nujaḥ || [39*] Antaḥstha-Śaṅkara-śiraḥ-[sthira]-chandra-rēkhō=[sau]

53 **tat-sudhā**-rasa-vibhāvita-sarvva-mūrtti[ḥ |*] rllō(lō)kasya nirvṛitikaraḥ spṛihaṇīya-janmā jātaḥ sad-āmṛitamayatva-guṇi(ṇ-ō)[daya]ś=cha || [40*][1] Tēn=ēdam=ani-

54 **la-vidyuch-chañchalam**=ālōkya jīvitam=asāraṁ(ram |) kshiti-dānañ=cha paraṁ puṇyaṁ[2] pravarttitō=yaṁ dharmma-dāyaḥ || [41*] sa cha samadhigatāśē-

55 shamahāśabda-mahāśabda[3]-mahāsāmantādhipati-**Prabhūtavarsha-śrī-Gōvindarājaḥ** |[4] sarvvān=ēva yathā-sambadhyamānakān

56 **rāshṭrapati**-vishayapati-grāmakūṭ-āyukta-niyuktak-ādhikārika-mahattar-ādīn samanubō-**dhayaty=astu** vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yathā

57 **mayā** śrī-**Pālittāṇak**-āvasthitēna mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=ch=aihik-āmushmika-phal-āvāpty-**artthaṁ** dharmma-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē śrī-[**Valabhī**-vā-ta]-

58 **vya-tach**-chāturvvidya-sāmānya-Śāṇḍilya-sagōtra-vāji[5]-Mādhyandina-sabrahmachāri-Brā-**hmaṇa-Sōmāya Karkka**-sūnavē **Dēillikā-**

59 sīmā-pratibaddha-kshētraṁ Kōhal-ābhidhānaṁ yasy=āghāṭanāni pūrvvataḥ **Kōlaka-grāma-sīmā** tathā dakshiṇataḥ **Śatruñjaya-na-**

60 **dī** **tath=ā'parata Āllēsaka-grāma**-sīmā | uttaratō Jaran-nadī | ēvaṁ chatur-āghāṭan-**ōpala-kshitaṁ s-ōdraṅgaṁ sa-parikaraṁ**[6] sa-bhū-

61 **ta-vāta-pratyāyaṁ** sa-daṇḍa-daś-āparādhaṁ |[4] s-ōtpadyamāna-vishṭikaṁ sa-dhānya-**hiraṇy-ādēyaṁ**(yam) |[4] a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśyaṁ sarvva-rāja-

62 **kīyāṁ**(yā)**nām=a-hasta**-prakshēpaṇīyaṁ(yam) ā-chandr-ārkk-ārṇṇava-kshiti-sarit-parvv**ata-samakālīnaṁ** putra-pautr-ānvaya-bhōgyaṁ tathā bhūmi-

63 chchhidra-**nyāyēna** pūrvva-datta-dēva-brahma-dāya-rahitaṁ śrī-**Vālabhīya-saṁvatsara-śatēshu pañchasu** mahā-parvvaṇi **sū-**

64 **ryya-bhaṭṭāraka-grahaṇē** snātv=ōdak-ātisarggēṇa bali-charu-vaiśvadēv-āgnihōtr-ātithi-pañcha-mahāyajña-kriy-ō-

65 tsarppaṇ-ārtthaṁ pratipāditaṁ yatō=sy=ōchitayā brahmadāya-sthityā bhuṁjatō bhōjayataḥ

[1] The P. W. Museum plates read the first foot differently.

[2] For the sake of the metre, read *kshiti-dāna-parama-puṇyaḥ* as in the other records (cf. above, Vol. XXII, p. 74, verse 31 ; p. 84, verse 36).

[3] This word is redundant.

[4] The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[5] I.e. *Vājasanēya*.

[6] The expression is sometimes found in this form, though *s-ōparikaram* is commonly used in inscriptions.

Third Plate

66 kṛishataḥ karshayataḥ pratidiśatō vā na kēn=āpi paripanthanā kāryyā | tath=āgāmi-nṛipatibhir=asmad-va-

67 ṅśya(vaṁśyai)r=anyair=vvā sāmānya[ṁ] bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avētya vidyul-lōlāny=anity-aiśvaryyāṇi tṛiṇ-āgra-lagna-ja-

68 la-bindu-chañchalaṁ cha jīva-lōkam=ākalayya sva-dāya-nirvviśēshō=yam=asmad-dāyō=numantavyaḥ |[1] paripālayitavyaś=cha [|*] yaś=ch=ā-

69 jñāna-timira-paṭal-āvṛita-matir=āchchhi[n]dyād=āchchhidyamānaṁ v=ānumōdatē sa pañchabhir=mmahā-pātakair=upapātakaiś=cha saṁ-

70 yuktas=syād=ity=uktañ=cha bhagavatā Vēdavyāsēna Vyāsēna || Shashṭir=vvarsha-sahasrāṇi shashṭir=vvarsha-śatāni cha |[2] svarggē tishṭhati

71 bhūmidaḥ [|*] āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || [42*] Vindhy-āṭavīshv=a-tōyāsu śushka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ [|*]

72 kṛishṇ-āhayō hi jāyantē bhūmi-dāy-āpahāriṇaḥ || [43*] Agnēr=apatyaṁ prathamaṁ suvarṇṇaṁ bhūr=vvaishṇavī sūryya-sutā-

73 ś=cha gāvaḥ [|*] lōka-trayaṁ tēna bhavēd=dhi dattaṁ yaḥ kāñchanaṁ gāñ=cha mahīñ=cha dadyāt || [44*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rajabhiḥ Sa-

74 gar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [45*] Yān=īha dattāni purā narēndrair=ddānāni dharmmārtha-yaśa-

75 skarāṇi [|*] nirmmālya-vānta-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādadīta || [46*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yatnād=raksha

76 narādhipa [|*] mahīm mahībhṛitāṁ śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanaṁ(nam) || [47*] Iti kamala-dal-āmbu-bindu-lōlāṁ śriyam=anuchintya

77 manushya-jīvitañ=cha | ativimala-manōbhinā(r=ā)tmanīnair=nna hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyā[ḥ || 48*] iti [||*]

78 dūtakaś=ch=ātra Bhaṭṭa-śrī-Kumāraḥ[3] | sva-hastō=ya[ṁ*] śrī-Gōvindarājasya[4] [||*]

79 likhitañ=ch=aitan=mayā kulaputra-śrī-Padmanābha-sūnunā Jajjullēn=ēti ||[5] ||

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[1] The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[2] The second half of this verse and one foot of the next stanza are omitted here through oversight. We may make one stanza by omitting *shashṭir=vvarsha-śatāni cha.*

[3] The name may also be *Śrīkumāra.*

[4] After this (written in the Northern characters), there is a peculiar symbol which is also often found in some other records of the family (cf. above, Vol. XXII, Plate facing p. 76). The symbol is still used in South India in *Kōlam* (*Raṅgavallī*) decorations.

[5] There is a spiral symbol between the double *daṇḍas.*

No. 38—AMRELI MUSEUM PLATES OF DHRUVASENA II BALADITYA, YEAR 323

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, and J. SUNDARAM, OOTACAMUND

(*Received on 21.2.1961*)

Two interesting copper-plate grants of the **Maitraka dynasty** of Valabhī came to our notice about the beginning of 1960. The first of them, the findspot of which is not known to us,[1] now lies in the Girdharbhai Museum at **Amreli**, headquarters of the District of that name in Gujarat. It provides us with a date in the Gupta-Valabhī year 323 for Maitraka Dhruvasēna II Bālāditya, the Nogawa plates[2] of the year 321 being so far known to have been the latest record of the king. The second record was found in a locality near Amreli by a cultivator while ploughing a field and is now lying in the possession of Mr. R. N. Teckchandani, a Range Officer of the Forest Department stationed at **Sarasiyā**, about six miles from Dhari, headquarters of a Sub-Division of the Amreli District. 25 miles from Amreli. This inscription gives us the earliest date for Śīlāditya III.[3] The preservation of the writing in both the records is unsatisfactory, letters here and there being unreadable owing to corrosion.

Mr. Teckchandani's plate was issued by king **Śīlāditya III** in the Gupta-Valabhī **year 368 (686 A.D.)**, Pausha-sudi 1, from his *jaya-skandhāvāra* at **Pīṭupatraka-vāsaka**. The **importance** of this record lies in the fact that, while the dates of the known charters of the king range between the year 372 (691 A.D.), Śrāvaṇa-badi 9, and the year 382 (700 A.D.), Mārgaśira-sudi 6,[4] the inscription under review **pushes back the earlier limit** of the reign of Śīlāditya III by about four years from 691 A.D. to 686 A.D.

The inscription records the gift of two plots of land, together measuring 125 *pādāvartas*, the first of which contained a step-well that covered an area of 25 *pādāvartas* lying in the north-western section of Ajjakōṅha-grāma within the **Kālapaka**[5] *pathaka* in **Surāshṭra** and was known as the northern State-owned step-well.[6] The second plot, situated in the western section of the

[1] When this article was ready for the press, H. G. Shastri's paper on the same inscription appeared in *Journ. Or. Inst.*, Vol. X, No. 2, pp. 123 ff. and Plates. According to Shastri, the plates were discovered at Malila in the Amreli District.

[2] Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 196 ff. ; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1347.

[3] Following Fleet and Kielhorn (cf. Kielhorn's Northern List. p. 68, note 5), Bhandarkar calls him Śīlāditya IV. This is because these scholars mention Śīlāditya, the elder brother of Kharagraha II, as Śīlāditya II, even though this Śīlāditya did not rule from Valabhī. But others regard Śīlāditya, the son of the said Śīlāditya (the elder brother of Kharagraha II) and the successor of Kharagraha II. as Śīlāditya II (cf. Buhler in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 208 ; K. J. Virji, *Ancient History of Saurāshṭra*, pp. 90 ff.). Thus Śīlāditya II to VI of this latter group of scholars followed by us have been shown as Śīlāditya III to VII in Bhandarkar's List, p. 394.

[4] Bhandarkar, G. V. Acharya and R. D. Banerji read the date of a charter assigned to this king as the year 387 (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1368), though what was read as *387* is really *357* and the record belongs to Śīlāditya II (cf. above, Vol. XXII, p. 114). Virji, the recent writer on the subject, commits an error in quoting the wrong reading of the date in question without noticing the correction (op. cit., p. 92). Her statement that the earliest known date of Śīlāditya III is the year 375=694 A.D. is also wrong.

[5] This name is engraved on an erasure. The same district is known from a large number of Maitraka records (cf. Virji, op. cit., pp. 294-98, 300, 302-09). Kālapaka, the headquarters of the district, has been identified with Kālavād 26 miles south-east of Navānagar (op. cit., p. 303).

[6] The passage reads *rājakīyā uta(tta)ra-vāpy-abhidhāna(nā) pañchaviṁśati-bhū-pādāvartta-parisarā vāghā(pī)*. The boundaries of this plot of land are given as follows : *pūrvvataḥ Samipadraka-Pramēyāyā[ḥ*] panthāḥ dakshiṇataḥ grāma-śikharaṁ(ram)=aparataḥ Brāhmaṇa-Gaṅgasvāmi-satka-kshētraṁ(tram)=uttarataḥ mahattara-Bhīma-satka-kshētraṁ Bra(Brā)hmaṇa-Gaṅgasvāmi-satka-kshētraṁ(tra)ñ=cha.*

same village, consisted of 100 *pādāvartas* of land under the cultivation of the farmers Saṅgaka and Sīhaka.[1] The donee of the grant was the Brāhmaṇa Śaṅkara known by the two names Uttarēśvaraśarman and Śaṅkaraśarman, who was the son of Śaṅkaraśarman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and Bahvṛicha *śākhā* and belonged to the Chaturvēdin community of **Ānandapura** (*Ānandapura-vinirggata-tach-Chāturvvidya-sāmānya*). The executor of the charter was *Rāja-putra* Kharagraha while its writer was *Divirapati* Haragaṇa.[2] Mr. Teckchandani wants to publish this inscription.

The grant issued by Dhruvasēna II Bālāditya, edited in the following pages, resembles the published charters of the king in respect of general appearance, **palaeography, language, orthography** and style. It is a set of two plates having writing on the inner side and measuring roughly 11·9″ by 9·6″ each, with raised edges all round for the protection of the writing. There are two holes at the bottom side of the first and the top side of the second plate, which measure each about ·5″ in diameter. The hole in the left side in both the plates is broken and opened upwards while the right hole of the first plate seems to have been elongated due to wear and tear. A small piece in the top right cornor of the first plate with the last few letters of line 1 has been chipped off. There are respectively 26 and 23 lines of writing on the first and second plates. The bottom line on the first plate is much rubbed off. The latter half of the first six lines on the second plate are worn out and some letters in the next few lines are also indistinct.

The grant is dated in the **Gupta-Valabhī year 323 (642 A.D.), Āshāḍha-sudi 5.** The dates of the known charters of Dhruvasēna II Bālāditya range between the year 310 (629 A.D.), Āśvayuja-badi 15, and the year 321 (640 A.D.), Chaitra-badi 3.[3] His reign period was thus placed in 627-41 A.D.[4] Our inscription, however, shows that this Maitraka king ended his rule later than the middle of Āshāḍha of the year 642 A.D.[5] This narrows down the gap between the last known date of this king and the accession of his son Dharasēna IV who assumed the imperial style *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Chakravartin* for the first time in the Maitraka family by the year 326 (645 A.D.), the earliest date known from his records.[6] Dharasēna IV thus ascended the throne not long before the death of Śīlāditya Harshavardhana of Kanauj in 647 A.D.[7] It appears that Dhruvasēna II was a subordinate ally of Harsha but that Dharasēna IV assumed imperial status shortly before Harsha's death when the latter was probably

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[1] The boundaries of this plot of land have been quoted as *pu(pū)rvvata[ḥ] grāma-śikharam dakshiṇata[ḥ] Nammaha-A(h-Ā)gniśarmma-satka-Gulamañjarī-kshētram(tram) aparataḥ Brāhmaṇa-Visā(śā)kha-satka-brahma-dēya-kshētram(tram) uta(tta)rata[ḥ*] kuṭumbi-Sōmēśvara-satka-kshētram(tram).*

[2] We know that *Rājaputra* Kharagraha and *Rājaputra* Dharasēna are mentioned as *dūtaka* in the charters of Śīlāditya III (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1362-64 of the years 372, 375 and 376 and Nos. 1365-66 of the years 381 and 382). *Divirapati* Haragaṇa, son of *Balādhikrita Bhōgika* Bappa, was the writer of some later records of the same king (ibid., Nos. 1362-63). His son Śankaragaṇa is known for the first time from this epigraph whereas a *Divirapati*, who was an adopted son (*dattaka*) of Haragaṇa, was the writer of a record issued by Śīlāditya III in the year 381. The name of this officer was read as Ādityāla by G. V. Acharya (*JBBRAS*, N.S., Vol. I, p. 75; *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*, Part I, p. 260), though Bhandarkar considered it doubtful (List, No. 1365). Virji mentions the name as Ādityasēna (op. cit., p. 93).

[3] Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1341 and 1347.

[4] Virji, op. cit., p. 71.

[5] According Hiuen-tsang's accounts, he was present at Harsha's sixth quinquennial celebration at Prayāga in the beginning of 643 A.D. (Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 157 ff.; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 336).

[6] Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1348-49. The dates fall in the months of Āshāḍha and Māgha of the year 326. The reign of Dharasēna IV, son of Dhruvasēna II, is assigned by Virji to 641-50 A.D. (op. cit., p. 77).

[7] It is interesting to note that Dharasēna IV calls himself in his records of the year 326 (when Harsha was still living) *Śrī-ajjaka-pād-ānudhyāta*, wherein *ajjaka* (i.e. grandfather or maternal grandfather) probably refers to Harsha (*JBBRAS.*, Vol. X, p. 79, line 39), though in his later grants of the year 330 (when Harsha was no more) this epithet is conspicuous by its absence (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 75, line 14; Vol. XV, p. 340, line 40).

not in a position, whatever be the reason, to exert full control over subordinate allies and feudatories in the outlying areas. It should be remembered that Pulakēśin II, the powerful Chālukya emperor of the Deccan, died in 642 A.D., so that the Maitrakas now had no fear from the south also.

The charter was issued from **Valabhī** by king **Dhruvasēna (II) Bālāditya** who is introduced in lines 1-34, in the style of his other records, as the younger brother of Dharasēna (III), son of Kharagraha (I) who was the younger brother of Śīlāditya (I) Dharmāditya, son of Dharasēna (II) who was the son of Guhasēna, a descendant of Bhaṭārka of the Maitraka dynasty. The inscription registers the grant of 150 *pādāvarttas* of land (i.e. a plot of land measuring 150 feet square) in the northern border of the village called **Machchhōtikā** in the division (*sthalī*) called **Uttinna-Ijja** in **Surāshṭra** in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Sōmaśarman who was the son of Śāmbakumāraśarmman and belonged to the Dōkshṇa *gōtra* and the Vājasanēya *śākhā* (lines 34-36). The donee was a resident of Valabhī and belonged to the Chaturvēdin community of that place ; but his family hailed from **Ānartapura.** The grant was a permanent one and carried with it the privileges usually attached to such gifts recorded in the copper-plate charters of the Maitrakas.

The gift land consisted of a single plot cultivated by Chūrjiyaka and *Mahattara* Gaura. Its boundaries are described as follows : to the east—a field belonging to Lagujīyaka (or Laghu-Jīyaka, 'the younger Jīyaka') and an adjoining field belonging to the Brāhmaṇa Hastadēva ; to the south—a field known by the name Kapittha-kshētra (probably because there were some Kapittha trees in it) ; to the west—a field apparently belonging to Chhāsiyānaka and another adjoining plot belonging to the Brāhmaṇa Karka ; and to the north—a field belonging to the said Karka and lying on the borders of the village of **Śaraṇapadraka** as also an adjoining plot of land belonging to a person named Kikkaka (lines 37-40).

The executor of the grant was *Rājaputra* **Dharasēna** (line 50). He seems to have been the king's son who later ascended the Maitraka throne as Dharasēna IV. This prince is not mentioned as the executor of any charter of Dhruvasēna II so far published, his other grants being known to have been executed by *Sāmanta* Śīlāditya[1] and *Rājaputra* Kharagraha.[2] The document was written by *Divirapati* Skandabhaṭa, son of *Sandhivigrahādhikṛita Divirapati* Vatrabhaṭṭi (lines 50-51). Both the persons are known from many other Maitraka records[3] though Vatrabhaṭṭi's name has often been wrongly quoted as Vatpabhaṭṭi,[4] Chandrabhaṭṭi,[5] Vaśabhaṭṭi,[6] Vaśabhaṭa[7] and Chatrabhaṭṭi.[8] The date of the record is quoted in the last line (line 51) as the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha in the year 323, which is followed by the endorsement, "[This is] my own signature", no doubt referring to the donor's signature on the original document later incised on the plates.

As regards the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, Ānartapura is identified by some with Dvārakā and by others with Ānandapura (Vaḍnagar in the Mehsana District).[9] Since, however, the name Ānandapura occurs in no less than five inscriptions of the Maitraka family,[10] Ānartapura does not appear to have been an alternative spelling of that name and may

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1 Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1341-43.
2 Ibid., Nos. 1345-47.
3 Ibid., Nos. 1340, 1342, 1346 ff.
4 Ibid., No. 1337.
5 Ibid., No. 1338.
6 Ibid., No. 1341.
7 Ibid., Nos. 1349, 1351.
8 Ibid., No. 1345.
9 Cf. N. L. Dey, *Geog. Dict.*, s.v. ; Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1953, p. 506 and note.
10 Virji, op. cit., p. 293 ; see also the plates of Śīlāditya III noticed above p. 282.

be regarded as a different locality. The village of Machchhōtikā in Uttiṇṇa-Ijja-sthalī probably lay in the Amreli region. It is well known that Valabhī, the capital of the Maitraka kings whence the charter was issued, is modern Vaḷā near Bhāvnagar.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 Siddham[2] svasti [|*] **Valabhītaḥ** prasabha-[p]raṇat-āmitrāṇāṁ **Maitrakāṇām=atula**-bala-sa[ṁ]panna-maṇḍal-ābhōga-sa[ṁ]sakta-prahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpāt=pra-

2 tāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārjjit-ānurāgād=anurakta-maula-bhṛita-śrēṇī-bal-āvāpta-rājya-śriyaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ(rāt) śrī-**Bhaṭārkkād**=avya-

3 vachchhinna-rāja-vaṅśā(vaṁśā)tmā(n=mā)tā-pitṛi-charaṇ-āravinda-praṇati-pravidhaut-āśēsha-kalmashaḥ śaiśavāt=prabhṛiti khaḍga-dvitīya-bāhur=ēva samada-para-gaja-ghaṭ-āsphōṭana-

4 prakāśita-satva(ttva)-nikashas=tat-prabhāva-praṇat-ārāti-chūḍā-ratna-prabhā-saṁsakta-pāda-nakha-raśmi-sa[ṅha(saṁha)]tis=sakala-smṛiti-praṇīta-mārgga-ssa(sa)myak-paripālana-

5 prajā-hṛidaya-rañjan-ānva[rttha]-rāja-śabdō rūpa-kānti-sthairyya-gāmbhīryya-buddhi-sampadbhiḥ smara-śaśāṅk-ādr[i]rāj-ōdadhi-tṛi(tri)daśaguru-dhanēśān=ati-

6 śayānaḥ śaraṇ-āgat-ābhaya-pradāna-paratayā tṛiṇavad-apāst-āśēsha-svakāryya-phala[ḥ*] prārthan-ādhik-ārttha-pradān-ānandi[ta-vi]dvat-suhṛit-praṇayi-

7 hṛidayaḥ=pādachār=īva sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhōga-pramōdaḥ [para]mamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Guhasēnas**=tasya sutas=tat-pāda-nakha-mayūkha-santāna-

8 visṛita-Jāhnavī-jal-augha-prakshālit-āśēsha-kalmashaḥ praṇayi-śata-sahasr-ōpajīvyamāna-sampad=rūpa-lōbhād=iv=āśritas=sa-ra[bha]sam=āni(bhi)gā-

9 mikair=gguṇais=sa[ha]ja-śakti-śikshā-viś[ē]sha-vismāpit-ākhila-dhanurddharaḥ prathama-narapati-samatisṛishṭā[nā]m=a[nu]pālayitā dharmma-dāyānām=apā-

10 [ka]rttā praj-ōpaghātakāriṇām=upaplavānā[ṁ] darśayitā Śrī-Sarasvatyōr=ēk-ādhivāsasya saṅha(saṁha)t-ārāti-paksha-lakshmī-paribhōga-daksha-vikramō

11 vikram-ōpasaṁprāpta-vimala-pārtthivaḥ(va)śrīḥ [pa]ramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Dharasēnas**=tasya sutas=tat-pād-ānuddhyātas=sakala-ja[ga]d-ānandan-ātyadbhu[ta]-

12 guṇa-samudayaḥ sthagita-samagra-diṅmaṇḍalaḥ samara-śata-vijaya-śōbhā-sanā[tha]-maṇḍal-āgra-dyuti-bhāsuratarāṅsa(r-āṁsa)-pīṭh-ōdūḍha-guru-ma-

13 nōratha-mahābhāraḥ sarvva-vidyā-par-āpara-vi[bhā]g-ādhigama-vimala-matir=api sarvvatas=subhāshita-lavēn=āpi sukh-ōpapāva(da)nīya-paritōsha[ḥ*]

14 samagra-lōk-āgādha-gāmbhīryya-hṛidayō=pi sucharit-ātiśaya-suvyakta-parama-kalyāṇa-svabhāvaḥ khilībhūta-Kṛita-yuga-[nṛipati]-patha-viśōdha-

15 [n-ā]dhigat-ōdagra-kīrttir=ddharmm-ānuparōdh-ōjva(jjva)latarīkṛit-ārtha-sukha-sampad-upasē[vā]-nirūḍha-**Dharmmāditya-dvitīya-nā[mā** paramamāhēśvaraḥ]

16 śrī-**Śīlādityas**=tasy=ānujas=tat-pād-ānuddhyātas=[s]vayam=**U**pēndra-guru[ṇ=ē]va guruṇ=[ā]tyādaravatā samabhilama(sha)nīyām=a[pi rāja-lakshmīṁ skandh-ā]-

[1] From impressions.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

AMRELI MUSEUM PLATES OF DHRUVASENA II BALADITYA, YEAR 323

(from Photograph)

17 **saktāṁ** para[ma]-bhadra i[va] dhuryyas=tad-ājñā-sampādan-aika-rasatay=ai[v=ō]dva-[han=khē]da-su[kha]-[ra]tī(ti)bhyām=a[nā]yāsi[ta-satva(ttva)-sampa]tti[ḥ*] prabhāva-sampa[d-va]-

18 śīkṛita-nṛipati-śata-śirō-ratna-chchhāy-ōpagu(gū)ḍha-pāda-pīṭhō=pi par-āvajñ-ābhimāna-ras-ānāli[ṅgita]-manō-vṛittiḥ praṇatim=ēkā[ṁ*] paritya-

19 jya prakhyāta-paurush-ābhimānair=apy=arātibhir=anāsādita-pratikriy-ōpāyaḥ kṛita-nikhila-bhu[va]n-āmō[da]-vipula-guṇa-saṅha(saṁha)ti-pra[sabha]-

20 vigha[ṭi]ta-sakala-kali-vilasita-gatir=nnīcha-jan-ādhirōhibhir=aśēshair=ddōshair=a[nāmṛi]-shṭ-ā[tyunnata-hṛida]yaḥ prakhyāti-pau[rush-āstra-kauśal-ā]ti-

21 śaya-[gaṇa]titha-vipaksha-kshitipati-lakshmī-svayaṁgraha-prakāśita-pravīra-purusha-pra-thama-saṁ[khy-ādhiga]maḥ paramamāhēśvara[ḥ śrī-**Kharagraha**]s=tasya

22 tanayas=[ta]t-pād-ānuddhyātas=sakala-viddhyā(dy-ā)dhi[ga]ma-vihi[ta]-nikhila-vidvaj-jana-manaḥ-pa[ritōsh-ātiśa]ya[ḥ*] satva(ttva)-sa[m]padā tyāg-audāryyēṇa cha viga-

23 t-ānusa[ndhā]n-āśa(sa)m-[ā]hit-ārāti-paksha-[ma]nōrath-āksha-bhaṅgaḥ sa[myag-u]palakshit-ānēka-[śāstra-ka]lā-lōka-charita-gahvara-vi[bhāgō]=pi para-

24 ma-[bha]dra-prakṛitir=akṛitri[ma]-pra[śra]ya-vinaya-śōbhā-[vibhūshaṇas=sama]ra-śata-jaya-patākā-haraṇa-pratyalō(y-ō)dagra-bāhu-da-

25 [ṇḍa-vidhvansi(dhvaṁsi)]ta-nikhila-pratipa[ksha-darpp-ōdayaḥ]............[1] paribhūt-āstra-kauśal-ābhimāna-sakala-nṛipati-maṇḍal-ā-

26 ....[2] [parama-mā]................[3] t-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ sucharit-ātiśayita......[4]

Second Plate

27 rapati-rati-dussādhānām=api prasādhayitā vishayāṇāṁ [mūr]ttimān=iva purushak[ā]raḥ par[i]......................[5]

28 chinta(tta)-vṛittibhir=Mmanur=iva svayam=abhy[u]papannaḥ prakṛitibhi[r=adhi]......[6] [kalā-kalāpaḥ kānti]......................[7]

29 kumudanāthaḥ prājya-pratāpa-sthagita-dig-anta[rā]la-pradhva[n]si(dhvaṁsi)ta-[dhvānta-rā]śiḥ........................[8]

30 vantam=atibahutitha-prayōjan-ānubandham=āga[ma-pa]ripūrṇṇaṁ [vida]dhānaḥ sandhi-[vi]gra[ha-samāsa-niścha]ya-nipuṇaḥ [sthā]........[9]

31 dēśaṁ vidadhad=guṇa-vṛiddhi-vidh[āna]-janita-saṁskāraḥ sādhūnāṁ [rā]jya-Śālāturīya-ta[ntra]yō[r=ubha]yōr=a[pi]............[10]

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[1] The lost letters are *sva-dhanuḥ-prabhāva*° as known from other records.

[2] As suggested by other epigraphs, this lacuna has to be filled up with the letters °*bhinandita-śāsanaḥ*.

[3] These lost letters are °*hēśvaraḥ śrī-Dharasēnas=tasy=ānujas=ta*°.

[4] The letters *sakala-pūrvva-na*° are lost here.

[5] We have to restore the text as °*vṛiddha-guṇ-ānurāga-nirbhara*.°

[6] The two letters lost here are *gata*.

[7] The lacuna has to be filled up with the letters °*mān=nirvṛitti-hētur= akalaṅkaḥ*.

[8] This gap has to be filled up with the letters *satat-ōditas=savitā prakṛitibhyaḥ=paraṁ pratyayam=artha*.°

[9] The lost letters are °*nē=nurūpam=ā*°.

[10] We have to read here *nishṇātaḥ prakṛishṭa-vikramō*°.

32 pi karuṇā-mṛidu-hṛidayaḥ śrutavān=apy=agarvvitaḥ kāntō=pi praśamī sthira-sau ......[1] [nirasitā dōshavatām=u]daya ......[2]

33 samupajanita-jan-ānurāga-paripihita-bhuvana-samartthitaḥ(ta)-prathita-**Bālāditya-dvitīya-nāmā** paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Dhruva[sēna]**-

34 ḥ=kuśalī sarvvān=ēva yathā-saṁbadhyamānakān samājñāpayaty=astu vas=saṁviditaṁ yathā mayā mātā-pitrōḥ=puṇy-āpyāyanāy=**[Āna]**-

35 **rttapu[ra]**-vinirggata-**Valabhī**-vāstavya-Valabhī-chāturvvidya-sāmānya-[Dō]kshṇa[3]-sagōtra-Vājasanēya-sabrahmachāri-Brāhmaṇa-Śāmba-

36 kumāraśarmma-putra-Brāhmaṇa-Sōmaśarmma[ṇē] **Surāshṭrēsh=[Ūtti]ṇṇa[4]-Ijja-sthaly-antarggata-Machchhō[ti]kā[5]-grāmē** uttara-sīmni Chū[rji]yaka-

37 mahattara-Gaurābhyāṁ prakṛishṭa[ṁ*] sārddha-pādāvartta-śata-pramāṇam=[ē]ka-khaṇḍ-āvasthita-kshētraṁ yasy=āghāṭanāni pūrvva[taḥ]

38 Lagujīyaka[6]-satka-kshētraṁ tad-āsannam=ēva Brāhmaṇa-Hastadēva-satka-kshētraṁ dakshiṇata[ḥ] Kapittha-kshētraṁ aparataḥ Chchhā(Chhā)siyā-

39 naka-kshētraṁ tad-āsannam=ēva Brāhmaṇa-Karkka-kshētra[m*] uttarataḥ **Śaraṇapadraka-grāma**-sīmni Brāhmaṇa-Karkka-satka-kshētraṁ tad-āsa-

40 nnam=ēva Kikkaka-satka-kshētram=ēvam=ē[ta]ch-chatur-āghāṭana-viśuddhaṁ sōdraṅga-sōparikara-sa[bhū]tavāta-praty[āyaṁ] sa-dhānya-hi-

41 raṇy-ā[dē]yaṁ sadaśāparādha-sōtpadyamānavishṭikāṁ sarvva-rājakīyānām=ahasta-pra-kshēpaṇīya[ṁ] [pū]rvva-pratta-dēva-bra-

42 hmadēya-saahitaṁ bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēn=ā-chandr-ārk-ārṇṇava-kshiti-sarit-parvvata-samakālīnaṁ putra-pautr-ānvaya-bhōgyaṁ(gyam)

43 udak-ātisarggēṇa brahmadāyō nisṛishṭaḥ yatō=sy=ōchitayā brahmadēya-sthityā bhuñjataḥ=kṛishataḥ=karshayataḥ=pradiśa-

44 tō vā na kaiśchid=vyāsēdhē varttitavyam=āgāmi-bhadra-nṛipatibhir=asmadvaṅśa(d-vaṁśa)-jair=anyair=vvā anityāny=aiśvaryyāṇy=a-

45 sthiraṁ mānushya[ṁ] sāmānya[ṁ] cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avagachchhadbhir=ayam=asmad-dāyō=numantavyaḥ=paripāla-

46 yitavyaś=ch=ēty=uktaṁ cha | Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagarādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya

47 tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [||] Yān=ī[ha] dāridra(drya)-[bha]yān=na[rē]ndrair=ddhanāni dharmm-āyatanīkṛitāni [|*] nirbhukta-mālya-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ=punar=ādadīta [||*] Shashṭī(shṭi)-varsha-

48 sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*] āchchhētta(ttā) ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasē[t] || Dūtakō=tra rājaputra-Dharasēnaḥ [|*] likhitaṁ sandhivigra-hādhikṛita-divi-

49 rapati-Vattrabhaṭṭi-putra-divirapati-Skandabhaṭēna || **saṁ 300 20 3 Āshāḍha śu 5 sva-hastō** mama||[7]

[1] The damaged letters are *hridayō=pi*.

[2] The damaged word is *samaya*.

[3] Shastri reads *Aukshṇa* and draws our attention to the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of the Aukshṇa *gōtra*.

[4] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[5] Shastri reads *Machchhēṇikā*.

[6] The intended name may be *Laghu-Jīyaka*.

[7] The full-stop is indicated here by a design formed by a dot, three curved strokes and an underline.

No. 39—EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

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17.—*Meaning of 'Upagata', etc.*

Different versions of Minor Rock Edict I of Aśōka contain the Prakrit words corresponding to Sanskrit *upagata, upayāta* and *upēta* (respectively from *upa*-$\sqrt{}$*gam*, *upa*-$\sqrt{}$*yā* and *upa*-$\sqrt{}$*i*) in the same sense[1] which has been variously understood. Elsewhere we have suggested that *upagata*=*upayāta*=*upēta* in the context means *saṅgata*, 'intimately associated'.[2] In our opinion, the passages in question indicate Aśōka's intimate association with the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. The lexicons, however, do not bear out this meaning quite clearly. In this connection, a study of similar words, often used in copper-plate grants to indicate the relation of the subordinates and officers of a king with the gift land or the district in which it was situated may be of interest. These words are generally understood in the sense of 'assembled',[3] though really some of them appear to support the above interpretation.

From the standpoint of the recording of grants of land, copper-plate charters can be primarily divided into two classes, viz. (1) those that merely announce that some land or a village was granted by the donor, and (2) those that contain an order of the donor in respect of the grant addressed to certain people. Among the records of the first category, mention may be made of a number of charters issued by the Imperial Gaṅgas of Orissa.[4] Copper-plate grants written in verse (e.g. many of the charters issued by the Vijayanagara kings)[5] and those written mostly in verse[6] generally fall in the same class. The passage *s-ānunayaṁ prāha bhūpālān* occurring in the versified part of a charter[7] from Orissa is one of the few exceptions.

The second category of copper-plate grants, in which the donor's order is addressed to certain people, is important for our enquiry as it is some of these that contain the words in which we are interested. Such records can be broadly subdivided into five classes: (1) those in which the addressees are vaguely and generally indicated: (2) those in which the order is primarily addressed to the inhabitants of the gift village or the village wherein the gift land was situated or the district wherein the gift land or village was situated; (3) those in which the order is primarily addressed to the royal officers or agents including also the subordinate rulers, *jāgīrdārs*, etc., in some cases; (4) those in which both the inhabitants of the locality in question and the royal officers or agents, etc., are mentioned; and (5) those in which the donor addresses neither the inhabitants nor his officers but only the future kings.

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[1] *CII*, Vol. I, p. 228.

[2] *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, p. 24; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 9, note 1.

[3] Cf. above, Vol. XXVI, p. 12 and note 3; see vol. XII, p. 42 and note 4; Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, p. 190.

[4] See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 21, lines 181 ff., 260, lines 125-27; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 190, lines 179-81, 194, lines 179 ff., 256, lines 122-26. For such records belonging to other dynasties or kings, see ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 15, lines 8-16, 190, lines 14-16, 312, lines 6-9; Vol. XXX, pp. 140, lines 11-16, 187, line 17-18: Vol. XXVIII, pp. 75, lines 3-6, 210, verses 17-21, 266, lines 7-13, 291, lines 17 ff; Vol. XXVII, p. 77, lines 17-22.

[5] See ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 144. For such records belonging to other families, see ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 75; Vol. XXIX, pp. 103, 198; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 153-54.

[6] Ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 32; Vol. XXX, p. 304.

[7] Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 225, text lines 15-16. In this article, we have quoted the epigraphic passages after removing scribal errors, etc.

The first and last of these subdivisions are simple. The first of the two is illustrated by the charters of the Chālukyas of Badami, in which we have the passage *sarvān=ēvam=ājñāpayati.*[1] The other, which is rare, is likewise illustrated by the passage *sarvān=ēva bhāvi-bhūmipālān=samanubōdhayati* sometimes occuring in the grants of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the Gjuarat region.[2] The other cases are complicated.

The order addressed to the inhabitants of a locality is simpler in passages like the following: (1) *śrī-Skandavarmaṇō vachanēna Kudrāhāra-Kōmparē grāmēyakā vaktavyāḥ*;[3] (2) *°grāmē sarva-samavētān=kuṭumbinaḥ samājñāpayati*;[4] (3) *Gōshṭhavāḍa-nivāsinaḥ kuṭumbinaḥ samājñāpayati*;[5] (4) *Sunikāyāṁ prativāsinaḥ samājñāpayati*;[6] (5) *Prastaravāṭa-vāsinaḥ sarva-samavētān=kuṭumbinaḥ samājñāpayati*;[7] (6) *Rēyūru-grāmē grāmēyakān=ittham=ājñāpayati*;[8] (7) *Phērava-grāmē yathā-nivāsi-janapadaṁ samājñāpayati*;[9] (8) *Āndōreppa-grāmē sarva-samanvāgatān=kuṭumbinas=samājñāpayati*;[10] (9) *Pratishṭhāpura-nivāsinaḥ sarva-samupētān=kuṭumbinaḥ samājñāpayati*;[11] etc. But slight elaboration is noticed in such passages as follows: (1) *Brāhmaṇa-purōgān=grāmāñ=chharīr-ādi-kuśalaṁ pṛishṭvā likhati*;[12] (2) *Kōntinika-grāmē Brāhmaṇān=sampūjya prativāsinaḥ samājñāpayati*;[13] (3) *Kēśavakē Brāhmaṇa-purassarān=prativāsi-kuṭumbinas=samājñāpayati*;[14] (4) *uktavāṁś=cha rājā tad-grāma-nivāsinō mahattama-jānapadān*;[15] (5) *Kēsēlaka-grāmē Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān=kuṭumbinaś=śirshakañ=ch=ājñāpayati*;[16] (6) *sarva-samavētān=kuṭumbinō bhōjakāṁś=cha samājñāpayati*;[17] (7) *Gudravāra-vishaya-nivāsinō rāshṭrakūṭa-pramukhān=kuṭumbinas=samāhūy=ēttham=ājñāpayati*;[18] (8) *°vishayē Vardhamānakē grāmakūṭa-drōṇāgraka-nāyaka-dēvavārika-gaṇḍaka-pramukhān=sarvān=ēva yathā-prativāsinaḥ samājñāpayati*;[19] (9) *Mēhāra-grāma-nivāsi-yathā-pradhāna-janapādān=mahattarāṁś=cha samādiśanti*;[20] etc.

In the first group of these passages, the inhabitants of a village (*grāmēyaka, kuṭumbin, prativāsin, janapada*, etc.; cf. *grāma, jānapada*, etc., in the second group) are referred to while, in the second group, they are mentioned along with their social or administrative leaders and with certain village officials in a few cases. Rarely, the villagers of a whole district are stated to have been ordered after having been summoned (*samāhūya*). The word used in some cases in respect of the villagers is *sarvasamavēta* which may mean 'assembled from all sides'. This seems to be supported by the expression *sarva-samanvāgata* rarely used in place of *sarva-samavēta*. As will be seen below, the expression *samupasthita* is used in some cases in a similar context in respect of the villagers

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[1] Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 118, note 2; p. 130, text line 54.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 253, text lines 29-30.
[3] Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 9, text lines 8-9.
[4] Ibid., p. 200, text lines 9-10; Vol. XXX, p. 27, text lines 13-14; p. 117, text line 5.
[5] Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 203, text lines 24-25.
[6] Ibid., p. 315, text lines 4-5.
[7] Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 277, text lines 2-3 (on first plate, second side).
[8] Ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 96, text lines 12-13.
[9] Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 113, text lines 8-9.
[10] Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 178, text lines 5-6.
[11] Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 219, text lines 8-9.
[12] Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 92, text lines 5-6.
[13] Ibid., p. 221, text lines 10-11.
[14] Ibid., p. 265, text lines 3-4.
[15] Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 149, text line 18.
[16] Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 16, text line 3.
[17] Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 35, text lines 2-3.
[18] Ibid., pp. 45-46, text lines 15-16.
[19] Ibid., p. 142, text lines 35-36.
[20] Ibid., p. 188, text lines 15-16.

and local officials. Sometimes *sarva-samupēta* is also found in place of *sarva-samavēta*. The reference may be to an announcement to the people summoned by the beat of drums in respect of the grant in the gift village or the village containing the gift land or at the headquarters of the district in which the gift land or village was situated.

There are some charters in which the order is addressed not to the villagers but to others such as the subordinates, officers and agents of the king often with reference to a district. Cf. (1) *Śrī-Kāpālivarmaṇō vachanēna Śivapura-vishayē vartamāna-bhavishyad-bhōjak-āyuktaka-sthāyy-ādayō vaktavyāḥ* ;[1] (2) *sarvān=ēva svān=āyuktaka-mahattara-drāṅgika-chāṭa-bhaṭa-dhruvasthānādhikaraṇa-daṇḍapāśik-ādīn=anyāṁś=cha yathā-sambadhyamānakān=anudarśayati* ;[2] (3) *asmin=Kōṅgōda-maṇḍalē śrīsāmanta-mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-rājaputr-āntaraṅga-daṇḍapāśik-ōparika-vishayapati-tadāniyuktaka-vartamāna-bhavishya-vyavahāriṇaḥ sa-karaṇān=yathārhaṁ pūjayati mānayati cha* ;[3] (4) *sarvān=ēv=āgāmi-vartamāna-nṛipati-sāmanta-vishayapati-bhōgika-rāshṭragrāmakūṭa-dēśillaka-mahattar-ādhikārikādīn=samanudarśayati* ;[4] (5) *sarvān=ēva samupagata-vishayapati-rāshṭragrāma-mahattar-ādhikārikān=samanudarśayati* ;[5] (6) *Uttamālōka-vishayē samupāgatān=vartamāna-bhavishyan-mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-rājaputra-kumārāmāty-ōparika-vishayapati-tadāyuktaka-dāṇḍapāśika-sthānāntarikān=anyāṁś=cha chāṭa-bhaṭ-ādīn=adhikaraṇāṁś=cha pūjayati* ;[6] (7) *yatō=smat-santakāḥ sarv-ādhyaksha-niyōga-niyuktā ājñāsañchāri-kulaputr-ādhikṛitāḥ bhaṭāś=chhātrāś=cha viśruta-pūrvay=ājñay=ājñāpayitavyāḥ* ;[7] etc. In these, the expressions *vartamāna-bhavishyat* and *yathā-sambadhyamānaka*, used in several cases, show that the order was meant for the king's officers, etc., who were associated with the administration of the area containing the gift village or land for the time being and also those who would be so associated in future.[8] Sometimes the word *samupāgata* has been used in relation to 'the present and future' subordinates and officers of the donor in the district containing the gift village (No. 6). It is difficult to take *samupāgata* here in the sense of 'assembled' since the whole district seems to be too big a place for an assemblage while it is not easy to understand how the 'future' subordinates and officers also assembled.

In a large number of copper-plate charters, the order regarding the grant is addressed to both the local people or people in general and the royal officers, etc. This is simply indicated in the records of some dynasties while the charters of some areas have it in a somewhat elaborate form. But it is the most elaborate in the records of some of the early medieval ruling familes of Northern India, especially those of its eastern regions. The simple and semi-elaborate forms of indication are illustrated in the following quotations.

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[1] Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 233, text lines 1-3.

[2] Ibid., p. 300, text lines 11-12; p. 303, text lines 16-18.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 268, text lines 31-34; cf. p. 272, text lines 23-26.

[4] Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 21, text lines 15-17.

[5] Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 201, text lines 12-13.

[6] Ibid., p. 334, text lines 3-6. Cf. *Kārttikēyapura-vishayē samupājatān=sarvān=ēva niyōgasthān=rāja-rājanaka*, etc. (ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 280, text line 11; cf. p. 287, text line 10; p. 294, text line 13).

[7] Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 160, text lines 20-22.

[8] For *sambadhyamānaka*, see *Lalitapuravāla-sambadhyamānaka-Tauḍā-grāmē* (ibid., Vol. XXXI, p 312, text line 8). In the charters of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa, a distinction is generally made between the subordinates and officers of the district or province and those of a village or a group of villages; e.g. *Dakshiṇa-Tōsalāyāṁ vartamāna-bhavishya-mahāsāmanta-rājasatka-rājaputra-kumārāmāty-auparika-vishayapati-tadāyuktaka-dāndapāśika-sthānāntarikān=anyān=api rājaprasādinaś=chāṭa-vallabha-jātīyān Tamura-vishaya-paśchima-khaṇḍē mahāmahatta-ra-bṛihadbhōgi-pustakapāla-kūṭakōlas-ādy-adhikaranaṁ yathārhaṁ mānayati bōdhayati samājñāpayati cha* (see ibid., Vol. XXIX, pp. 88-89, text lines 26-30; cf. p. 217, text lines 23-26; p. 219, lines 25-27; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 215-16, text lines 213-16). Here the local officers of the western subdivision of the Tamura district have been mentioned separately from the subordinates and officers associated with the province of South Tōsalā in which Tamura-vishaya was situated.

For simple indication, cf. (1) *Plaki-vishayē vishaya-vriddhān=adhikāriṇaḥ Kundūra-grāma-kuṭumbinaś=cha samājñāpayati* ;[1] (2) *Kaliṅganagarāt* .. .. *samast-āmātya-pramukha-janapadān=samāhūya samājñāpayati* ;[2] (3) *sarvān=ēva svān=āyuktaka-viniyuktaka-chāṭa-bhaṭa-kuṭumbi-mahattara-drāṅgikān=bōdhayati* ;[3] (4) *Ramalava-vishaya-Paśchima-khaṇḍē yathā nivāsi-sa-karaṇa-sāmanta-bhōgy-ādi-janapadān=yathārhaṁ mānayati bōdhayati samādiśati cha* ;[4] etc.

For semi-elaborate indication, see (1) *Nātavāḍi-vishaya-nivāsinō rāshṭrakūṭa-pramukhān=kuṭumbinas=samāhūya mantri-purōhita-sēnāpati-yuvarāj-ādy-ashṭādaśa-tīrth-ādhyaksham=ittham=ājñāpayati* ;[5] (2) *Maṁḍāura-grām-ōpagatān=Brāhmaṇān=anyāṁś=cha mānyān=adhikṛitān=kuṭumbi-kāyastha-dūta-vaidya-mahattarān=mēda-chaṇḍāla-paryantān=sarvān=sambōdhayati samājñāpayati cha* ;[6] (3) *grāmēyakān=rājapurusha-talavara-daṇḍanāyaka-rāshṭrika-dūta-bhaṭa-naṭa-chēṭaka-parichāraka-niyukt-ādhyaksha-praśāstṛi-samāhartṛi- nāyakāṁś=ch=ājñāpayati*;[7] (4) °*bhūmau yathāyathaṁ samupasthita-vishayakaraṇa-vyavahārika-pramukha-janapadān=rāja-rājñī-rāṇak-ādhikṛitān=anyān=api rājanyaka-rājaputra-rājavallabha-prabhṛitīn=yathā-kāla-bhāvinō=pi sarvān=mānanā-pūrvakaṁ samādiśanti* ;[8] (5) *Jīlōṇḍā-vishayē bhavishyad-yathākāla-bhāvinō rājanyakān=rājaputrān=Brāhmaṇa-purōgān=sāmanta-nivāsi-janapadān=adhikāriṇaḥ sa-karaṇān=anyāṁś=cha chāṭa-bhaṭa-vallabha-jātīyān=rāja-pād-ōpajīvinaḥ sarvān=yathārhaṁ mānayati bōdhayati kuśalayaty=ādiśati ch=ānyat* ;[9] (6) *Vaṭapadrakē Brāhmaṇān=sampūjya sa-pradhānān=prativāsinō yathā-kāl-ādhyāsinas=samāhartṛi-sannidhātṛi-pramukhān=adhikāriṇas=sa-karaṇān=anyāṁś=ch=āsmat-pād-ōpajīvinas=sarva-rājapurushān=samājñāpayati* ;[10] (7) *Māṇḍiḍḍā-vishayē rāja-rājanaka-rājaputrān=vishayapati-daṇḍapāśikān=yathā-kāl-ādhyāsinō vyavahāriṇō Brāhmaṇān karaṇa-purōgān=nivāsi-janapadāṁś=cha yathārhaṁ mānayati bōdhayati samādiśati cha sarvataḥ śivam=asmākam=anyat* ;[11] etc.

In these instances, the word *upagata* has been used once in relation to the inhabitants and local officials of the gift village (No. 2 of Group II). In one case (No. 4 of Group II), the local people and officials are stated to have been *samupasthita* at the gift land while the subordinates, etc., are separated from the said class by the epithet *yathā-kāla-bhāvin*. The same distinction is also made in another case (No. 5 of Group II) by using the expressions *bhavishyad-yathā-kāla-bhāvin* and *sāmanta-nivāsin*. Similar use of the expressions *prativāsin* and *yathā-kāl-ādhyāsin* are noticed in one case (No. 6 of Group II) and *yathā-kāl-ādhyāsin* and *nivāsin* in another (No. 7 of Group II). This distinction is made clear in the Gāhaḍavāla records in which, in the course of an elaborate indication, we have °*grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñī*, etc. Here the relation of the subordinates and officers of the king with the gift village is indicated by the word *upagata*.[12] Some charters indicate the same distinction by enumerating the two classes as *sarvān=ēv=ātmīyān=mantri-purōhita*, etc., and *tan-nivāsi-Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān*, etc.[13]

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[1] Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 135, text lines 12-13.

[2] Ibid., p. 196, text lines 44-47 ; p. 308, text lines 40-41.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 4, text line 1.

[4] Ibid., Vol. XXIX, pp. 192-93, text lines 13-15.

[5] Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 42, text lines 31-34.

[6] Ibid., p. 72, text lines 7-9.

[7] Ibid., p. 78, text lines 22-24.

[8] Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 207, text lines 30-32.

[9] Ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 188, text lines 27-29. Cf. Vol. XXVI, p. 79, text lines 24-27 ; also Vol. XXVII, p. 330, text lines 25-27 where we have *yathā-kāl-ādhyāsin* for *yathā-kāla-bhāvin*.

[10] Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 290, text lines 6-9 ; cf. p. 323, text lines 6-8.

[11] Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 339, text lines 11-14.

[12] Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 73, text lines 12-14.

[13] Ibid., p. 202, text lines 28-30. A stanza ascribed to Vyāsa says *Sthānaṁ vaṁś-ānupurvi cha deśaṁ grāmam=upāgatān | Brāhmaṇāṁś=cha tathā ch=ānyān=mānyān=adhikṛitān likhēt* ||

The word found in the Gāhaḍavāla records as *upagata* is often found in the form *samupagata* or *samupāgata* in the same context in many other charters,[1] especially in the elaborate indication in the grants of the Pālas and Sēnas of Eastern India.[2] We have seen above how the 'present' and 'future' subordinates, etc., of a ruler are described as *samupāgata* with reference to a *vishaya* or district. The question now is what *upagata, samupagata* or *samupāgata* in this context really means. In our opinion, it means the same thing as *sambadhyamānaka, yathā-kāla-bhāvin* and *yathā-kāl-ādhyāsin* as found in the same context in many records. This may be clear from the study of a few corresponding passages from the charters of the Gāhaḍavālas, Pālas and Sēnas.

The Gāhaḍvāla grant referred to above has: *upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarāja-mantri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntaḥpurika-dūta-karitu-ragapattanākarasthānagōkulādhikāri-purushān=ājñāpayati bōdhayaty=ādiśati cha.* It is difficult to believe that all the said kinds of subordinates and officers of the king would have assembled in a gift land or village whenever he made a grant especially in view of the fact that the Gāhaḍavāla kings are known to have often issued such charters. The number of these classes of people is much higher in the Pāla and Sēna charters. It has also to be noticed that often the subject of the gift was a plot or several plots of land including tanks, etc., and the assemblage of subordinate rulers, their queens and sons and of all the officers (*aśēsha-rājapurushān*) therein becomes inconceivable. The list sometimes includes also, besides others, the mercenary soldiers of various nationalities such as Gauḍa, Mālava, Khasa, Kulika, Karṇāta and Lāṭa and also people performing menial services such as Mēda, Andhra and Chāṇḍāla. An assemblage seems to be physically impossible in such cases. It should also be noted that different plots of the gift land sometimes lay in different districts.

Thus the Belawa plate of Mahīpāla has : °*grāma-pushkariṇīshu sāmupāgat-āśēsha-rājapurushān=rāja-rājanyaka-rājaputra-rājāmātya-mahāsāndhivigrahika- mahākshapaṭalika-mahāsāmanta- mahāsēnāpati-mahāpratīhāra-dauḥsādhasādhanika-mahādaṇḍanāyaka-mahākumārāmātya-rājasthān-ōparika-ḍāśāparādhika-chaurōddharaṇika-dāṇḍika-dāṇḍapāśika-śaulkika-gaulmika-kshētrapāla-prāntapāla-kōṭṭapāl-āṅgaraksha-tadāyuktaka-viniyuktaka-hastyaśvōshṭranaubalavyāpṛitaka-kiśōravaḍavāgōmahishyajāvikādhyaksha-dūta-prēshaṇika-gamāgamik-ābhitvaramāṇa-vishayapati-grāmapati-tarika-Gauḍa-Mālava-Khasa-Hūṇa-Kulika-Karṇāṭa-Lāṭa-chāṭa-bhaṭa-sēvak-ādīn=anyāṁś=ch=ākīrtitān=rāja-pād-ōpajīvinaḥ prativāsinō Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān=mahattamōttama-kuṭumbi-purōga-Mēd-Āndhra-Chāṇḍāla-paryantān yathārhaṁ mānayati bōdhayati samādiśati cha.*[3]

18.—*Haṁyamana=Hañjamana=Hañjamāna=Pañchavaṇṇa=Añjuvaṇṇam*

While editing the Chinchini (Thana District, Maharashtra) plates above,[4] which contain the expression *haṁjamana-paura* or *haṁyamanīya-mukhya* in the list of people addressed in respect of the grants in question, we pointed out that the evidence of one of them, mentioning Saṁyāna and Haṁyamana in the same passage, clearly disproves the view that Haṁyamana is just another form of the place name Saṁyāna, modern Sanjān in the Thana District of Maharashtra.[5] We thought that those who trace the origin of *haṁyamana*, sometimes also spelt as *hañjamana*, to Avestic *hanjamana* and Persian *anjuman* and understand the word

[1] Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 280, text lines 11-17 ; p. 287, text line 10 ; p. 294, text line 13.

[2] Ibid., Vol. XXIX, pp. 7-8, text lines 31-41 ; pp. 11-12, text lines 29-38.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXIX, pp. 7-8, text lines 31-41. In the Sēna charters, the list of subordinates and officers is concluded with the passage : *anyāṁś=cha sakala-rāja-pād-ōpajīvinō=dhyaksha-prachār-ōktān=ih=ākīrtitān chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-jātīyān janapadān kshētra-karān=Brāhmaṇān Brāhman-ōttarān yathārhaṁ mānayanti bōdhayanti samādiśanti cha.* Cf. ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 8, text lines 32-34.

[4] Cf. Vol. XXXII, pp. 48, 53, 66, 74.

[5] The identification was controverted by Fleet long ago on inadequate evidence even though he regarded Haṁyamana as a place name (ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 258-59).

in the sense of a colony or settlement of the Parsees may be right. Further consideration has, however, made us doubtful about the correctness of the suggestion.

The expression is found in some of the records of the ruling families of Kannaḍa origin, which flourished in the Northern Konkan. Besides the epigraphs cited above, we may refer to the Bhandup, Thana and Kharepatan plates[1] containing the expression *haṁyamana-nagara-paura-trivarga* though the last named inscription has *haṁjamana* in place of *haṁyamana.* The difficulty is that, if it is the name of a place in the Northern Konkan but cannot be identified with Sanjān, we do not have any other geographical name with a similar sound in the area in question and cannot explain why this place name should be specially mentioned in a few records of the Kannaḍiga ruling families of the Northern Konkan. This would suggest that *haṁyamana=hañjamana* may be a word of Kannaḍa or South Indian origin, and, in that case, it would scarcely indicate a Parsee colony which is not known to have existed in the areas where the Dravidian languages are spoken.

A similar word is noticed in Kannaḍa epigraphs discovered in places far away from the Northern Konkan. Thus an inscription[2] from Kaikini in the North Kanara District, Mysore, dated 1427 A.D., refers to Ummaramarakāla, the *mukhya* of the Hañjamānas of Honnāvura and to the molestation of the women of the said community at Kāsarakōḍu by *Mahāpradhāna* Timmana Oḍeya ruling from Honnāvura. Another inscription[3] of 1465 A.D. from the Mahāliṅgēśvara temple at Basrūr in the Coondapur Taluk of the South Kanara District, records that Paṇḍaridēva Oḍeya, the ruler of Bārakūra-rājya, made in favour of the local god Mahādēva a gift of the gold which the *hañjamānu* people of Basarūru (*Basarūr oḷagana hañjamānad-avaru*) were paying. Since there is little possibility of the references here being to Parsee settlements in the North and South Kanara Districts, it is very probable that *haṁyamana=hañjamana=hañjamāna* should be understood in the sense of Kannaḍa *pañcha-vaṇṇa* of the lexicons, the same as Tamil *añju-vaṇṇaṁ* (Sanskrit *pañcha-varṇa*) understood in the sense of the five artisan classes, viz. the goldsmith, blacksmith, brasier, carpenter and stone-mason, who are also known in Tamil as *Añju-pañchāḷattār, Pañchāḷar, Pañchāḷattār* and *Pañcha kammāḷar.*[4]

Thus, of the expressions quoted above from the inscriptions, *haṁyamana-paura* or *hañjamana-paura* would mean 'the artisans and other citizens' while *haṁyamanīya-mukhya* would indicate 'the elders of the artisan communities'. The expression *hañjamana-nagara-paura-trivarga* means 'the three classes, viz. *hañjamana, nagara* and *paura*'. Among these, *nagara* seems to mean 'the merchant community'. The word is used in the said sense in Kannaḍa inscriptions, often in the forms *nakara* and *nakhara*;[5] cf. also *nagaram* of Tamil inscriptions explained as 'a guild of merchants, a mercantile town.'[6]

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[1] Ibid., p. 263; *Asiatic Researches,* Vol. I, pp. 357; *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. IX, p. 35.

[2] R. S. Panchamukhi, *Karnatak Inscriptions,* Vol. I, pp. 110 ff. (No. 48). The length of the vowel in *mā* in this record and a few others may be due to the modification of the following conjunct to a simple consonant, although lengthening has been avoided in the other forms.

[3] *SII,* Vol. IX, Part ii; pp. 470-71 (No. 459).

[4] See T. N. Subramaniam, *South Indian Temple Inscriptions,* Vol. III, Part ii, Glossary, pp. vi and xlviii.

[5] *SII,* Vol. XI, Part i, No. 112; Part ii, Nos. 158, 172, 175; R. S. Panchamukhi, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 39; Vol. II, p. 31.

[6] T. N. Subramaniam, op. cit., p. xli. Cf. also *nagaraṅgaḷilār, nagarasvāmin, nagarattār* and *nagaravaru-chchai.*

MGIPC—S1—1 DGA/61—12-12-63—750.

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[The figures refer to pages, *n* after a figure to foot-notes, and *add* to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used: *au.* = author; *ca.* = capital; *ch.* = chief; *Chron.* = Chronicle; *ci.* = city; *co.* = country; *com.* = composer; *de.* = deity; *di.* = district or division; *do.* = ditto; *dy.* = dynasty; *E.* = Eastern; *engr.* = engraver; *ep.* = epithet; *f.* = family; *fe.* = female; *feud.* = feudatory; *gen.* = general; *gr.* = grant, grants; *hist.* = historical; *ins.* = inscription, inscriptions; *k.* = king; *l.* = locality; *l.m.* = linear measure, land measure; *m.* = male; *min.* = minister; *mo.* = mountain; *myth.* = mythological; *n.* = name; *N.* = Northern; *off.* = office, officer; *peo.* = people; *pl.* = plate, plates; *pr.* = prince, princess; *prov.* = province; *q.* = queen; *rel.* = religious; *ri.* = river; *S.* = Southern; *s.a.* = same as; *sur.* = surname; *te.* = temple; *Tel.* = Telugu; *t.d.* = territorial division; *tit.* = title; *tn.* = town; *tk.* = taluk; *vi.* = village; *W.* = Western; *wk.* = work; *wt.* = weight.]

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W

Y

MGIPC—S1—1 DGA/64—26-10 66—[redacted]. 750.